



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

The Monument Question in Late Habsburg Austria
A Critical Introduction to Max Dvořák's
Denkmalpflege

Jonathan Blower

Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Edinburgh
2012

Abstract

The present thesis is a critical introduction to a body of writings on heritage conservation by the Czech-born art historian Max Dvořák (1874–1921). From 1905 onwards, Dvořák was both professor of art history at the University of Vienna and Conservator General at the state institution responsible for heritage conservation in Austria: the ‘Royal and Imperial Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments’ (est. 1850). His published and archival texts on the subject are presented here for the first time in English translation. In this sense, the thesis follows the model of existing scholarship on the visual arts in Vienna around 1900, namely the combined English translations and critical introductions to the writings of Camillo Sitte (Collins & Collins, 1986), Otto Wagner (Mallgrave, 1988) and Alois Riegl (Forster & Ghirardo, 1982). A translation-based approach to foreign textual sources is essential to cross-cultural understanding in the study of art and architectural history, particularly in the case of German, which is no longer accessible to the great majority of scholars working in these fields.

As an introduction to Dvořák’s *Denkmalpflege*, this thesis provides the historical context necessary for an informed reading of the texts and, on this basis, evaluates his considerable contribution to the conservation of Austrian cultural heritage. The institutional history of the Central Commission and the emergence of modern conservation theory around the turn of the century are outlined as the preconditions of Dvořák’s activity, which included inventORIZATION, institutional reform, published propaganda and a number of case-specific polemics. His responses to conservation issues in Vienna and Split are analyzed in detail as representative case studies from the centre and periphery of the empire, where modern conservationists were fighting a battle on two fronts against the incursions of modernity on the one hand and the destructive practices of nineteenth-century restoration on the other. Dvořák’s close collaboration with the Austrian heir apparent Franz Ferdinand is then investigated, followed by a critique of his reaction to the devastation of the First World War. In each case, it is argued that the state administration of cultural heritage in late Habsburg Austria, with its diverse peoples, languages and histories, was an inherently political issue and part of a cultural effort to preserve the empire itself.

Declaration

I hereby declare that I have composed this thesis, that it is my own work and that it has not been submitted for any degree or professional qualification other than that specified.

Jonathan Blower

March 2012

Contents

Volume 1: The Monument Question in Late Habsburg Austria A Critical Introduction to Max Dvořák's *Denkmalpflege*

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

Tables and Illustrations

Introduction	1
1. The Monument Institution	15
The Central Commission in the Nineteenth Century	21
The Great Portal Question	28
Riegl and Dehio: Altruism and Egotism in the Modern Monument Cult	37
Dvořák's Conservation Theory and the Karlsplatz Question	49
2. Dvořák, Bode and the Monuments of German Art	63
Art history: International Congress or German Members' Club?	68
The Founding Aims of the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft	76
The Monuments of German Art	84
3. Diocletian's Palace: A Case Study in Politicized Conservation	93
Rudolf Eitelberger's Pragmatic Cultural Imperialism	96
The Destructive Preservation Work of Alois Hauser	106
Alois Riegl: From Isolamento to Ensemble Protection	112
Max Dvořák and the Episcopium Controversy	122
4. The Conservation Catechism and <i>Denkmalpflege</i> at War	133
Franz Ferdinand and the Genesis of the Conservation Catechism	134
The Lesson of the Catechism	141
Conservation at War	148
Notes	160
Bibliography	187
Illustration Sources	198

Volume 2: Max Dvořák's Denkmalpflege

1. Alois Riegl (1905)	202
2. German Art Topographies (1906)	218
3. The Development of the Karlsplatz in Vienna (1907)	225
4. Francesco Borromini as Restorator (1907)	227
5. Introduction to the Austrian Art Topography (1907)	234
6. Memorandum on the Organization and Working Program of the MAG (1908)	248
7. Viennese Traffic Considerations (1908)	255
8. Restoration Questions I: The Royal Castle at Prague (1908)	257
9. Restoration Questions II: The Royal Palace on the Wawel (1908)	264
10. Restoration Questions III: Split (1909)	270
11. A Law for the Destruction of Monuments (1909)	283
12. Notice: It Tends to be Dark under the Lamps (1909)	285
13. The Karlsplatz Question (1909)	286
14. Monument Cult and Artistic Development (1910)	292
15. The Museum Building on the Karlsplatz (1910)	309
16. Saving Historic Vienna (1910)	315
17. The Prospect of the Emmaus Monastery in Prague (1910)	318
18. A Law for the Protection of Monuments (1910)	321
19. An Austrian Law for the Protection of Monuments (1910)	324
20. Monumente Deperdita: Finis Vindobonae (1911)	327
21. Monument Preservation in Austria (1911)	329
22. Protecting Monuments and Protecting the Church (1911)	341
23. The Recent Renaissance (1912)	348
24. Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1914)	360
25. Collectors, Museums and Monument Preservation (1915)	363
26. Schinkel's New Guardhouse (1915)	371
27. The Conservation Catechism (1916)	380
28. Duino (1916)	452
29. A Letter to Colleagues in Italy (1919)	457
30. Monument Preservation (1920)	461
31. The Maintenance and Use of Former Royal Palaces (1920)	467
32. The Balkanization of Vienna (1920)	472

Acknowledgements

For his constant encouragement, advice, input and patience over the course of my producing this thesis, I should like to express my warmest thanks, first and foremost, to Iain Boyd Whyte, who has been far more than an academic mentor to me over the last decade. Andrew Barker and Miles Glendinning, as my second supervisors, have been equally supportive and encouraging; without the former I might never have got started, without the latter I would perhaps never have finished. Particular thanks are due here to the staff of the German department at the University of Edinburgh: Mary Cosgrove, Eleoma Joshua and Sabine Rolle in particular. I would also like to thank a number of colleagues who have provided much appreciated input and support in various ways over the last few years: Claudia Heide, Richard Woodfield, Jindřich Vybíral, Branko Mitrović, Georg Vasold, Beate Ebelt, Ján Bakoš, Jorge Otero-Pailos and Joško Belamarić. If the Arts and Humanities Council of Great Britain made this research possible in its early stages, Berit Homburg has helped keep the wolf from the door since. Warm thanks to her and to Dominikus Müller. There are four people in particular who have made me feel very much at home abroad, to say nothing of humouring my bookish German: Katrin Schamun, Barbara Seng, Nadja Kugler and Geka Pahnke. Vicky Falconer kindly read the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions and improvements. I am grateful to her for this and much else besides.

Abbreviations

CC	K. K. Zentral-Kommission
DVfK	<i>Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft</i>
GSPK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz
IKUW	Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien
JCC	<i>Jahrbuch der Central Commission*</i>
KJZK	<i>Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentral-Kommission*</i>
MAG	<i>Monumenta artis Germaniae</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i>
MZK	<i>Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentral-Kommission*</i>
NFP	<i>Neue Freie Presse</i>
IÖGF	<i>Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
ÖZKD	<i>Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege</i>
ZASMB	Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin

* The reader is referred to the Bibliography for notes on these journals.

Tables and Illustrations

Table	Page
1 Attendance figures for the (International) Congress of Art History according to stated place of abode (1873–1912)	71
2 Comparative Austrian monument expenditure in florins and percentages, from the budgets of the Ministry of Education (1888–98)	111
3 The <i>Kunstraub</i> controversy in foodstuffs and paintings (1919)	157

Figure	Page
1.1 Oskar Strnad, monument for the Adriatic coast (1915)	16
1.2 Anton Fenkhorn, Erzherzog Carl (1860)	18
1.3 The Central Commission seal	25
1.4 Sant' Ambrogio, Milan (1860)	27
1.5 The west front and Great Portal of the Stephansdom (2011)	31
1.6 Wenzel Jamnitzer, table centrepiece (1549)	48
1.7 Otto Wagner, Karlsplatz with projected museum building (1906)	55
1.8 Karl Pippich, <i>Demolition of the Elisabeth Bridge</i> (1897)	57
1.9 Mock-up of Wagner's museum project of 1909 (1910)	60
2.1 Max Dvořák (1910)	64
2.2 Wilhelm von Bode (c. 1908)	66
2.3 Josef Mocker, Bartholomäuskirche, choir restoration, Kolin	78
2.4 Art topography coverage in Habsburg Austria (1902 and 1918)	80
3.1 Aerial view of Split (1926)	98
3.2 Robert Adam, plan of Diocletian's Palace (1764)	99
3.3 W. Zimmermann, the <i>porta aurea</i> (1861)	100
3.4 Rudolf von Alt, <i>The Cathedral Square in Split</i> (1841)	102
3.5 Alois Hauser, plan of Diocletian's Palace (1883)	106
3.6 Alois Hauser, from the <i>Stylistic Doctrine</i> (1877)	107
3.7 The campanile under scaffold (before 1908)	113
3.8 Karl Holey, plan for the consolidation of the vestibule/rotunda (1909)	126
3.9 Georg Niemann, reconstruction of the central precinct (1910)	128

Figure	Page
3.10 Ernest Hébrard and Jacques Zeiller, Plan of Diocletian's Palace (1912)	129
3.11 Split cathedral after the fire of 1924 (1926)	131
4.1 Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1914)	136
4.2 <i>The Conservation Catechism</i> (1916)	140
4.3 Advertisement for Eternit roofing in the <i>NFP</i> (1908)	145
4.4 Eduard Thony, <i>That used to be Goethe!</i> (1918)	150
4.5 'Palace in Torre di Zuino, destroyed by Italians' (1919)	151
4.6 'Palace in Conegliano, destroyed by the Italians' (1919)	152
4.7 The <i>Kunstraub</i> controversy, Vienna (1919)	154
4.8 Italians requisitioning Italian cultural heritage (1919)	156

Introduction

Max Dvořák was born on 24 June 1874 at Raudnitz an der Elbe (Roudnice nad Labem), a small Bohemian town 50 km north of Prague, at that time part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The town was and still is dominated by the baroque palace of an aristocratic family whom Dvořák's father – also an historian – served as archivist and librarian. The patriarch at Raudnitz in Dvořák's day, Georg Christian von Lobkowitz (1835–1908), was a conservative Bohemian nobleman and, politically, a moderate who sought to improve his people's lot in the empire through attempts to obtain equal recognition for the Czech language alongside German. Culturally, the Lobkowitz family had patronized both Handel and Beethoven, and the palace housed a substantial gallery of old masters, which Dvořák would later inventorize for the Bohemian Academy of Sciences.¹ It would be fair to say that Dvořák carried the cultural capital and conservative worldview of this distinguished milieu with him throughout later life.

This began in 1892 when he went up to Prague to read history at the Czech half of the ancient Charles University, which had been segregated into parallel Czech and German sections a decade previously. During the two years he spent at university in the Bohemian capital Dvořák will have witnessed the radically destructive redevelopment of the Jewish quarter that was begun in 1893, ultimately leaving only the district town hall and five synagogues standing.² This form of *Stadtregulierung*, or urban regulation, would subsequently become a target of his polemical writings on conservation. In 1894 Dvořák moved to Vienna to take a preparatory course at the *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (IÖGF, Institute for Austrian Historical Research), where his studies will have included the auxiliary historical disciplines of palaeography, chronology and diplomatics – the verification of documentary authenticity. In 1897 he graduated from this institute with a doctorate on a three-volume medieval history of the early Bohemians, and was employed at the IÖGF the following year as an assistant to his mentor Franz Wickhoff (1853–1909) while writing his *Habilitationsschrift* in art history on a fifteenth-century German theme: 'Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt' (The Illuminators of Johann von Neumarkt).³ At the turn of the century Dvořák was travelling the libraries of Europe studying further illuminated manuscripts, the result being a long essay on 'Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder Van Eyck' (The Riddle of the Art of the Brothers Van Eyck), in which he established a genetic historical relationship, via the papal court at Avignon, between Italian

art and early Netherlandish painting.⁴ This essay of 1903 became his academic calling card, so to speak, and launched his career as an art historian. When his second mentor Alois Riegl died in 1905, Dvořák filled both of his shoes, becoming at once lecturer in art history at the University of Vienna and Conservator General at the *Kaiserlich Königlich Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmäler* (Royal and Imperial Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments). Or the Central Commission for short.

As a professor of art history and the chief conservationist for the Austrian half of the empire from 1905 onwards, Dvořák's work spans and reflects one of the most turbulent and complex periods in central European history. The Austro-Hungarian empire was an anachronistic multinational state characterized by bitter internecine strife between its diverse and increasingly self-conscious nationality groups – Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Poles, Croats and Italians, to name only those that were considered as 'nationalities with history'.⁵ Dvořák was responsible for the custodianship of the artistic and architectural manifestations of these diverse national histories in the period which saw the gradual fragmentation and ultimate dissolution of the empire. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the power, prestige and geographical extent of this empire had been severely curtailed by the losses of Lombardy and Venetia in the Italian Wars of Independence and by the Battle of Königgrätz in 1866, which confirmed the ascendancy of Prussia in the European balance of power and indirectly opened up a profound fissure in internal Habsburg unity: the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. This devolution of significant powers to the Magyar nation only emboldened the other subject peoples of the empire, henceforth technically a dual monarchy, to demand similar concessions and privileges for themselves.

In the early twentieth century the increasing disunity of the Habsburg state was exacerbated by the rise of mass political movements, which brought the introduction of universal (male) suffrage in 1907.⁶ The Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 and the localized wars of 1912–13 then created a tense political situation on the Balkan peninsula – Austria's only channel for imperial expansion – which in turn produced the smoking gun of Gavrilo Princip in June 1914. The global conflict of competing empires that was triggered by this event ended with the collapse of the shattered Habsburg state in November 1918. A number of autonomous successor states, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia among them, were forged around the remnant core of German-Austria according to the problematic Wilsonian principle of national self-determination.⁷ As well as the territorial emasculation of a once great empire, the spoils of Habsburg cultural heritage – archives, artworks, palaces – were divided up among the victors and the newly liberated nation states

while the socialist government of the first Austrian Republic was forced to cash in the riches of its imperial past in order to keep its impoverished population in bread, coal and shelter. It is understandable that Dvořák, a loyalist Habsburg patriot, was somewhat disillusioned with the modern world when he left it on 8 February 1921.⁸

As a critical introduction to Dvořák's *Denkmalpflege* – that is, his activity as a conservationist – the present study is a contribution to the large and growing corpus of Western scholarship on the cultural and intellectual history of late Habsburg Austria, more specifically, its art and architectural history.⁹ It sits partly within recent discourses on the historiography of the Vienna School of Art History, now famous and infamous in almost equal measure.¹⁰ This school, which Dvořák directed from 1909 onwards, had earned its deserved reputation over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century thanks to the likes of Rudolf Eitelberger, Franz Wickhoff and Alois Riegl. Subsequently though, around the period of the First World War, it produced a number of less admirable spirits: Ludwig von Baldaß, Dagobert Frey and Hans Sedlmayr, who all collaborated in the plunder, destruction and ideological barbarity of the late thirties and forties.¹¹ Dvořák provides the bridge between these two eras. On the one hand, he was the precocious student and natural successor to Wickhoff and Riegl, who were both justifiably held in high esteem among the German intelligentsia, whilst on the other hand he also supervised von Baldaß and Frey's doctoral theses, proving to be a significant influence upon both these men, as well as upon Hans Sedlmayr, who reproduced lengthy passages of the *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege* (The Conservation Catechism, see vol. II: MD 27) in a rampant defence of historic Salzburg in the nineteen-sixties.¹² Apparently this short book, Dvořák's only systematic work on architectural conservation, had lost none of its currency in the fifty years that had elapsed since its publication in 1916. Recent attempts to rehabilitate Sedlmayr and his reactionary dismissal of cultural modernism, on the other hand, seem ill-judged.¹³

Given the pivotal position Dvořák occupies in Viennese art historiography and the praise that is often accorded to his conception of art history as *Geistesgeschichte* (the history of spirit, mind, intellect, or ideas), it is almost surprising that he is so little known in the English-speaking world. There is at least one good reason for this. Only two slim volumes of his works are presently available in English: *Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Art*, translated by Randolph J. Klawiter (1967), and *The History of Art as the History of Ideas*, translated by John Hardy (1984).¹⁴ These publications, however, both draw on material taken exclusively from Dvořák's late period and therefore represent a somewhat constricted view of his art-historical output. They contain nothing on his considerable activities in the field of architectural conservation.

With a few exceptions, the same can be said of the scant secondary literature that is available in English. In 1992, Mitchell Schwarzer introduced Dvořák to the readership of the *Art Bulletin* under the promising heading of a cosmopolitan art historiography.¹⁵ Laudable as it sounds, this was at best an over-generous interpretation that imputed the many positive aspects of Viennese multiculturalism to an art-historical oeuvre that is in fact more or less subtly laced with national antagonisms and, certainly in the later stages, a marked tendency to valorise the ‘spiritualism’ of northern European art over all else. More recently, Matthew Rampley has provided a far better overview which acknowledges both the positive and the problematic sides of Dvořák’s writing, mentions his activity as a conservationist and, above all, identifies the main reason why he is now of value to the historian: ‘his writing acts as a barometer of many of the tensions of early twentieth-century intellectual life, and it is precisely because of the awkward political and cultural questions it raises that it merits renewed study.’¹⁶ This is one rationale for the present work. It is not a study of Dvořák purely for Dvořák’s sake, but rather for what he can tell us about cultural politics and conceptions of the relationship between architecture and history in a place and time that now seems very distant from our own.

The German literature on Dvořák is naturally more extensive. There was a flurry of academic obituaries and black-bound *Festreden* in the early nineteen-twenties; laudatory speeches and biographies that were generally written by former colleagues and students.¹⁷ These sources tend to forgo any pretence to critical detachment and therefore need to be treated with a degree of circumspection. Again, they are oddly quiet on his conservation work; either the practice of *Denkmalpflege* was seen as little more than ‘a bureaucratic annex to the history of art,’ as Dvořák himself once called it (MD 1:216), or it was deemed best to pass over this theme in silence given the political situation in Red Vienna in the early nineteen-twenties – a period that was neither economically nor ideologically conducive to explicitly conservative cultural endeavours. As Eve Blau has shown, its greatest achievement lay in building housing for the poor, not in preserving palaces for the rich (MD 31).¹⁸ After the mid-twenties Dvořák disappears from the record almost entirely until the centenary of his birth in 1974, when the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* published a special issue on his contribution to state monument preservation. This homage remained the best single source on Dvořák’s conservation work until Sandro Scarrocchia’s recent monograph, *Max Dvořák: Conservazione e Moderno in Austria (1905–1921)*, which appeared in 2009. The same author, himself an architectural conservationist, is due to publish a collection of Dvořák’s writings on *Denkmalpflege* in German this year. Finally, a

full intellectual biography is forthcoming from another former Vienna School art historian, Hans Aurenhammer.

This brief overview of the secondary literature demonstrates, firstly, that the majority of existing scholarship on Dvořák is in German and thus presumably inaccessible to many western academics; secondly, that recent years have seen a renewed interest in the work of this pivotal figure in the context of a broader historiographical turn in art history; and thirdly, that his role at the Central Commission in Vienna has generally been paid too little attention. Scarrocchia's research in this area is a welcome addition to the self-scrutinizing institutional histories that have been produced by the Austrian *Bundesdenkmalamt* (Federal Monument Office) over the last twenty-five years, though again, these works remain confined to their local context by the considerable impediment of language.¹⁹ Existing studies in the history of architectural conservation – a field of inquiry that has grown exponentially over the last thirty years or so – suggest that this language barrier is a significant one for scholarship in the West, certainly within the burgeoning heritage industry itself.²⁰ German and Austrian debates on the theory of architectural conservation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were fundamental to the European development of the discipline and its codification in the various international preservation charters, yet these debates are now only known to English speakers through the illuminating but necessarily narrow prism of Riegl's seminal essay on *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* (The Modern Cult of Monuments, 1903), which was first translated into English by Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo in 1982.²¹ The significance of this text is undisputed and, as one scholar has wryly remarked, even had the effect of conjuring up something of a *Riegl-Kultus* among art historians.²² Whilst the same can perhaps not be expected of Dvořák, it may be recalled that Riegl was only active at the Central Commission for two years before he died; it was Dvořák who inherited his intellectual legacy and was able to disseminate and implement his own modified conception of the new conservation creed throughout the Austrian half of the dual monarchy over the longer and more trying period between 1905 and 1921. Many of his students went on to become conservationists in the successor states of the monarchy, so it would be reasonable to assume that Dvořák was at least as influential as Riegl in terms of conservation practice in central Europe.²³ The principal task of the present study, then, is to contribute to a broader understanding of the history, theory and practice of architectural conservation by making Dvořák's writings on *Denkmalpflege* accessible to English readers through the medium of translation.

In an ideal world this endeavour would be superfluous. Students would arrive at university with a knowledge of at least two foreign languages, and teaching in the

humanities could then proceed on the basis of primary source texts in their original languages. As Jacob Burckhardt once remarked, ‘All honour to good translations, but none can replace the original expression, and the original language, in word and phrase, is historical evidence of the first rank.’²⁴ True as this is, the fact that many students at English-language universities lack these language skills makes the task of translation a necessity for higher education. This has always been the case to a certain extent. To take just one example from the period under consideration here: even Alois Riegl felt the need to translate Baldinucci’s *Life of Bernini* from the Italian into German at a time when the privileged few who attended his lectures usually came equipped with at least Greek and Latin, French, Italian or English, alongside German and perhaps a different mother tongue as well. Dvořák, incidentally, was certainly proficient in most of the above, as well as Czech and his mother tongue, German.

The situation in the anglophone world at present is rather less impressive. Speaking from experience, an undergraduate student in the humanities at a British university may complete a degree without having developed any proficiency in a foreign language. This is a problem that needs to be addressed at the level of primary and secondary education if long-term cultural insularity is to be counteracted, but in the meantime, translation, particularly into the current global *lingua franca*, seems more pressing a task than ever. A few decades ago Reyner Banham could light-heartedly quip that he had decided to learn how to drive in order to study the architecture of Los Angeles, rather than mastering Italian for the sake of understanding the Renaissance. Conversely, the present author has learnt German at a relatively late stage in order to study the architecture and culture of late Habsburg Austria. But the linguistic capacities of Europe’s educated classes from around 1900 can no longer be expected of every art historian, for the acquisition of foreign languages generally takes longer than learning to operate an automatic transmission. Hence the need for translation as a scholarly activity. This need has been identified by the editors of *Art in Translation*, a journal for the cross-cultural dissemination of foreign-language texts on the visual arts: ‘While it would be eminently desirable for all art historians to have a working knowledge of German, it is also entirely unrealistic. An alternative would be to bring key German texts to the English-speaking readership in translation.’²⁵ An earlier example of a similarly helpful endeavour is the Getty Center’s well known Texts & Documents series, which has made a significant number of key sources on art and architecture available to the English reader, Harry Francis Mallgrave’s 1988 rendering of Otto Wagner’s *Moderne Architektur* being only the most relevant in this context. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that this collection of translations has become indispensable to English-language art history, and university

courses on certain periods and places are now virtually unthinkable without it. The present study of Dvořák's *Denkmalpflege* takes this series as its model and loosely follows its approach: the translation of a source text, or in this case source texts, prefaced by an expository introduction that serves the important task of contextualizing them for the target readership.

Before proceeding to outline the content and main arguments of the translations and four expositions that furnish them with a context (the indefinite article is used advisedly here), a few words ought to be said at this point about the act of translation, for this in itself already implies an interpretative process of contextualization, even before the first explanatory note or expository thought is supplied. A source text, once it has been consciously selected for translation, is first decontextualized; torn out of its native cultural, geographical and temporal contexts by the translator and severed from any discourses and related texts or intertexts to which it might explicitly or implicitly refer. The actual procedure of translation then plays havoc with the form and structure of the source text itself, often obscuring its intratextual correspondences or consonances for the sake of legibility and comprehensibility in the target language, or simply as the result of unavoidable human error. At this stage the translator also inevitably imparts not only a foreign, personal intonation to the original author's voice (regardless of the degree of fidelity attempted), but also an interpretation based on her or his own preconceptions and prejudices. Contemporary translation theory refers to these as the translator's 'interpretants'. Finally, the translation is recontextualized; set down in what are often completely different cultural, geographical and temporal circumstances where its new readers establish new intertextual links between the translated text and related discourses within the foreign culture, as well as reading into the translation intratextual correspondences or consonances that may not have existed in the original. Given the many permutations and variables that are intrinsic to this transformative process it seems quite remarkable that any tatters of meaning are capable of being transferred intact at all.

Here, one particularly striking example from the Viennese *fin de siècle* may serve as an object lesson in some of the pitfalls of over-zealous recontextualization on the part of the translator; namely Camille Martin's French rendering of Camillo Sitte's *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*.²⁶ According to the amusing reception history provided in Collins and Collins' exemplary critical commentary to this work, the first two editions of Martin's translation, which appeared in 1902 and 1918, led to a whole catalogue of misunderstandings. The interpretative breakdown began on the front cover, where Martin had rendered the title as *L'art de bâtir les villes*. For French readers this immediately

associated the work with an inappropriate intertext: a particular genus of French architectural handbook which usually had intentions quite contrary to Sitte's. The proverbial treachery of the translator then only deepened on the pages of the book, where Martin had taken the liberty of removing certain examples of German and Viennese urban configurations, only to replace them with French and Belgian ones in a well-meant effort to make the work more relevant, comprehensible or palatable to its French target audience. The edition of 1918 went even further. Here, all references to Sitte's Germanic origins – the word 'Vienna' in the subtitle and at the foot of the preface, for instance – were purged in the hope that his ideas might be accepted by French municipal authorities and implemented in the post-war reconstruction effort. And apparently this Gallicizing ploy actually paid off. The gravest misinterpretations, though, to say nothing of Martin's interpolation of a completely new chapter, were more insidious still. Unlike Sitte, Martin had a pronounced dislike of the Baroque, and ruthlessly substituted every occurrence of the word out of his rendering in favour of less offensive references to the eighteenth century, the Renaissance or even the middle ages. This stylistic prejudice on Martin's part of course resulted in a completely skewed reception of Sitte's ideas, and not merely in France:

During the period of greatest interest in Sitte's theories among city planners and architects, most non-German-speaking people had recourse to the French editions, which appear to have been printed in large quantities. Sad to say, the French edition is a completely different book, not only poorly translated, but actually enunciating ideas that are diametrically opposed to Sitte's principles. Nothing has done more to confuse the name of Sitte with the shortsighted picturesque techniques of his followers. In fact, considering the universal distribution of the French edition, a more heinous literary crime could hardly be perpetrated against an author by his translator.²⁷

Of course, this is an extreme case, but for all that it illuminates the inherent problems of translation all the more effectively. Sitte's text was subjected to a fine-meshed double filter for the benefit of its French target audience; cultural and aesthetic interpretants that can be identified as anti-German and anti-Baroque. Although a translator less cavalier than Martin – and it would be difficult to surpass him in this respect – may be able to consciously minimize the semantic loss and distortion caused by such filters, they can never be entirely removed from the equation. This is the view of one of two schools of thought in contemporary translation studies: the hermeneutical model as opposed to the communicative. Whereas the former recognizes translation as a transformative act of interpretation and sees this as a virtue with important critical potential, the latter plays down the transformation in the belief that content can, with some effort, be communicated directly from one linguistic code to the next, one culture to another, without undergoing a substantial change of meaning.

The present study takes the hermeneutic model as its overarching methodology: firstly, as a critical approach to a body of theoretical and polemical writings in the field of architectural conservation, texts which will inevitably be read differently outside of their original historical, cultural and institutional contexts; and secondly, for the interdisciplinary possibilities that the hermeneutic model of translation represents for the study of visual culture, be it art history, film studies or architectural conservation. In a recent paper on the parallel processes of translation and film adaptation, for instance, Lawrence Venuti, an authority in the field of translation, has identified what he calls the ‘interrogative potential’ that is inherent to both:

In recontextualizing prior materials, a second-order creation like a translation or adaptation submits them to a transformation that changes their significance – even as an effort is made to maintain a resemblance. As a result, the application of an interpretant in establishing the new context is never simply interpretive, but potentially interrogative: the formal and thematic differences introduced by the translation or adaptation, the move to a different language and culture or to a different cultural medium with different conditions of production, can invite a critical understanding of the prior materials as well as their originary or subsequent contexts, the linguistic patterns, cultural traditions and social institutions in which they were positioned.²⁸

By analogy with these parallel interpretive processes of film adaptation and translation, moving Dvořák’s writings on conservation into a different language and culture presents the same possibility of a threefold critical and interrogative understanding: of the texts themselves, of the early twentieth-century culture from which they are appropriated, and perhaps of the twenty-first-century context in which they are being set down. As an historical case study on the work of one Austrian conservationist, the first task of this interpretation is to shed critical light on Dvořák’s writings, the second to contribute to a broader understanding of the historical culture in which he worked. In this respect a large part of the work of contextualization has already been done by the likes of Collins and Collins, Mallgrave, Forster and Ghirardo. This interpretive critique of Dvořák’s *Denkmalpflege* adds a further voice to the same context. If it contributes in any way to discourses on heritage conservation and cultural politics in the present, then it will have served another part of its purpose.

A face-value reading of Max Dvořák’s writings on *Denkmalpflege* reveals, above all, an enduring concern for the continuity of historic artistic tradition. Dvořák believed that the continuity of artistic development from antiquity onwards had been interrupted, to its detriment, by the social and political revolutions of the nineteenth century, and that genuine artistic creativity had been supplanted by sterile antiquarian knowledge on the one hand, and,

on the other, by an unfounded faith in the creative potential of the technical preconditions of the industrial age. Antiquarianism had produced both the historicist architecture and the historicizing restoration practices of the Ringstrasse era (c. 1860–1900), whilst another branch of architecture, that derived solely from technical and material factors (in line with the theory of Gottfried Semper), was incapable of truly artistic results. Broadly speaking, Dvořák rejected all three phenomena as the inartistic manifestations of a materialist bourgeois age.

This view of artistic development as continuity and caesura is virtually a constant in Dvořák's writing and can be seen as one of the filters through which he passed the architectural and restoration practices of the present when assessing or writing about conservation issues. Thus he strongly condemned, for example, the late-nineteenth-century restoration of Karlstein Castle in Bohemia as an antiquarian violation of the genuine historic fabric of the monument (MD 27: figs 86–87).²⁹ At the same time, he was unable to countenance the prospect of a modern, functionalist museum on Vienna's Karlsplatz, for this would have meant the artistic adulteration of a unique monument to the more vital creative traditions of the early eighteenth century, Fischer von Erlach's baroque Karlskirche. For Dvořák, the artistic heritage of the past was to be preserved in its authentic, received state; not merely as an enrichment of the present, but as a witness to past artistic traditions that had been capable of qualitatively better results.

Alongside these manifest anti-historicist and anti-materialist interpretants, there is also a further, more fundamental filter at work in Dvořák's *Denkmalpflege*, one that is seldom immediately evident on the surface of his texts. It can be designated as a political, patriotic interpretant which came into force almost by default whenever nationality issues were raised in relation to cultural heritage in the empire, which was not infrequently the case. One of the central tasks of the four expository studies that follow here is to expose this filter where it occurs in Dvořák's writings. Doing so will serve to better define Dvořák's position with regard to the complex and conflicted internal nationality politics of the multinational state he served, and, furthermore, will demonstrate that the practice of *Denkmalpflege* in late Habsburg Austria was a profoundly political undertaking, increasingly so as the empire began to disintegrate.

The second basic proposition here, i.e. that conservation is a political activity, finds ample support in existing studies on the history of the discipline in France and Germany.³⁰ And this can perhaps be expected to apply all the more to late Habsburg Austria, since, as David Lowenthal has remarked, 'Threatened states zealously guard the physical legacy felt to embody enduring communal identity.'³¹ Another example from among Dvořák's writings

may serve to illustrate this point in advance: the Wawel Palace in Krakow, Galicia (MD 27: figs 88–89). Up until 1905 this monument had been used as a barracks by the Austro-Hungarian army, at which point Kaiser Franz Joseph I decided to return it to the Polish people. An extensive restoration plan was then drawn up in Krakow, the intention being to reinstate the palace to its sixteenth-century form: a Renaissance building predating the partition of Poland and the accession of Krakow to the Habsburg lands. Around 1905, the Poles of Galicia saw the Wawel Palace ‘as a relic of historical memorabilia, as a treasure trove of national memory, as a Pantheon or Walhalla. It played a decisive role in the development of a Polish national consciousness.’³² So from the Austrian perspective, the restoration of the Wawel could be seen as a worrying harbinger of possible Polish secession and future independence.

As one would expect, the restoration plans were rejected by the Central Commission, ostensibly for the sake of the historical authenticity of the monument. Dvořák made this case in a strongly worded essay on the matter (MD 9).³³ But at the same time, the suspicion of political motivations on the part of the Central Commission is difficult to suppress here, for a rejuvenated monument to Polish national unity would hardly be acceptable to the Habsburg state. Regardless of whether Dvořák’s personal opposition to the restoration project was based primarily on the modern principles of conservation and a concern for the unaltered transmission of historical substance, the Galician Poles certainly took political umbrage to his interfering with their national heritage. This much can be inferred from the following retrospective account of Dvořák’s activity at the Central Commission:

As Conservator General and Director of the Art Historical Institute of the Central Commission for Monument Preservation, which he subsequently served as vice president, he always acted in a German spirit, never approving or supporting any non-German endeavours, as I have seen for myself over many years. On the contrary, he always strongly opposed unwarranted and objectively unfounded demands in the field of monument preservation in Bohemia, Galicia and other Slavic regions of Austria. He suffered much hostility on account of this. Indeed, in 1912 a group of Polish parliamentarians instigated an extensive campaign against him at the Ministry for Religion and Education, and merely because he was combating the poor state of affairs in the field of monument preservation in Galicia. [...] Professor Dworak, in whose household German is the sole vernacular, has never been politically active and has given his children an exclusively German education.³⁴

These lines are taken from an anonymous memorandum which can be dated to c. 1918–19, since it was addressed to the republican government of German-Austria, the interim state that existed between the end of the First World War and the ratification of the Treaty of St Germain. The document was evidently written in an attempt to keep Dvořák in Vienna at

a time when he was considering emigrating to Germany for a university post at Cologne. If the source can be taken at its word, it provides an eloquent first witness to the fact that preservation in old Austria, as in most areas of cultural and political life, had been strongly influenced by the nationalities problem; that the centralized Austrian monument authority had frequently come into direct conflict with the heritage claims of at least the Czechs and Poles of the empire; and that Dvořák had served this institution ‘in a German spirit’ throughout his tenure. It is also worth noting, finally, that the author of this memorandum did not see *Denkmalpflege* as a political endeavour at all. Clearly, political activity in his sense meant subversive activity, whereas acting in the interests of the state was considered the apolitical norm. But the basic thesis still stands. *Denkmalpflege* was often a highly politicized matter in late Habsburg Austria; authoritative interpretations of cultural heritage and how best to preserve it were therefore subject to the filter of state patriotism.

The first chapter of this study establishes the institutional and theoretical bases of this intimate relationship between state patriotism and cultural heritage, the historical preconditions for Dvořák’s activity as a conservationist. Beginning with a consideration of the ‘other’ monument cult – the rapid proliferation of new monumental statuary in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – it argues that the cult of historic monuments in Austria was at least as important, culturally and politically, as its modern counterpart. The origins and establishment of the monument institution in question here are traced back to the rise of patriotic sentiment in Austria after the trauma of the Napoleonic Wars. It will be shown that the newfound interest in historic monuments in the early years of the Central Commission (est. 1850) was paralleled closely by the patriotic motivations of its founders. Indeed, at this stage, the one is virtually unthinkable without the other.

As a paradigmatic example of the retroactive restoration policies that Dvořák would later dismiss so entirely, Friedrich von Schmidt’s plans for the restoration of the Great Portal at St Stephan’s provide a convenient bridge between the outgoing and incoming centuries. His destructive designs for the historic fabric of this structure were the cause of considerable controversy in Vienna, both in the eighteen-eighties and at the turn of the century. In both cases, Dvořák’s predecessor played an important role in making the case for ‘conservation, not restoration’ – a motto coined by Georg Gottfried Dehio, an art historian who was fighting similar battles against restorators in Germany at the time. The internationalist and nationalist conservation theories elaborated by Riegl and Dehio are analysed closely and compared in this chapter, for though they were diametrically opposed on the basic motivations for monument preservation, both theories fed directly into Dvořák’s own conception of *Denkmalpflege*. With reference to his university lectures on the subject, it will

be argued that Dvořák's early theory of conservation was a composite, with important modifications, of Dehio's gung-ho patriotism and Riegl's more inclusive value system. The first practical application of this theory was to be an infamous one: the Karlsplatz question.

Similarly diachronic in approach, the second chapter will deal with the general problem of monument inventorization as a national art-historical undertaking. Rather than treating the endless volumes of the *Österreichische Kunsttopographie* (Austrian Art Topography), it instead considers the close professional ties that Dvořák established with colleagues in Germany, Dehio among them, through the *Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft* (German Art History Society, est. 1908). This society's chief aim was the production of something akin to the art topographies: a highly ambitious four-hundred-volume series of publications on the *Die Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst* (The Monuments of German Art). Here, archival sources demonstrate that Dvořák made a substantial contribution to this implausible project at the planning stages, which was fitting enough, for the main precursor to the DVfK had been a Viennese innovation: the International Congress of Art Historians, which first met in 1873 on Eitelberger's initiative. But in contrast to Eitelberger's outward-looking troupe of early art historians, the foundation of the DVfK in 1908 had heralded a marked turn towards nationalist isolation within the discipline and a disquieting shift away from the internationalist ideals of its predecessor.

The subject of Chapter 3 – Diocletian's Palace at Split – presents an ideal case study in changing approaches to monument preservation throughout the duration of the Central Commission's seventy years' existence. What was once said of the Bohemians can be applied to this monument complex in no uncertain terms: 'We existed before Austria, and we will remain after Austria.'³⁵ The Palace of Diocletian, namely, was the most significant late imperial Roman monument within the borders of the Habsburg empire. As such, it exemplifies all the major issues that monument preservation entailed for the Austrians: monument preservation as the duty of a cultured state, the problem of property relations, the restoration/conservation debate, local demands for modernization, and the inherent tensions between dominant centre and subject periphery. This investigation takes its cue from one of Dvořák's polemical 'Restoration Questions' (MD 10), tracing the history of Viennese scholarship and involvement with the palace through the pages of the *MZK* and the writings of four CC members: Eitelberger, Hauser, Riegl and Dvořák. Bizarrely enough, the profoundly destructive restoration policy of *isolamento* that was advocated by Eitelberger and executed by Hauser was well received by the population of this Adriatic town, whereas the modern, non-interventionist approach that was introduced by Riegl and implemented by Dvořák caused apparently inexplicable levels of discontent among the Dalmatians. The

argument put forward here is that the deteriorating political situation in the Balkans and the paternalistic attitude of the Central Commission together created a counterproductive climate that only led to further unnecessary destruction.

The fourth chapter in this introductory critique deals with Dvořák's late period: the years from around 1910 onwards, when an irreconcilable opposition between base materialism and artistic spirit becomes increasingly apparent in his art historiography. The beginning of this period coincides with the appointment of a royal and imperial protector to the Central Commission: archduke Franz Ferdinand, who lent it some of the political influence it had previously lacked, while also exerting no small degree of influence on the institution itself. He effectively established a personal union between the monarchy and its monument authority. These changed circumstances found adequate expression in Dvořák's *Conservation Catechism*, an accessible guidebook for the layman that merits detailed analysis, for it was commissioned and ghost-edited by Franz Ferdinand shortly before his assassination. Finally, Dvořák's response to the destruction of monuments during the war, and the sale of cultural heritage by the socialist government of German-Austria in its aftermath, will be subjected to the incisive criticism of one of his greatest contemporaries and compatriots, Karl Kraus.

1. The Monument Institution

Society needs to be permeated with this feeling at every level: a nation which possesses many an historic monument is a noble nation.¹

Happy the nation that possesses a metallic arsenal of spiritual heroes rich enough to be recast into cannon!²

In 1917, the prolific Catholic-conservative Austrian writer, poet and historian Richard von Kralik made a last-ditch literary attempt to save the Austrian empire as it crumbled around him. This heroic effort took the form of an essay in which he argued that the elusive ‘Austrian State Idea’ was not – contrary to popular ministerial belief – a fabrication; rather, it had gradually been discovered or revealed over time as a pre-existent and virtually divine political necessity.³ As his earthly authority for these claims Kralik cited the eminent Bohemian historian and politician Franz Palacky, who had asserted in 1848 that if the Austrian State did not yet exist, it would have to be created for the sake of European stability.⁴ Even after three years of unprecedented carnage, and with disloyal soldiers from across the empire defecting in their droves, Kralik still saw in the Austrian Idea the possibility of a harmonious league of diverse nationalities bound together for the sake of common interests under the cultural and linguistic hegemony of the Germans and the spiritual guidance of Catholicism. He failed, however, to acknowledge a number of factors that were militating against this idea as he put it to paper.

The complex political composite of the Austrian state, it has often been argued, only existed for three reasons: as an eastern-European bulwark against the threat of Ottoman invasion, as a spiritual stronghold of the Counter Reformation, and on account of a remarkably tenacious patriotic loyalty towards the Habsburg dynasty, in particular Emperor Franz Joseph I. Only one of these reasons still existed in 1917. Franz Joseph had died peacefully in November 1916 and the Ottoman Empire had not posed a serious threat to western civilization since the last Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683. Austria’s proverbial Catholicism still existed of course, though it hardly represented a centripetal force to counteract the centrifugal tendencies of subject peoples who were loudly demanding their national self-determination and actively going about obtaining it at the friendly foreign ministries of Europe and America. Kralik was not alone in this monumental delusion,

though; he was joined in rallying to the State Idea by virtually all Austrian writers of note.⁵ But his untimely essay is of particular interest in this context on account of the cultural remedy it prescribed as a panacea for Austria's terminal political ills:

The popular spirit wants to see its national heroes and its history immortalized; it wants to be enthused for the nation and the state. Exerting a conscious influence on the *artistic representation of the State Idea* is the most important pedagogical question for the Austrian state. Monumental art and the art of monument building in the proper sense of the word will reinforce the State Idea. Art should be the bearer of this idea; a means of educating the masses for the State Idea.⁶

There were numerous attempts to achieve this artistic immortalization of the Austrian Idea during the First World War. In May 1915 the Ministry of Education had announced a competition for an *österreichische Völker- und Ruhmeshalle* (Austrian hall of fame and nations) in the environs of Vienna, claiming that 'the idea of multinational coherence, of imperial unity,' had 'blossomed once again with newly invigorated strength.'⁷ Around the same time, the Ministry of Trade and Commerce was enlisting professors and students at the Viennese School of Applied Arts to produce ideal monument designs, while idle architects of rank and reputation such as Friedrich Ohmann and Otto Wagner projected monuments to commemorate the coming victory, or at least the future peace.⁸

D E N K M A L (83).

Entwurf für die Adriaküste. Auf künstlichem, ins Meer hinausgelegtem, in Bogenkonstruktion ausgeführtem Unterbau wird eine Plattform angelegt. Dort stehen zwei Säulen auf einem Stufenunterbau. Der vorderste Platz wird mit Marmor belegt (Zippolino). Die Säulen sind ungefähr 24 m hoch, 2,50 m stark im Durchmesser. Die eine Säule, die ganz glatt aus farbigem Stein ist, trägt einen vergoldeten 8 m hohen Siegesengel, die andere ein etwa 12 m langes Modell eines modernen Schlachtschiffes, ebenfalls vergoldet. Der Engel sieht gegen das Meer hinaus, das Schiff steht quer dazu.

Entwurf:

Prof. Dr. OSKAR STRNAD.

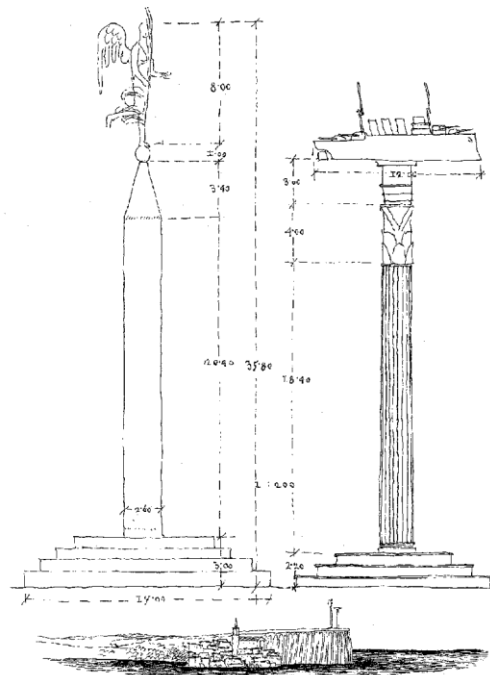


Figure 1.1. Oskar Strnad, monument for the Adriatic coast (1915)

Of all these efforts, the book of monument templates that was produced in the atelier of Joseph Hoffmann and Oskar Strnad at the School of Applied Arts seems to encapsulate Kralik's intentions most succinctly. 'A Monument is the symbol of an idea,' wrote Strnad in 1915, 'No figurative representation can approach the gravity and eternity that are expressed in the struggle for the existence of a state.'⁹ This problem of representation is amply illustrated by one of his own grander designs: a fleeting sketch for a monument showing the anachronistic juxtaposition of a classical winged Victory and a modern battleship keeping dual watch over the Adriatic coast from atop a gigantic obelisk and an Egyptian column respectively, these in turn standing on a massive artificial substructure that dwarfs the hypothetical town below (fig. 1.1). Such monuments would remain firmly where they belonged: on paper.

Pure economics aside, Kralik's conviction that monumental art could be employed to bolster the State Idea was by no means as outlandish as it might now sound. Eric Hobsbawm, for instance, in his well-known essay on the creation of national traditions, has pointed to the mass production of public monuments as one of the three principal means by which collective identities were originally forged in the era of nation building.¹⁰ This notion of monumental cultural production providing support for political ideology also had a strong pedigree in Austria; Kralik inherited the idea directly from one of his mentors, the first Viennese professor of art history, Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg (1817–1885). Eitelberger had always argued the case for monumental public art, be it in the form of painting, sculpture or architecture. And as an artistic advisor to the Austrian government he consistently underlined the political and economic benefits that the state could expect to derive from generous investment in such forms of cultural work. If the foundation of the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry (1864) was to his credit, the late-nineteenth-century *Denkmalpest* (plague of monuments) that blighted Vienna was partly his responsibility.¹¹ During the Ringstrasse era Eitelberger's advice was readily taken up by the Crown, the city councillors and a plethora of bourgeois monument committees, such that within a period of seventy years the capital of the empire went from being a place that had previously shunned the ostentatious glorification of worthies into a city that could proudly boast one of Europe's highest populations of monumental statuary. In 1800 there had not been a single profane monument in Vienna; by 1918 there were around two hundred.¹² At the peak of the Austrian *Denkmalpest* in 1900, there was an average of one monument unveiling per month in central Vienna alone.

But something was lacking in these intentional monuments. For all the pomp and circumstance that invariably accompanied their unveilings, they somehow failed to convince

anyone but their donors. Increasingly they became the object of scorn and ridicule among Austrian intellectuals such as Ferdinand Kürnberger, Karl Kraus and Robert Musil, who saw them as little more than narcissistic self-commemorations on the part of their patrons, subscribers and monument committees – if indeed they saw them at all.¹³ ‘There is nothing on earth that could be as invisible as a monument’, wrote Musil in 1932, by now quite famously, ‘They are doubtless put up to be seen, and indeed, specifically to attract attention, but at the same time they are steeped in something that repels attention, and this runs off them like drops of water on an oily surface, without pausing even for a moment.’ Musil’s pointed satire is worth following a little further here, particularly where he pokes fun at Fenhorn’s flag-waving equestrian statue of Erzherzog Carl on Vienna’s Heldenplatz (fig. 1.2):

The flag flutters in his hand, and there’s no wind blowing. His sword’s drawn, and no one’s frightened of it. His arm points authoritatively forward, but no one thinks about following him. Even the horse, which has reared up with flared nostrils ready to leap, stands still on his rear hooves, surprised stiff that the people below are calmly sticking sausage rolls in their mouths and buying newspapers instead of stepping aside.¹⁴



Figure 1.2. Anton Fenhorn, Erzherzog Carl (1860)

On the other hand, in the broader Austrian context of competing nationalities and conflicting histories in the provincial capitals of distant crownlands, a monument to the wrong figure in the wrong place could be highly conspicuous and entirely counterproductive for political stability. An equestrian General Radetzky in front of the Ministry of War in Vienna was perfectly acceptable; in Prague it was somewhat more controversial; in the South Tyrol it would have been defaced by Italian irredentists in no time.¹⁵ Likewise, Pompeo Marchesi's serene Kaiser Franz I could stand at relative ease in the inner courtyard of the Hofburg; he would have been thrown off a cliff in Dalmatia after 1908. In this respect the late Habsburg empire was quite unlike its increasingly powerful imperial neighbour; whereas hundreds of Bismarcks and Wilhelms could populate the unified German landscape after 1871 without causing any serious disturbance of the peace, the political unity of the Austrian state in this period was far less self-assured. Rather than swelling from up below in the form of a popular movement, unity had to be imposed on the people from above by the ruling German minority, which for this reason could not permit of such flagrant patriotic displays on the part of any of its various nationality groups. The Austrian State Idea, that is to say, had always required the support of subtler embodiments of its historical culture in order to circumvent the censure of the sceptics and be embraced by the diverse masses as a truly common heritage.

To a certain extent Kralik recognized this in 1917 when he identified, alongside new forms of monumental art, the interrelated cultural fields of *Denkmalpflege* and *Heimatschutz* as nothing less than the 'essential fundamentals of state consciousness'.¹⁶ If the production of monumental advertisements for the Austrian Idea was scarcely plausible in 1917, existing architectural monuments had always been turned to much the same purpose and, it could be argued, were perhaps even more effective by virtue of the legitimacy bestowed upon them by the passing of time. To invert Musil's terms, historic monuments seemed to draw admiring attention to themselves quite effortlessly, for unlike their modern counterparts they were imbued with a remarkable substance – Time – that had the peculiar quality of being able to absorb stray drops of patriotism rather than simply repelling them. The Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Architectural Monuments had been established for precisely this reason when it was first called into life by imperial decree on 31 December 1850.

The present chapter will consider the historical motivations that led to the foundation of this institution, the Central Commission, demonstrating that a patriotic or national interest in historic monuments was at least as important as any disinterested delight in the aesthetic qualities of historic works of art and architecture in the cultural politics of the nineteenth

century. The relevant local and foreign influences that contributed to the institutional structure of the Central Commission will be also noted, along with the approaches it took towards documenting and preserving the artistic heritage of the empire in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Key to an understanding of Dvořák's writings on conservation and his role as the *spiritus rector* of the Central Commission from 1905 is the restoration epidemic that swept across Europe at around the same time as the historicizing architecture of the Ringstrasse was being constructed, i.e., from 1860 onwards. The leading European representatives of these parallel tendencies were Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) and his English contemporary George Gilbert Scott (1811–1878), their equivalent in Austria being the German architect Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–1891), designer of the neo-Gothic Rathaus in Vienna and architect to the Stephansdom. His plans for the restoration of the Great Portal of the first church of the empire will be taken as a paradigmatic late example here, for they would serve as the Austrian focal point in debates on restoration and conservation both in the 1880s and at the turn of the century, ultimately resulting in that self-consciously modern *Denkmalpflege* which to a certain extent still forms the theoretical basis of architectural conservation practices to this day.

The two leading theorists of the modern conservation movement in Germany and Austria around 1900 were Alois Riegl (1858–1905) and Georg Gottfried Dehio (1850–1932). Both men elaborated sophisticated theories of conservation in conjunction with their engagement for the preservation of historic art and architecture, but while their aims were roughly the same, their basic motivations were radically different. Again, patriotism (or rather nationalism) played a considerable role for the one, but oddly almost none for the other – a fundamental variance that can partly be traced back to the different political circumstances of the empires they served, and partly to Riegl's enlightened internationalism, which made him something of an anomaly among conservationists. Riegl and Dehio's theories will be closely compared here, for they are crucial to an understanding of Dvořák's *Denkmalpflege*, which was an amalgam of the two. Dvořák's own theory will then be outlined and analysed on the basis of his university lectures and writings on the subject. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a critique of the application of this theory to one of the most prominent and publicized monument questions in late Habsburg Austria: the controversy over Otto Wagner's designs for a municipal museum on the Karlsplatz.

The Central Commission in the Nineteenth Century

In his enlightening history of the foundation and first ten to fifteen years of the Central Commission's activity, Walter Frodl, himself a former director of the *Bundesdenkmalamt* (Federal Monument Office) in Vienna, has identified a number of causal factors and historical precedents that led to the introduction of state monument preservation in Austria: revolutions and wars, historical societies and new museums, early forms of legislation for the protection of cultural heritage. The latter stretch right back to the mid-eighteenth century, when Empress Maria Theresia (*reg.* 1740–80) issued a decree that included terms for the protection of artworks in Lombardy.¹⁷ This first piece of Habsburg monument legislation, dated 1745, was soon to be followed by other laws protecting state archival materials. While such acts were certainly important legal precedents, the chief historical cause of the increased level of interest in historic monuments in the early nineteenth century – and this applies across the European continent – was the French Revolution. Ideological vandalism compounded by the subsequent destruction and pillaging of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars gave the Germans of the former Holy Roman Empire a rude first reminder that they too had cultural heritage to lose. The earliest and most famous articulation of this sudden historical realization is Karl Friedrich Schinkel's memorandum 'Concerning the Preservation of the Monuments and Antiquities of our Country', which was written for the benefit of his government on the occasion of a visit to Wittenberg in 1815 and is generally seen as the first fully-fledged expression of the preservation idea in the German-speaking countries.¹⁸ It contains *in nuce* virtually all of the considerations that would lead to the appointment, in 1843, of Ferdinand von Quast as Prussian inspector of monuments, and in turn to the establishment of the Central Commission in Vienna a few years later.

The post-Napoleonic context of Schinkel's memorandum is crucial; his ideas, like his contemporary designs for national monuments, bear all the hallmarks of that heightened patriotic concern for the education of the German nation that had also inspired Fichte's famous Berlin lectures on the subject seven years earlier, these having been delivered while Prussia was still under French occupation.¹⁹ Once liberation from this foreign yoke had been achieved, Schinkel believed he saw an opportune moment to address 'how the preservation of public monuments might be brought about, how an interest in them might be aroused in the general public, and how their influence on popular education might be promoted.'²⁰ In order to actively protect the monuments of the fatherland from violent foreign marauders, wealthy English connoisseurs and the irresponsible provincial clergy (who between them had already divested no less a national sanctum than Cologne Cathedral of half its stained glass), Schinkel proposed the establishment of 'protective deputations' that would be

answerable to local governments and whose first task would be to record or inventorize all those buildings, sculptures, paintings and applied arts that could be dated to before the second half of the seventeenth century. Measures for the preservation of these monuments would then be drawn up on the basis of the inventories, and local museums were to be created by restoring ‘to their former glory’ abandoned buildings that seemed germane to such purposes. The French policy according to which all important moveable national monuments were piled together in a grand museum in the capital was firmly rejected. Schinkel instead cited the importance of leaving local history in situ on the grounds that ‘when these artefacts are relocated from their original positions to a foreign environment they also lose a large portion of their significance’.²¹ This principle would remain current until at least a hundred years later; in fact Dvořák expresses much the same concern in *The Conservation Catechism*, which also echoes Schinkel’s complaints about avaricious clergymen and wealthy western art collectors (MD 27:385). It would seem things had not much improved over the course of a century. The only point in Schinkel’s memorandum that did not stand the test of time was his belief that ‘Many a half-devastated building of decisive historical or artistic value could perhaps be fully reconstituted in the spirit of its own era’.²² This belief had conquered Europe by 1860, but would be abandoned with the introduction of modern conservation theory at the end of the nineteenth century. For present purposes, though, it is enough to note that Schinkel’s patriotically inspired memorandum formed the basis of monument preservation in Prussia, which in turn served as a direct model for the Austrian system. The only major difference was that responsibility for the preservation of monuments in Austria would be centralized rather than devolved to the provinces, and this for good reason.

As in Prussia, the Napoleonic Wars precipitated similar patriotic sentiments among cultured Austrians, who had already come to suspect that the modern French political ideas were not necessarily in the interests of their historic monuments. The enlightened absolutism of Emperor Joseph II (*reg.* 1780–90) had admittedly centralized state power and established German as the sole administrative language, but it had also brought with it a dissolution of the monasteries that resulted in the loss of over a third of the cloisters and seminaries in the empire.²³ From that point onwards, the anti-clerical ideals of the Enlightenment remained forever tainted in the eyes of conservationists in Austria.

Thus the reactive will to preserve Austrian monuments had already been roused twenty years prior to the devastation and plundering of Napoleon, which only served to awaken it fully. One important instance of such plundering occurred when Napoleon had ordered the removal of the winged lion of Venice – a potent symbol of the city – and the four

antique horses from the facade of S. Marco. Having been carted off to Paris with a haul of other artworks in 1797, these were returned to their rightful owners after Napoleon's defeat and ceremoniously replaced in their original locations. The Austrian Emperor Franz I was present on this occasion in 1815, and Frodl suggests it may have been an inducement for improving monument protection in the empire as a whole, for a state ban on the export of artworks was decreed soon after, in 1818. This law stipulated that works of art or literature 'which contribute to the fame and adornment of the state' were to be kept within imperial borders unless permission to sell them abroad had been obtained from the relevant libraries or art academies, though it seems the legislation was not especially effective, for the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna rarely made use of it.²⁴

A further consequence of the patriotic sentiments that had been stirred in Austria by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars was the foundation and growth of numerous antiquarian and historical associations, such as the Viennese Society of Antiquaries, which emerged out of a broader Austrian society of 'Friends of Patriotic History' in 1837. The increasing number and popularity of such historical societies in the first third of the nineteenth century was paralleled by the establishment of multiple regional museums in quick succession: at Prague in 1818, Split in 1820, Innsbruck in 1823, Ljubljana in 1831, and Lower Austria in 1833. 'After war and liberation, and with the fatherland regained, it was time to get to know it better, to consider its history and its art in a "patriotic spirit" and to provide historical support for patriotic consciousness and "national identity" by disseminating this knowledge to the general public.'²⁵ Thus Frodl's explanation for the historical societies and the spate of new museums in Austria. The Central Commission would emerge from much the same milieu. One group of amateur Viennese historians, though not formalized into a society, held a regular salon in the rooms of the private art collection of one Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865) in the 1830s, discussing the art of the middle ages and presenting lectures to one another, each of them investigating aspects of the largely uncharted territory of historic Austrian art in his spare time, 'as a service to the fatherland that could be sure of public recognition'.²⁶ Böhm's circle included Rudolf Eitelberger, Gustav Heider and Eduard von Sacken, all of whom would continue their research as members of the Central Commission after 1850.

The young man who is credited with the founding idea behind the CC, though, was an enigmatic Austrian patriot by the name of Eduard Melly (1814–1854), who, at the age of just nineteen, firmly believed there was a need for a more systematic approach to the protection and research of the empire's architectural heritage. In 1833 he had attempted to establish a society to achieve this end, appealing to Prince Liechtenstein for financial and

moral support. ‘For more than twenty years,’ he wrote, ‘the need to open up the treasure trove of historic monuments which the Austrian fatherland possesses – without for the most part knowing it, without making use of it for art and science, and without applying it to the augmentation and consolidation of patriotic feeling – has found expression in many unsuccessful, because isolated, attempts.’²⁷ His own attempt to organize the dispersed historical labours of other like-minded Austrian patriots initially came to nothing, but two years after the failed Revolution of 1848, when the neo-absolutist powers that be were willing to give credence to any idea that promised to shore up the social stability of the empire, Melly addressed a timely memorandum to Interior Minister Bach, author of the so-called neo-absolutist system, in April 1850. It contained an ambitious blueprint, based on the French *Comité historique des arts et monuments*, for a centralized state institute for the protection and research of Austrian monuments. Its tasks would be

to preserve, to protect and to transmit knowledge of the importance of witnesses to the glorious artistic past of the nation; for the honour of the empire, for the enrichment of scholarship, for the awakening and strengthening of patriotic consciousness, a consciousness that is genuine because based on solid historical ground.²⁸

This time Melly’s proposal fell on fertile political soil. His memorandum, which called for an inventory of architectural monuments, their *classement* on the French model, preservation and restoration, as well as the research and dissemination of knowledge on the monuments of the fatherland, soon found its way from the Ministry of the Interior to Ludwig von Bruck’s Ministry for Trade and Industry, which then instigated its own inquiries into similar monument authorities in France and Prussia. Since these were not lacking, the net result was an address from Bruck to the young Austrian Kaiser suggesting the establishment of a ‘Central Commission for the Preservation and Research of Architectural Monuments’. This petition met with the emperor’s approval in December 1850, though not without a handwritten rider to the effect that no public money was to be spent on the endeavour without prior royal and imperial permission.

The simple fact that the Central Commission was from the outset a voluntary state institution with no financial means at its disposal had a few important practical consequences and also permits of at least one significant historical conclusion. The institution had to be run from within the existing state bureaucracy; in practice this meant that it was initially incorporated into the building department of Bruck’s Ministry of Trade and Industry, which was both an advantage and a disadvantage. On the one hand, its position represented a conflict of interests, for the building department was in charge of railways and other

construction projects that could theoretically have posed a threat to historic buildings, since practical demands would usually take precedence over cultural concerns. Looking back on the foundation of his institution sixty years later, Dvořák clearly disapproved of this subjugation to an authority as base as that of the Ministry of Trade and epitomized the apparent mismatch between civil engineers and art historians with a case in which the Venetian Governor had supposedly suggested to the Ministry that the Grand Canal be drained in order to preserve the historic buildings of Venice (MD 21:330). This anecdote was apocryphal.²⁹ In any case, there was one obvious advantage of the direct association with the state building departments: the paid civil servants that staffed them could be enlisted to carry out conservation tasks such as the inventorization, supervision and maintenance of monuments, for which the CC would otherwise have had no funds.

Nonetheless, the initial lack of finances clearly did represent a significant hindrance to conservation work. Although the Central Commission had been founded on paper in 1850, its committee of twelve, the majority of them government staff and civil servants, with four representatives from the academies of arts and sciences, was not brought together until January 1853, and no publications were possible until funds were released for this purpose in 1856. As for practical conservation measures, very little was possible, though as Bruck remarked in defence of the skeleton staff that was originally assigned to the CC, this was not an entirely bad thing, for it confined restoration work to necessary repairs and ruled out over-ambitious reconstructions.



Figure 1.3. The Central Commission seal

From the present perspective, the fact that the Central Commission was a voluntary institution is a relatively solid historical proof that all the talk of patriotism and historical research for the sake of the fatherland that preceded its foundation was entirely genuine. By

1855, fifty-eight regional conservators and forty-one correspondents had been appointed to function as the honorary eyes and ears of the Central Commission. They did so not for any material gain, but for the love of art and the prestige of serving their empire by contributing to the knowledge and preservation of its heritage. Otherwise, all they received in return for the considerable list of duties they were expected to perform – building inspections, inventorization work, correspondence with the Central Commission in Vienna – was an official seal and a pile of blank inventorization forms derived from the Prussian system but abandoned soon after as a subjective and unreliable source of information (fig. 1.3). Reading Melly's exaggeratedly patriotic pleas for the preservation of monuments prior to 1850, one gets the impression that he at least was angling for a salaried position within an as yet non-existent branch of the imperial bureaucracy. But for the rest of the voluntary conservators and correspondents from across the empire, whose numbers increased to a total of around five hundred by 1905, this was clearly not the case.³⁰ The nineteenth-century interest in artistic and historical monuments, as Riegl would later conclude, was indeed based firmly on patriotism, or, to use his terms, 'national and state egotism'. Frodl summarizes the same phenomenon as follows:

National movements have always given a powerful impulse to the monument cult. Indeed, they were fundamental to its emergence, as was the case from the beginning of the nineteenth century. [...] Scholarship was called upon to investigate and to disseminate the results of its research, for these were to be made accessible to the whole population as the basis of that cultural consciousness which was necessary both in the interests of monument preservation and for the sake of a universally desired national identity.³¹

An important distinction needs to be made at this stage, though, for to be truly Austrian, as one historian puts it, was actually to be free of national feeling.³² While the French and German preservation movements were certainly inspired by national sentiment, as were the first stirrings of the Austrian conservation idea among its German patriots, the Austrian state, as an agglomeration of around fifteen separate nationalities, could scarcely afford to support the development of strongly self-conscious national identities. Once established, the Central Commission had to assume a supranational position and would depend heavily upon the waning idea of unitary Habsburg patriotism rather than those divisive national movements that were in the ascendancy in Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardy, Galicia, and so on. This state patriotism became institutional policy under the censorial rule of the Bach administration from 1849 to 1859: possible conservators and correspondents nominated by the Central Commission had to be vetted by the Interior Ministry to ensure they were loyal to the Crown, and in some cases CC functionaries were struck from the register where suspicions

of anti-Habsburg or overtly national tendencies had been raised. This tension between the state and its constituent nationalities also explains the strictly centralized structure of the Austrian monument authority, for the preservation and scholarly interpretation of cultural heritage, it was thought, could not safely be devolved to the provinces for political reasons. Thus alongside the purely artistic and historical research of the early Central Commission, which was certainly exemplary for its time, there was always a more or less obvious political agenda behind its activities and publications, which always sought to promote state unity over national particularism. There were two possible paths to achieving this ideal of cultural unity. One is represented by the isolated figure of Alois Riegl, who attempted to elevate cultural heritage onto an international plane above even the supranational state level. The other was to throw the weight of art-historical interpretation behind the dominant German culture, which of course already exercised a degree of hegemony in the political realm.



Figure 1.4. Sant'Ambrogio, Milan (1860)

The latter approach was adopted by Eitelberger, for instance, when he attempted to reinforce Austria's cultural and historical claims to Lombardy in northern Italy by way of an essay on the history of the Milanese church of Sant'Ambrogio. Before any discussion of the basilica itself, the first half of this study from 1860 provides an account of the pious and peaceable life of St Ambrose in considerable and, for an art-historical investigation, apparently unwarranted depth. Only the final paragraph of the hagiography strikes a jarring note. Here, Eitelberger recounts the popular Italian myth according to which a warlike spirit of St Ambrose had appeared to a group of Milanese militia during the Battle of Parabiago in 1329, brandishing the whip and urging them to hold out against their German enemies. 'The

Milanese were victorious, and since that time they have represented the saint in a grim attitude, with scourge in hand and in chaste artistic forms. Later they even put the saint on horseback, driving the army before him with the scourge like a fury, with soldiers falling at his feet.³³ Though perhaps true enough in its particulars, this skewed account of the life of St Ambrose and his mythical trecento apparition has to be read against the backdrop of contemporary political events. At the time of writing, Franz Joseph I's army had just suffered defeat at the Battle of Solferino (1859), which ultimately resulted in Austria's loss of Lombardy to the nascent Kingdom of Italy. The young emperor never graced the battlefield again. With this knowledge it comes as less of a surprise to find Eitelberger giving the militant Italian Sant' Ambrogio short shrift in favour of a well-substantiated and sublimely placid Sankt Ambrosius, one without any violent anti-German tendencies. This incursion of current affairs into the lives of saints long dead continues in the second half of the essay, a history of the building itself, where Eitelberger goes to some lengths to emphasize Carolingian and Longobard influence on Sant' Ambrogio's art and architecture (fig. 1.4). He does so by enumerating a long list of Germanic-sounding names from local historical documents, names that are explicitly given as those of settled inhabitants rather than foreign émigrés.

There can be no doubt that these indigenous Germanic elements explain a number of phenomena in the realm of art. All the early Romanesque buildings from these regions and deep into central Italy, Parma, Modena, Lucca, etc. exhibit fantastical elements, outlandish forms that have nothing to do with the Byzantine-Moorish south and east of Italy or the calmer and more rarefied forms of the later periods of the Romanesque style. [...] This much is certain: the church of Sant' Ambrogio precedes the period in which Italian nationality became a conscious factor in art.³⁴

By ascribing Sant' Ambrogio to a period of Germanic cultural predominance in northern Italy, Eitelberger, writing on behalf of the Central Commission and the empire, stakes a cultural claim to an architectural monument in disputed territory, and, by extension, a claim to the territory itself.

The Great Portal Question

There were two monument questions that engaged the general public and the popular press of Vienna more than any others around the turn of the twentieth century: the Great Portal question (1882 and 1902) and the Karlsplatz question (c. 1897–1910). Both were concerned directly or indirectly with historic ecclesiastical monuments of outstanding significance. The Karlsplatz question, famously, boiled down to whether or not Otto Wagner would be

allowed to build a monumental municipal museum adjacent to Fischer von Erlach's baroque Karlskirche. This question will be treated below. The question over the Great Portal or *Riesentor* at the west end of the Stephansdom must be dealt with here, for it marks the very public shift away from the restoration policies advocated by Friedrich von Schmidt and his school and towards the modern, conservative approach that was rapidly gaining ground among art historians in the German-speaking countries. If, in the case of the Karlsplatz question, modern conservation policy would directly oppose the interests of modern architecture, the Great Portal controversy, by contrast, saw modern artists and modern conservationists make common cause in preventing the restorative intentions of an old guard of historicist architects and Catholic clergymen.

It can be said from the outset that the Great Portal question was not an issue that had any direct bearing on the complex multinational politics of the Habsburg state. As the principal Catholic church of the empire and the seat of Archbishop of Vienna with a history dating back to at least 1147, the universally acknowledged importance of the Stephansdom elevated it far above the level of national antagonisms, and to a certain extent confessional conflicts as well. The cathedral had its competitors, of course, St Vitus' in Prague being the most obvious contender, but the all-embracing arms of the Catholic Church were more than broad enough to encompass the wide spread of national difference represented among its adherents within the Austrian empire. If anything, the one political schism that the Great Portal question does reflect is that between church and state, which would only become more acute, particularly in Dvořák's day, as the state attempted to legislate for the protection of architectural monuments that belonged to the church. Indeed, one insightful commentator has taken the Great Portal controversy as evidence that the cult of historic monuments in Austria at the turn of the century had become a new 'state religion' which even posed a challenge to the seemingly unassailable sway of the Catholic cult in its central European stronghold.³⁵

At the same time, though, it was precisely the heady combination of religious, historical and artistic interest in the cathedral of St Stephan that made it seem so potent a symbol of possible state patriotism. This was certainly how Eduard Melly saw it when he cleaned and surveyed the Great Portal with the assistance of Leopold Oescher in 1846.³⁶ Their studies, which were published in Vienna in the wake of the March Revolution, only led Melly to the conclusion that far more comprehensive care of monuments was necessary in Austria, and for explicitly patriotic reasons. His country had apparently been lagging behind France, Italy and England in this respect for too long. 'It is high time that this changed,' he argued,

It is a pressing requirement, namely, and indeed the only guarantee of success in this endeavour, that the state itself should get involved in supporting what needs to be done for the preservation of the monuments of our fatherland and what has to be done if the knowledge of their high value and national significance are to be served; if they are to continue to exist for the glory of the country, for the elevation of the neglected lore of the fatherland, and, through this, for the stimulation of a firmly rooted patriotism.³⁷

Once the Central Commission had been established – thanks in no small part to Melly's insistent prodding – its *Mittheilungen* first treated the Stephansdom in 1857, when Gustav Heider dedicated a short article to its preservation, which was of course an on-going if poorly organized operation. His introductory preamble is characteristic of the Central Commission's ambivalent and as yet uncertain attitude towards restoration in its early years. France was held up as an exemplar in the application of thorough historical knowledge to the restoration of medieval monuments, though not without a hint of apprehension over the zeal of its practitioners: 'France has conceived of this task in the most incredible manner,' wrote Heider, 'It has recognized the full value of the artistic monuments it possesses and, one is tempted to say, is now rushing with feverish haste to withdraw them from the influence of time by way of the most comprehensive reconstructions, in order to preserve them for the nation.'³⁸ Viollet-le-Duc was singled out for particular praise as a man who represented a hitherto unseen combination of architectural knowledge and ability. But the French haste to undertake restorations, which was criticized rather more openly by the German art historian Wilhelm Lübke in an article on the 'Restoration Fever' four years later, would be tempered in Austria, not least by a lack of funds.³⁹ Comparing the first church of the Austrian empire to the expensive and patriotically motivated completion project that was then being carried out by the Germans at Cologne Cathedral (1842–80), Heider called for a thoroughgoing restoration of the Stephansdom in place of the previous piecemeal efforts: the restoration of the main tower in 1839–42, the true-to-style gothicizing refurbishments of a number of chapels, and the cleaning of the Great Portal in 1846. Future restoration, he hoped, would be planned and comprehensive, but it would also have its limits. Heider rejected as unnecessary the popular ideas of a full Gothic remodelling of the western facade and the completion of the asymmetrical north tower. He put repair and consolidation work firmly before completions and additions, citing the German politician and art critic August Reichensperger as his authority: 'One should do what necessity requires, but not a hair's breadth more. In a word, each and every restoration should be as conservative as possible,' though it should perhaps be noted here that Reichensperger had a rather catholic conception of necessity – he was one of the driving forces behind the completion of Cologne Cathedral.⁴⁰

The desired restoration work at the Stephansdom fell to a German who had been trained as a stone mason at Cologne: Friedrich von Schmidt, a member of the Central Commission since 1859, was appointed cathedral architect in January 1863. Some years later, shortly after the foundation of the *Wiener Dombauverein*, which took over responsibility for the finances, conservation and works at the cathedral in 1880, Schmidt opened the (first) Great Portal controversy when he published his plans for a Romanesque restoration of the west end of the church.



Figure 1.5. The west front and Great Portal of the Stephansdom (2011)

The Great Portal consisted of two principal structures from two discrete periods: a round-arched Romanesque portal dating to sometime between 1258 and 1267, and a superimposed Gothic porch structure punctuated by a single pointed-arch dating from the first half of the fifteenth century (fig. 1.5).⁴¹ In 1882 Schmidt and the *Dombauverein* proposed stripping away the added Gothic structure to reveal the earlier Romanesque portal. This idea immediately met with the severe disapproval of an ageing Moriz Thausing, a professor of art history at the University of Vienna who, it was rumoured, was approaching insanity well before he committed suicide in 1884. In any case, his argument against the removal of the Gothic portal was as effective as it was entertaining. He conjured up an ancient but very much living cathedral for the readers of the *Neue Freie Presse*, one that slept by day and came alive at night to converse with passersby in plaintive tones on the state of its ailments and the restorators' counterproductive remedies for them. 'I think I'd have been quite healthy if I hadn't ordered a doctor after all,' it whispered to Thausing, or so he imagined, 'First they took away my lovely Renaissance fencing and put a so-called Gothic one in its place – pure set-square Gothic, mind – and now they even want to make the whole

portal Romanesque.⁴² Playing devil's advocate in his fanciful feuilleton, Thausing drew the current issue of the *Dombauverein* newsletter from his inside pocket and, in an effort to console the venerable structure and demonstrate Viennese goodwill towards its fabric, he read to it a satirically embellished extract from Schmidt's prescriptions. On coming to the 'essential' restoration of the west front and the full reinstatement of the Romanesque portal, though, he was rudely interrupted and indeed scared out of his wits by a booming voice from somewhere in region of the church bells:

Say no more, you little art parson. You do not understand these things; I myself barely do. You have a nerve trying to instruct me about myself and my own history, you mayfly! [...] What need have I of a cathedral architect, what need of a cathedral building society? My cathedral was built and completed long ago. What I *do* need and desire is a cathedral conservator and a cathedral protection society to protect and preserve me and to heal my cracks.

As a defence of the Great Portal that was as amusing as it was earnest, Thausing's imaginary encounter with the terrifying *architecture parlante* of the Stephansdom was seconded by a number of his own students from the university in 1883, the young Alois Riegl among them. The more senior historian Theodor von Sickel from the Institute for Austrian Historical Research was then able to convince the Ministry of Education that the restoration of the Great Portal was not actually necessary. Making the stones of St Stephan's speak proved to be a successful rhetorical ploy for Thausing, and Schmidt's designs were laid aside, at least temporarily.⁴³ Thus despite the somewhat unclear position of the Central Commission, the first instalment of the Great Portal question was settled in favour of conservation rather than restoration; the art historians, as Riegl would later remark, had triumphed over the all-powerful restorator architect, Friedrich von Schmidt.

When the Great Portal controversy was revived at the turn of the century the debates were less good natured and soon took on the character of an acrimonious battle between the radical old guard and the conservative modernists. Schmidt had died by this time, but his spirit lived on in his student and successor, the new cathedral architect Julius Hermann, who privately resurrected his master's designs for the exposure of the Romanesque portal in 1897. This was the year, coincidentally, when a small group of Viennese artists seceded from the constrictively conservative Vienna Künstlerhaus to form the *Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs* (Association of Austrian Artists).

When the members of the Secession heard of the revived plans to efface the Gothic elements of the Giant Portal in 1901, they responded with a strongly worded memorandum of opposition. It was written by Alfred Roller, sent to the Minister of Education in December and printed in *Ver Sacrum* shortly afterwards. Besides bemoaning the general lack of

government commissions for monumental public buildings and calling for the establishment of an independent Austrian arts council to compensate for a perceived ministerial indifference toward cultural affairs, this memorandum took the specific question of the Great Portal as an opportunity to launch a frontal attack on the Central Commission's backward restoration policies. Roller reminded the Minister of Education of the outcry that had followed the publication of Schmidt's plans in the eighteen-eighties and implored him not to 'allow such brutal damage to be done to our most venerable architectural monument'.⁴⁴ Again, the philistines threatening the integrity of the Great Portal were none other the cathedral architect and the clergy and laymen of the *Dombauverein*. But now the Central Commission was also fighting the wrong corner:

For all its activity, the organization that ought to be responsible for preventing such a barbaric plan in the first place, the Commission for the Preservation of Architectural Monuments, regrettably offers this jewel no reliable protection against anti-artistic intentions. The fact that all restoration works have for a long time been degenerating into reconstructions is proof enough of this, something of which you are no doubt aware.⁴⁵

Roller also reminded the minister of a number of other Austrian examples of poor restoration practice and suggested that even the Karlskirche was standing under a Damocletian sword awaiting similar treatment. The president of the Central Commission, Helfert, seems to have taken this pointed criticism of his institution rather personally. According to the polemical pamphlet he produced in response, the Secession had failed to observe 'knight's honour' by attacking him indirectly, via the Minister, rather than addressing him in person. In these terms, his own riposte was quite honourable: he directly accused the Secession of producing foggy paintings that depicted nauseating ugliness, unjustifiable nudity and degenerate obscenities.⁴⁶ Of course, he also defended the Central Commission line on the matter in hand. The Romanesque portal was older and artistically more significant than its Gothic mantle, and this alone, he argued, justified the stripping away of the latter. Contrary to the Secessionists' claims, namely that the generally accepted principle of modern conservation was to preserve a monument in its received state, Helfert referred to a number of contemporary restoration projects in Germany that were consciously attempting to return historic buildings to their supposed original state. In a sense, the confusion is understandable, for the restoration/conservation debate had still not been definitively settled either way. Both Roller and Helfert were able to cite the planned restoration of the ruins of the Otto Heinrich building at Heidelberg castle in support of their respective positions because the jury was still out on that landmark case. The Secessionists argued that the growing movement against restoration in Germany was a sign of the times, whilst Helfert could justifiably claim that

restoration architects such as Carl Schäfer and Bodo Ebhardt still represented a valid contemporary approach because opinions on the relative value of their historicizing restorations remained polarized even at the first German *Tagung für Denkmalpflege* (monument preservation congress) at Dresden in 1900.⁴⁷

By 1901, however, the anti-restorationists had a new ideological weapon to deploy against the barbaric intentions of the Catholic Church and the Central Commission: John Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) had been translated into German in 1900 and the Secession's memorandum on the Great Portal question made liberal use of it.⁴⁸ Around half of Roller's polemic consisted of an extended quotation from book six, the 'Lamp of Memory', the general gist of which is conveniently condensed into Ruskin's marginal aphorism no. 27: 'Architecture is to be made historical and preserved as such.'⁴⁹

For Ruskin, one of architecture's cardinal tasks was to furnish the nation with what we would now call collective memory. As the above aphorism suggests, this imperative had two sides to it. The first, though not of direct relevance to the Great Portal question, nevertheless provides a revealing insight into a phenomenon that was integral to Austrian culture in the nineteenth century: its manifest historical consciousness. Ruskin demanded that new buildings, both domestic houses and public edifices, be built to last and imbued with history, or 'made historical' from the outset. He contemplated the miserable state of his own country's hastily erected housing stock with 'a painful foreboding that the roots of our national greatness must be deeply cankered when they are thus loosely struck in the native ground,' taking their ramshackle impermanence as symptomatic of a more general lack of respect for father figures and as a harbinger of popular discontent.⁵⁰ The remedy, he argued, was to treat houses as temples and to build them as though for eternity. Ruskin's ideal dwelling was to bear permanent witness to its inhabitant's character, occupation and history. To this end it was even to be furnished with blank stones for future inscriptions, 'raising thus the habitation into a kind of monument.'⁵¹ And if this form of intentional historicity was to be applied even to the humble dwelling, it followed that the commemorative function of architecture was all the more important in the monumental witnesses to a nation's communal past.

The second consequence of the mnemonic function that Ruskin ascribed to architecture was that existing historical buildings were to be 'preserved as such'. Not restored, but preserved. Like Dvořák, Riegl and the Secessionists after him, Ruskin put a high premium on age of buildings, 'indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. It is in its age.' And again, 'It is in the golden stain of time, that we are to look for the real light, and colour, and preciousness of architecture.'⁵² This puritanical

fixation on a building's unique and irreplaceable traces of age proscribed, for Ruskin, any form of tampering with historic monuments, '*We have no right whatever to touch them,*' he claimed.⁵³ Hence restoration was out of the question.

Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word *restoration* understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is *impossible*, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture.⁵⁴

These remarks may have been directed primarily at Ruskin's countrymen, the likes of George Gilbert Scott in the first instance, but they were also eminently applicable in the Austrian context, where the Central Commission was not only advocating the sort of destructive restoration policies that Ruskin abhorred, but had even given Scott's writings an official stamp of approval by translating and printing them in the *MZK*.⁵⁵ Defending the Central Commission's increasingly untenable position in 1902, Helfert was forced to use the standard politician's dodge for such situations. He praised Ruskin unreservedly as a genuine admirer of historic art and rebutted the modern Secessionists by claiming they had cited the Englishman out of context – clearly an indefensible argument given the extent of their quotation, which was almost three pages long.

This bitter exchange might have dragged on for months had Alois Riegl not stepped in to play a mediating role. Having studied under Thausing at the IÖGF, Riegl had worked as a curator at the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry from 1886 before being appointed professor of art history at the university in recognition of his scholarly publications in 1894. In 1902 he became joint editor of the *MZK*.⁵⁶ In this role, and as an academic consultant to the Central Commission on the problem of producing an Austrian art topography, Riegl was directly involved with Helfert, which put him in a rather uncomfortable position between the two main camps in the Great Portal controversy. He wrote his way out of the crossfire with poise, publishing an article in the *NFP* that effectively secured the preservation of the Gothic portal, yet without offending any of the belligerents.

Riegl took an elevated and seemingly impartial view of the complex issue on the pretext that the various intermingled positions of the church, the state, modern artists, art historians and restoration architects needed extricating from one another for the benefit of the interested layman – not to mention the Minister of Education. Just as he tried to avoid privileging one artistic period over another, the Romanesque over the Gothic, so he also weighed up the arguments for and against the *Dombauverein*'s restoration plans fairly,

flattering both camps with the assertion that they represented equally ‘modern’ perspectives on the problem. Ultimately, though, he echoed the Secessionists’ accusation in gently reminding the Central Commission of its proper calling: ‘after all, it has to see its professional task as being the preservation and not the destruction of historic heritage.’⁵⁷ For the modern artists who above all appreciated the atmospheric value (*Stimmungswert*) of the existing state of the monument – the cumulative quality of the effects of time rather than the quantitatively different ages of the two discrete structures – demolishing the Gothic arch and restoring the Romanesque portal would have meant a falsification of history. Their position (as well as Riegl’s) was as follows: ‘Better a coarse Gothic arch from the fourteenth century than a fine Romanesque one from the twentieth.’⁵⁸ Of course, this sentiment was entirely in line with the first four words of the golden motto emblazoned across the frieze of Olbrich’s permanent exhibition building on the Karlsplatz: *Der Zeit ihre Kunst* (to the age its art). Whether artistic freedoms – the freedom of the architect, for instance – were in danger of being limited by this over-developed appreciation of historicity was not a question the Secessionists were asking themselves at the time.

The ultimate decision on the Great Portal question in 1902 was no doubt the correct one. The Ministry of Education again vetoed the restoration, this time against the better judgement of its own disunited preservation body. The reputation of the Central Commission was thus severely damaged by the whole fiasco and the only silver lining for Helfert was that he had stumbled across a remarkably astute and persuasive art historian in the process.⁵⁹ Riegl was promptly nominated as a member of the CC in January 1903, and, on Helfert’s recommendation, soon became its first salaried Conservator General. He immediately gave up his teaching activities at the university to apply his undivided attention to the enormous task of overseeing the preservation and research of monuments in the Austrian half of the empire. As Dvořák would later recall in a paper on the ‘Development and Aims of Monument Preservation in Austria’, Riegl

dedicated the last three years of his life to the reorganization of the Central Commission with such incredible dedication and with such zeal that it was as though he had sensed that his days were numbered. [...] It was down to Riegl, who shared Ruskin’s radically conservative position, that the same Central Commission that had only recently negotiated restoration projects in the old sense of the word was now completely and utterly permeated with the new ideas, right up to the eldest committee member, and, overtaking regional developments in Austria, now came to occupy the most advanced position (MD 21:334).

Riegl and Dehio: Altruism and Egotism in the Modern Monument Cult

The most important text on the theory of architectural conservation remains to this day Riegl's essay on the modern cult of monuments, which was written at the beginning of this brief but prolific period of intellectual work in the last three years of his life. Along with contemporary developments in Germany – Paul Clemen's activities as conservator for the Rhineland, the appearance of the journal *Die Denkmalpflege* in 1899, the first meeting of the German monument preservation congress in 1900, and the first extensive German law for the protection of monuments in 1902 – it is generally accepted that the *Denkmalkultus* essay marks the beginning of modern approaches to architectural conservation.⁶⁰ When Ernst Bacher republished the full version of the essay in a collection of Riegl's writings on *Denkmalpflege* in 1995, he was justified in asserting that 'modern conservation will have to consider the date of the publication of this study as its year of inception.'⁶¹

Bacher also made two other important points in his introduction to Riegl's groundbreaking text. He noted, firstly, that it had been decontextualized by abridgement. There were two versions of the study published in 1903: the relatively familiar autograph edition entitled *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, then also an anonymous, unabridged edition which appeared under the imprint of the Central Commission and was entitled *Entwurf einer gesetzlichen Organisation der Denkmalpflege in Österreich* (Draft for the Legislative Organization of Monument Preservation in Austria). The text that is now known to the English-speaking world makes up just half of the latter; it was merely the philosophical preamble to a legislative draft and the organizational considerations that accompanied it outlining a new decentralized structure for the Central Commission. When the *Denkmalkultus* was republished in Riegl's *Gesammelte Aufsätze* in 1929, the shorter version was printed without any of the legislative minutiae which were in fact the occasion for the study and which Riegl had identified as the crux of the work. In spite of this, it was the abridged version that was later canonized in the translation that appeared in *Oppositions* in 1982, and again in the *Oppositions Reader* in 1998.⁶² These rather arid facts on the publication history of the work are not without consequence, for the broader legislative context of the essay ameliorates the radical claims of what he designated with the timely neologism *Alterswert* (age value), the principal wellspring of the modern cult of monuments.⁶³

The second thing Bacher points out with regard to the *Denkmalkultus* essay is the remarkable failure of the heritage industry to come to terms with the contradictions contained within the notion of age value. 'Previous approaches to the conception and strategy of monument preservation', he argued, 'have hardly given any serious consideration

to this central aspect of Riegl's study of the monument cult.⁶⁴ If this was the case in 1995, it still holds true today. Furthermore though, Bacher suggests that Dvořák was guilty of the same oversight with respect to his predecessor's theory: he 'clearly failed to confront or simply ignored its central reflections.'⁶⁵ This claim will require some verification, for Dvořák certainly engaged with Riegl's essay as a whole on a number of occasions. At the same time, though, he also reverted to something closer to Georg Dehio's position in his own justification for conservation. A comparison of the three theories is necessary at this stage: Riegl's *Denkmalkultus*; Dehio's 1905 lecture on the subject, and finally Dvořák's own statements on conservation theory.

The immediate impulse for Riegl's reflections on the modern monument cult was the lack of any sort of substantial legal protection for monuments in Austria and the resulting impotence of the Central Commission, which had always been conceived as a purely advisory body and would in fact remain so until a monument act was finally passed in 1923. Governmental consultations on such legislation had been instigated by Helfert in 1894, though by 1903 no draft had been finalized, let alone passed through parliament. In the meantime, a growing popular interest in historic monuments on the one hand and the increasing threats to which they were exposed by the incursions of modern industrialization and urban development on the other had only heightened the sense that some form of enforceable form of protection was necessary. Adding to this pressure was the fact that the nineteenth century had seen a number of other European states pass their own monument protection laws: Greece in 1834, France in 1837 and 1887, Hungary in 1881, Britain in 1882, Turkey in 1884 and, most recently, the Grand Duchy of Hessen in 1902. The scope of these acts naturally varied considerably. The Greek law, for instance, drawn up by the German academic Ludwig Maurer and passed in the context of Leo von Klenze's restoration of the Acropolis in the eighteen-thirties, placed all movable and immovable national antiquities under the protection of the state and gave it considerable powers of appropriation and prior purchase.⁶⁶ By contrast, the British monument act of 1882 was an empty gesture that covered only the very small number of 'prehistoric' monuments in the country, and was therefore effectively impotent. Indeed, it has been suggested that there was an inverse correlation between the passing of monument laws and the level of economic and industrial development in a country, i.e. liberal capitalist economies tended not to legislate for monuments: Germany as a whole had no monument law in 1900, Britain's was largely ineffective, and France, with its highly developed national consciousness, was merely the exception to the rule.⁶⁷

The situation in Austria around the turn of the century was complicated by additional factors. Here, the cultural legislators at the Central Commission not only had to contend with a slowly industrializing liberal economy which militated against any incursions into owners' rights to the free disposal of private property, but also with the considerable power and influence of the Catholic lobby and a paralyzing lack of cultural, ethnic and political homogeneity within the state itself. Any universal Austrian law for the protection of monuments had to take all of these factors into consideration. Ultimately they proved insurmountable. Only once Cisleithania had been reduced to the far smaller and demographically far less complex entity of the first Austrian Republic would a law for the protection of monuments become at all plausible.

Nonetheless, in 1903 Riegl believed that the increasing popular appreciation of historic monuments, and of their age in particular, could provide the necessary universal basis of public interest that would be required in order to justify the desired monument law.

The first problem Riegl was confronted with when he came to address this task was the lack of any adequate working definition of the monument. As he remarked in the foreword to his study, the modern conception of the monument had only begun to crystallize recently, at the turn of the century.⁶⁸ It was instinctively felt and had been evidenced in monument questions such as the Great Portal controversy, along with the increasingly widespread intuition that historicizing restorations were not an appropriate way of treating the physical legacy of history. But instincts and intuitions rarely provide a sound basis for legislation. Accordingly, the first section of the *Denkmalkultus* essay discards and debunks existing definitions of the monument, tracing their evolution and identifying the attendant motivations for the preservation of monuments through history, right up to the present and the completely new understanding of the monument cult.

Broadly speaking, there were two existing definitions. 'A monument in its oldest and most original sense is a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations.'⁶⁹ Monuments meeting this description – Riegl called them 'intentional' (*gewollt*) – had been erected from time immemorial and were to be found *en masse* in antiquity, for instance, sometimes in their thousands on a single city square if Camillo Sitte was to be believed.⁷⁰ Regardless of the striking revitalization of a similar commemorative tradition of monumental statuary in contemporary Vienna, Riegl of course discarded this definition as being far too narrow to encompass the historic monuments which were to be subject to the new law. He retained the 'created by human hands' clause and the general sense of a monument's commemorative function, but the modern conception no longer required human agency in

the attribution of commemorative value at the point of a monument's creation. Intentional monuments, moreover, usually stood under the protection of the law by default anyway.

The second definition was provided by the institutional framework within which Riegl was working. The Central Commission was, according to its full title, an authority for the preservation and research of *artistic and historical* monuments. This broader scope included structures and objects which had come to be invested with commemorative value over the passing of time, regardless of their creators' intentions. Riegl designated these as 'unintentional monuments' and distinguished them from the older, narrower class as follows: 'In the case of the intentional monument, its commemorative value is imposed on us by its makers, whereas we define the value of the unintentional ones.'⁷¹ This class of monument had first been recognized as worthy of protection during the Renaissance, as the Italians began to survey, imitate and indeed legislate for the protection of their artistic patrimony. However, Riegl took issue with both of the qualifying adjectives – artistic and historical – that identified the reasons why such objects had come to be valued as monuments in the first place, for neither could lay claim to sufficient popular appeal to justify a monument protection law in a modern state. Such interests had always been limited to relatively small groups of artists, academics and educated laymen.

There were also other, more fundamental doubts about the serviceability of these concepts, art and history. Distinguishing between what he called absolute art value and relative art value, Riegl noted that neither could serve as a criterion for a modern appraisal of monuments, for both were in fact entirely subjective. Absolute art value corresponded to the outmoded idea, most conspicuous in the writings of Winckelmann and Burckhardt, that the canonical art of classical antiquity and the Renaissance represented the undisputed and now unattainable pinnacles of past artistic achievement. This selective art value would inevitably only preserve those works that roughly matched the ideal, leaving all other periods and styles, the Gothic or the Baroque for instance, unprotected. By the late nineteenth century, however, Riegl could safely assert that such aesthetic dogmatism had generally been abandoned and that this supposedly absolute art value had been usurped by its correlate, relative art value: 'According to current notions, there can be no absolute but only a relative, modern art-value.'⁷² Each age and indeed each individual would value the art of the past that best corresponded to its own *Kunstwollen*, or, to avoid the intricacies of interpreting this notoriously slippery term, taste. Thus Germans in the early nineteenth century had frowned upon the exuberant excesses of the Baroque, giving it the derogatory epithet *Zopf* (periwig, MD 2) and seeking to do away with it in churches where it impaired the pure appreciation of that supposedly far more German of styles, the Gothic. At the end of the nineteenth century,

distaste for the Baroque had receded and gradually made way to a reappraisal of the period as a whole (something for which Riegl takes partial credit). But this shift in taste only illustrated the inherent problem of relative art value: it was entirely subjective and contingent, it would change ‘from subject to subject and moment to moment’ and could therefore hardly serve as a valid criterion of judgement for the long-term preservation of monuments. Hence Riegl dispensed with art value almost entirely, relegating it to the status of a peripheral consideration in his rigorous delineation of the monument cult.

This left unintentional monuments with the solitary qualifying adjective ‘historical’, though even this value was not without its intrinsic problems. It first became widespread, according to the broad brushstrokes of Riegl’s evolutionary history, along with the recognition of art value during the Renaissance, and both were based on something that had always been a primary motivation for the construction of intentional monuments: a patriotic interest in the glorious achievements of the creator’s family, ancestors or extended community. For this Austrian art academic, who was highly sensitized to the words patriotism and nationalism, the historic interest that came to be associated with monuments in sixteenth-century Rome ‘could not help but take the form of a self-serving [*halbegoistisch*] national and patriotic interest.’⁷³ Hence the men of the Renaissance loved their antiquity and despised the barbaric Gothic. It would be centuries before historic interest had broken free of its national fetters, and even once it had, the appreciation for monuments as historical documents would remain the preserve of the educated classes, and was therefore once again unsuitable as a legal basis for their protection on behalf of society as a whole. In politically unified nation states, historical values combined with national interest may have provided the ideal justification for such laws, and in fact they did according to Riegl’s analysis: he found that the majority of nineteenth-century monument acts were based ‘on feelings of national or state egotism.’⁷⁴ But such motivations were not only ethically problematic; they were virtually useless in the contemporary political situation in Austria.

It was at this stage, the provisional end of the historical development of the monument cult, that Riegl identified its third, contemporary phase:

We have distinguished historical monuments from intentional ones as a more subjective category which remains nonetheless firmly bound up with objects, and now we recognize a third category of monuments in which the object has shrunk to a necessary evil. The monument is now nothing more than a necessary substrate that engenders in the beholder that atmospheric effect which evokes for modern people the idea of the natural life cycle of becoming and passing, the emergence of the particular from the general and its inevitable dissolution back into the general. This immediate emotional effect depends on neither scholarly knowledge nor historical education for its satisfaction, since it is evoked by mere sensory perception. Hence it is not restricted to the educated (to whom the task of caring for monuments

necessarily has to be limited) but also touches the masses independent of their education. The general validity, which it shares with religious feelings, gives this new commemorative (monument) value a significance whose ultimate consequences cannot yet be assessed. We will henceforth call this the *age-value*.⁷⁵

Age value, that is to say, pertained not to the monument itself, but to the visible signs of time's passing over it, the physical traces of history left behind as marks on the surface of the now otherwise superfluous substance of the monument; in short, its patina, which appealed psychologically to the modern viewer as a poetic analogy for human transience.

The ultimate consequences of age value were momentous. Theoretically it found parallels, for instance, in Georg Simmel's reflections on the aesthetics of the ruin, and in Walter Benjamin's conception of the work of art, where he identified its aura not merely in the originality of the created work, but specifically in the cumulative effects of time and history that occur after the moment of creation. Thus the singularity of the auratic artwork was dependent on the fact that 'The history to which this unique work of art was subjected over the course of its existence happened to it and nothing else.'⁷⁶

The immediate consequences of age value for the legislative protection and practical preservation of monuments – even as their aura withered away in the age of technical reproducibility – were also profound. For Riegl, age value stood at the pinnacle of the historical evolution of the monument cult, at the onset of the twentieth century. Just as the category of unintentional monuments had followed on from and encompassed the intentional monument, so the overarching category of monuments with age value had developed out of and usurped its historical predecessor. The three phases of development can perhaps be understood in terms of an historical Russian doll, or the rings of a tree, their scope of popular appeal expanding over time from the particular to the general. This gave age value especial currency, but also a certain priority over other values that had to be taken into account in the administrative evaluation of monuments. Whereas the scholarly interest of historical value demanded that a monument be preserved in as complete a state as possible for the sake of historical investigation, and the claims of art value seemed to imply that the monument should be restored to its original, complete form (newness value), age value stood in fundamental opposition to both, for it required that time be allowed to take its natural course without outside influences artificially retarding or accelerating the process. 'What must be strictly avoided is interference with the action of nature's laws, be it the suppression of nature by man or the premature destruction of human creations by nature.'⁷⁷ A monument, like a man, was to be permitted to live out its life cycle naturally, from the moment when the complete form originally bestowed upon it by its creators is first exposed to the unavoidable and continuous process of aging, through its gradual but inevitable dissolution into the state

of a ruin, and, ultimately, back to the utter formlessness of the matter from which it was originally shaped. The noble romanticism of this concept finds its ideal expression in a line of prose that had been penned a century earlier: ‘Neither men nor monuments can deny Time her rights.’⁷⁸

Hence the claims of age value were fundamentally opposed to the nineteenth-century practice of restoration, and in this respect Riegl’s theory can also be aligned closely with Ruskin again:

But, it is said, there may come a necessity for restoration! Granted. Look the necessity full in the face, and understand it on its own terms. It is a necessity for destruction. Accept it as such, pull the building down, throw its stones into neglected corners, make ballast of them, or mortar, if you will; but do it honestly, and do not set up a Lie in their place.⁷⁹

Admittedly, for Riegl this polarity of authenticity and destruction was only applicable at the end of the monument’s life cycle, but if age value opposed both retroactive restoration and premature destruction, it nevertheless also posed a grave challenge to the whole endeavour of *Denkmalpflege*: ‘The cult of age-value condemns not only every wilful destruction of monuments as a desecration of all-consuming nature but in principle also every effort at conservation or restoration as an equally unjustified interference with nature. The cult of age-value, then, stands in ultimate opposition to the preservation of monuments.’⁸⁰

Having argued himself into this uncomfortably liberating position, Riegl was forced to recant for the sake of the task in hand – legislating for forms of monument protection which, according to his own brilliant exposition of the history of the monument cult, seemed demonstrably incompatible with contemporary views. The remainder of the *Denkmalkultus* essay thus retraces the steps of the argument, resuscitating the applicability of historical and artistic values and introducing the present-day value of practical use as a mitigating factor in order to allow for preservative interventions that had just been ruled out as impermissible in the eyes of the natural laws of *Werden und Vergehen*, becoming and passing. All of these values were now to be weighed up together in the practical evaluation of historic art and architecture, though age value would nevertheless retain its privileged position in the simple definition of the monument that headed up Riegl’s legal bill: ‘§1. Monuments in the sense of this law (whether movable or immovable) are man-made works that have been in existence for at least sixty years.’⁸¹

This definition, extraordinary for the sheer breadth of objects it would have encompassed, stood little chance of getting through the Austrian parliament. When the monument protection law was finally passed in 1923, the definition of the monument had

been narrowed down considerably. It would only apply to objects of artistic, historical or cultural significance, 'if, on account of this significance, their preservation is in the public interest.'⁸² The Federal Monument Office was to determine what constituted this public interest, which is to say, no adequate legal definition of the monument had been arrived at and the matter was therefore simply left to the discretion of the authorities.

Before moving on to consider Dehio's understanding of the monument cult, one final aspect of Riegl's notion of age value needs to be underlined here, for it was this particular characteristic that would bring the two theories into direct conflict. For Riegl, the unique universal appeal of age value not only represented a possible solution to the difficulties of legislating for monuments in a multinational state; it even seemed to hold out the promise of a cultural-historical solution to the nationalities problem itself:

The sense of pride that Austrians in general, or the Bohemians, Styrians, Carinthians, etc., or the Germans, Czechs, Poles, etc., feel for monuments that are owned by their state, country or nation, has always rested on isolation with regard to others, whether foreigners or members of other crownlands or nationalities. But the feeling for age value is based on a sense of solidarity with the whole world.⁸³

An interest based on age value, that is, unlike patriotically motivated historical and artistic values, would make no distinction between the monuments of different nations and states. According to this ideal a German ought to be able to appreciate the effects of age on a building in Rome as much as one in Cologne, whereas his historical and artistic prejudices might cause him to favour the latter. Similarly, within Austria-Hungary, a Bohemian's patriotism might lead to a preference for St Veit's over St Stephan's, and vice versa for a German Austrian, but the two separate nationalities would find common ground in their appreciation of age value, which, theoretically at least, was universal.

Georg Dehio's programmatic statement on *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Monument Protection and Monument Preservation in the Nineteenth Century) was presented in a very different context to Riegl's legislative considerations, namely as a lecture at Straßburg University on the occasion of Kaiser Wilhelm II's birthday in January 1905 – in the presence of German students, government officials and military leaders.⁸⁴ It was therefore never going to be anything but a profoundly patriotic affair. As befitted the occasion, Dehio opened with a brief panegyric to the Kaiser, gratefully acknowledging that 'the care of the antique and artistic monuments of our fatherland is especially close to his heart.'⁸⁵ These were no empty words; the Kaiser was personally funding the production of Dehio's accessible series of handbooks on Germany's historical monuments, a series that still bears his name to this day. And in stark contrast to

Riegl's ideal universalism, Dehio's conception of the monument was inextricably bound up with his fatherland, just as his life as an academic was dedicated primarily to the research and publication of its native art and architecture. His multi-volume *History of German Art*, as a less well-known art historian would later remark, was prefaced with the words, '*Mein wahrer Held ist das deutsche Volk*' (My true hero is the German nation).⁸⁶

This is not to say there were no similarities between Riegl and Dehio's views on *Denkmalpflege*. In fact, just as Riegl was no doubt aware of Dehio's outspoken rejection of Carl Schäfer's planned reconstruction of the ruined Otto Heinrich building at Heidelberg Castle – an anti-restoration polemic published in 1901 – so Dehio also seems to have been familiar with Riegl's *Denkmalkultus*, such that their pronouncements on conservation can productively be read as a dialogue.⁸⁷ Their definitions of the nineteenth-century monument, for instance, coincide on a basic level where Dehio identifies the two classes that Riegl had called intentional and unintentional, using similar descriptors to designate their chief attributes:

In everyday language monuments are principally understood as works that are erected with the intent of retaining certain memories, most often memories of people. The definition of the monument that monument preservation has in mind goes considerably further. It includes, in short, everything that we would otherwise tend to designate with the double name of 'art and antiquity'. This definition is not complete, but since it calls attention to the double nature of our object as a mixture of aesthetic and historic attributes, it will suffice as a basis for the present discussion.⁸⁸

Dehio's lecture was structured around couplets and neat oppositions such as this: art and antiquity, construction causing destruction, restoration versus conservation, even socialism plus conservatism. In the latter case, *Denkmalpflege* was seen as an avowedly conservative activity with its historical origins firmly in the period of monarchic restoration after the Napoleonic Wars. At the same time though, it had evolved into a modern philanthropic movement that took the interests of the masses into account and had definite 'socialist' tendencies insofar as it stood opposed to the individualistic creed of liberalism, privileging the broader societal interest in historical monuments over the economic or other interests of their private owners.

One of the first oppositions Dehio introduces is that between material and spirit. Comparing works of literature and music (Goethe and Beethoven) to works of art and architecture, he remarks that the former pairing, as transferable creations of the human spirit, are ensured a certain historical duration by virtue of their relative independence from any material substrate. In the case of artistic and architectural monuments, by contrast, the direct

interdependence of their material and spiritual components, their form and their content, inevitably exposes these creations of the spirit to the physical laws of decay and ultimate dissolution. The task of monument preservation, for Dehio, was to postpone this inevitable moment for as long as possible. The question was how to go about it.

Like most other art historians at the turn of the century, Riegl included, Dehio rejected the allegedly ‘true-to-style’ restorations of the nineteenth century as falsifications of history. In order to illustrate this point he drew an analogy between the restorator and the philologist, comparing attempts to return monuments to their original state – or, worse still, to complete them ‘in the spirit of their creators’ – to the philological task of supplying interpolations where caesurae occur in fragmentary classical texts. The difference between the restored building and the restored text, however, is that any insertions in a text that prove to be false can simply be ignored by the reader or struck from the work in its next edition, whereas spurious architectural additions and completions – and here Dehio cites the ‘dry abstraction’ of Cologne Cathedral as his example – are less easy to overlook or undo, and should therefore not be attempted in the first place. As he wrote in another context, ‘We should seek our honours in passing the treasures of the past on to the future in as unchanged a state as possible, not in impressing upon them the stamp of some erroneous present-day interpretation.’⁸⁹ This, in short, was the demand for ‘conservation, not restoration’ – the keynote of Dehio’s Straßburg address and the common battle cry of modern *Denkmalpflege*.

Hence the fundamental distinction between Riegl and Dehio is to be sought not in the how, but in the why of *Denkmalpflege*. If Riegl had had his doubts about the validity of artistic and historical criteria as sufficient grounds for the preservation of monuments, he was ultimately forced to retain them because age value offered no such justification, and in fact seemed to demand quite the opposite. Dehio, on the other hand, was more willing to accept aesthetic and historical criteria as at least part of the reason for preservation. Whether rightly or wrongly, he did not see the appreciation of these aspects of the monument’s ‘double nature’ as being confined to the aristocratic and educated classes, as Riegl did. But while Dehio was also well aware that aesthetic judgements were subjective and liable to change, and thus rejected the notion of any canonical rank order privileging certain historical styles and periods over others, he supplemented the evident deficiencies of artistic and historical values not with universal age value, but with its antipode, the ominous and yet nonetheless profoundly modern motivation of nationalism:

In principle, the monument preservation of the nineteenth century knows no such differentiations. Its ultimate motivation is *the respect for historical existence as such*. We do not conserve a monument because we think it is beautiful, but rather

because it is a part of our national existence. [...] Aesthetic and even art-historical judgements fluctuate, whereas here we have an unchanging criterion of value.⁹⁰

From the present point of view, with the benefit of hindsight, there is perhaps a danger of giving too much credence and weight to this problematic phrase, Dehio's supposedly immutable 'national existence'. Its occurrence is relatively isolated and seems to stand in no organic relationship to the flow of his argument. Nonetheless, there is more than one good reason to draw particular attention to it here. Riegl took umbrage with the idea and attempted to refute it in a review article published shortly after Dehio's lecture had appeared in print.⁹¹ He acknowledged the positive value of a socialist conception of *Denkmalpflege* stemming from altruistic rather than egotistical impulses – monuments for the many rather than the few – but he found Dehio's 'national existence' too narrow a form of altruism, for a nationally grounded interest in monuments all too soon becomes a sense of national pride and particularism, and thus a potential source of international strife, or indeed intra-state discord. Dehio's example of the Jamnitzer cup typified this problem for Riegl, as well as casting other shadows over the German historian's nationally centred worldview.

The Jamnitzer cup was a masterpiece by the goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer (1508–1585), who trained and worked in Nuremberg (fig. 1.6). Beyond the fact that this ornamental centrepiece was the most outstanding German specimen in its class, Dehio's lecture on *Denkmalschutz* was not directly concerned with the qualities of artwork itself. He was more concerned with its location. Having once stood in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg on loan from a formerly wealthy German family, the piece had been bought by Baron Rothschild shortly before the turn of the century, withdrawn from the museum, and thus made inaccessible to the public. It then left the borders of Germany completely when it was bequeathed to a member of the Rothschild family in Paris. 'But the French have educated their Rothschilds better than we have ours,' remarks Dehio, 'The Jamnitzer cup was gifted to the Louvre Museum almost straightaway and we Germans now have to seek it out there.'⁹²

Riegl rightly read this lament over the loss of an outstanding piece cultural heritage as further evidence of the blinkered national motivations behind Dehio's interest in monuments. The Jamnitzer cup had not been destroyed or damaged when it was transferred to the Louvre (it is now at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam); its artistic and historical values were by no means diminished by the move from one public museum to another. All that had actually been forfeited was its geographical proximity and thus immediate availability to the co-nationals of its creator, the heirs to the culture that had produced it.

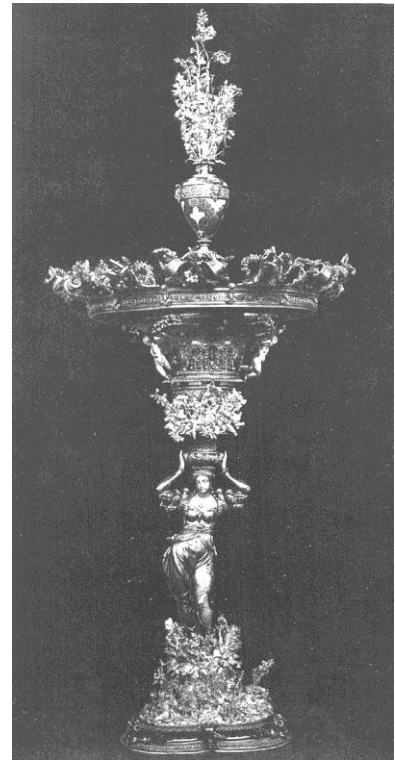


Figure 1.6. Wenzel Jamnitzer, table centrepiece (1549)

The Jamnitzer cup can be taken as just one example of the way in which national animosities, in this case the supposed *Erbfeindschaft* or ‘inherent enmity’ between France and Germany, finds powerful expression in the rhetoric of monumental heritage after the turn of the century. A further instance of such cultured animosity, so to speak, is Dehio’s condemnation of the wanton destruction that the French Revolution had visited upon Straßburg Minster, which had been a focus of German national sentiment ever since Goethe’s famous eulogy to its architect in the late eighteenth century.⁹³ Such denunciations of French vandalism will have been well received by German patriots in Straßburg on the Kaiser’s birthday in 1905. Similarly, Dehio’s more general remarks on the international art market and the fate of moveable monuments less conspicuous than the Jamnitzer cup (‘this happens on a smaller scale thousands of times every day’) betray an increasing sense of embattlement among conservative art historians in Wilhelmine Germany; the protection of mobile heritage was framed as a national struggle against internal and, in particular, external threats. Here Dehio found an apt contemporary simile for the same artistic pillaging of which Schinkel had warned ninety years previously: ‘In this, a principal role is played by the antiques trade, which is endowed with a quite incredible resourcefulness. It is comparable to those vacuum-cleaning machines with which our homes are tidied of late; it gets into every hidden corner and relieves it of its artistic property.’⁹⁴ Dehio’s selection of this

stereotypically Anglo-American invention, the vacuum cleaner, for the sake of illustrating his point was not entirely arbitrary either: ‘Of all the races,’ he continues, ‘the Anglo-Saxons have created the least amount of art; now they do the poorer, if spiritually richer nations the honour of plundering their artworks, and since America has joined in this has come to represent a serious danger to the artistic property of historic Europe.’⁹⁵

These accusations would be difficult to refute, for there can be no doubt that British and American money was a major factor in the international art market around 1900. But the problem with Dehio’s argument is the combative sense of indignation with which he points the accusatory finger elsewhere, beyond his own borders, while conveniently turning a blind eye to similar practices at home. In doing so he presents his own nation as both the guardian of the spiritual culture of continental Europe and as a victim of the materialistic civilization of the West. The conflict that developed out of this animosity – a far cry from Riegl’s world solidarity – would not turn out well. For present purposes, though, it need only be noted that Dvořák also took up the same crusade against the international antiques trade, reproducing Dehio’s heavy handed patriotism and anti-western sentiments virtually word for word in his own writings (MD 27:385).

Dvořák’s Conservation Theory and the Karlsplatz Question

Unlike his two predecessors in the field, Dvořák never published a fully articulated conservation philosophy. There are a few possible reasons for this. It has been suggested, firstly, that conservation was not something to which he felt especially drawn. When he took over from Riegl at the Central Commission, ‘he did so more out of devotion and high esteem for his terminally ill tutor than due to any inner affinity for the job.’⁹⁶ This opinion finds support in the fact that after six years as Conservator General Dvořák still chose to introduce himself as an outsider to the discipline when he addressed the joint congress for *Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz* at Salzburg in 1911 (MD 21: note 43). His preference seems to have been for scholarship and teaching rather than ‘applied’ art history, though his academic work and experience certainly benefitted the publications and scientific sub-institutions that he established within the Central Commission. It should also be recalled that whereas Riegl had resigned from his teaching post at the university when he was appointed to the Central Commission, Dvořák occupied both positions simultaneously. Although his workload as Conservator General at the monument office was shared with two other conservationists (Neuwirth and Deininger), the combination of roles will still have meant an

extremely busy schedule with very little time for philosophical reflections of the Riegelian kind.

In spite of these circumstances, Dvořák's *Denkmalpflege* is clearly a substantial body of work, and it did overlap conveniently with one area of his teaching activities insofar as he ran courses on conservation at the university. His academic papers contain two sets of notes for lecture courses on *Denkmalpflege*, from 1906 and 1910.⁹⁷ Though fragmentary, the former manuscript already shows signs of a critical engagement with Riegl where Dvořák writes that 'If Riegl's theory on the historically and art-historically dogmatic basis of Renaissance interest in antique artworks were correct, then [...]' – at which point there is a break in the page sequence and the reader is left hanging.⁹⁸ But the second set of notes are more complete and were worked up for publication in 1910 as 'Denkmalkultus und Kunstentwicklung' (Monument Cult and Artistic Development, MD 14). This essay (discounting for the moment the *Conservation Catechism* and Dvořák's post-war writings, which will be treated in Chapter 4) is the most coherent expression of his early conservation theory. Essentially it is a synthesis of Riegl and Dehio's positions; a new constellation of existing monument values where the chief innovations are the introduction of quasi-religious terminology (reverence, piety, spirit) and a heightened emphasis on artistic traditions and the subjective artistic values he associated with monuments.

Dvořák's theoretical considerations, unlike those of his immediate predecessor, were not written with the practical purposes of monument legislation in mind. Whilst he did address legal issues in a number of short articles (MD 11, 18, 19, 22), other members of the Central Commission had been entrusted with this concrete task after Riegl, and Dvořák's ultimate aim with regard to a monument bill, at least by 1911, was actually 'to make the law redundant over time' by elevating the general level of artistic culture in Austria, and with it a universal 'reverence and piety' for historic monuments (MD 19:326). Rather than being legislative and practical, Dvořák's lecture/essay on the monument cult was primarily pedagogical. It set out to elucidate the various impulses behind monument preservation and to untangle Riegl's theoretical gymnastics for the benefit of the perplexed.

Reverence for monuments is taking on ever more importance in contemporary intellectual life, but it will not escape the careful observer that the greatest lack of clarity prevails – not only as to its tasks, but also over its premises and motivations. It therefore seemed to me that an attempt to summarize the principal moments of this historical development would be all the more useful, since, in my opinion, far too little weight has hitherto been put on the most important among them. (MD 14:292)

With the task thus defined, Dvořák enumerated these moments and motivations, six of them altogether, then provided a summary and twofold critique of Riegl's theory.

The first critique of Riegl's monument cult was a relatively simple one. With reference to the frequent mention of works of art by the classical Roman authors, to the fact that antique structures such as Trajan's column had been spared in Rome throughout the middle ages, and examples such as Villard d'Honnecourt's idiosyncratic medieval sketches of classical monuments, Dvořák was able to demonstrate that an interest in artistic monuments had existed long before the Renaissance and that the evolutionary history of the monument cult was therefore an over-simplification: 'it should be apparent that Riegl's historical succession of three different phases in the reverence for monuments actually contradicts irrefutable historical facts' (MD 14). In place of this flawed evolutionary history Dvořák argued that a basic reverence for the artistic creations of the past was (the French Revolution aside) a human constant throughout history, only fluctuating in intensity, sophistication and the different weight given to specific motivations from one era to the next. In line with this insistence on historical continuity, he emphasized the importance of the first sources of the monument cult: religious piety and a genealogical esteem for 'ancestral inheritance'. The latter then immediately fed into the third motivation: patriotic enthusiasm – 'one of the most important sources of the monument cult' (MD 14:293). According to Dvořák, this impulse for the admiration and preservation of monuments had always been more or less present in history, though he concurred with Riegl in locating its most momentous manifestation in the Renaissance period, when a new mercantile class that lacked any longstanding ancestral traditions of its own (family trees, inherited palaces, etc.) sought to compensate for their parvenu status by laying claim to the artistic monuments of their local and communal past, both recent and ancient, as a glorious patrimony of which they could be vicariously but patriotically proud.

There is an odd ambivalence towards this Italian art patriotism in Dvořák's description. On the one hand his culturally aristocratic proclivities and periodic preferences meant that he saw the rise of the merchant classes in Italy at the onset of the modern era as the death knell of a cherished medieval world order, an era that had supposedly been characterized by noble spiritual values and family traditions (Catholicism and feudalism). On the other hand he recognized in artistic patriotism a crucial future source of the veneration of monuments, for it had inspired the first art histories (Vasari) and inventories of Italian monuments, which in turn had the positive side effect of contributing to their preservation – something that had not occurred north of the Alps. So while Riegl had hoped to consign artistic patriotism to the nineteenth century, Dvořák sought to revive it for the sake of preservation in twentieth-century Austria. He cited Dehio as his precedent:

Indeed, just a few years ago a distinguished academic, Professor Dehio, in a speech that was also printed, identified patriotic interests as the main source of the modern monument cult. Riegl contradicted him in an essay in the *Mitteilungen der Zentralkommission*, where he stressed, certainly quite rightly, that patriotic considerations are not the primary causes of the pleasure we derive from old ruins, churches and towns. But it seems to me that Riegl himself went too far when he sought to eliminate completely the part that a love of the *Heimat* plays in our relationship to monuments. It is not artistic value alone that moves thousands to seek out a monument of the national past. Just recently the gradual transformation of a doctrinaire political patriotism into a concrete cultural love of the *Heimat* has had the effect of bringing indigenous issues to the fore where historic art is concerned (MD 14:295).

As Riegl had recognized, taking this conception of patriotism and/or *Heimatliebe* as a possible basis for monument preservation would pose serious and frequently insoluble problems for the Central Commission as its institutionally prescribed dynastic patriotism came into conflict with isolated regional patriotisms that were often disinclined to subordinate their monuments and histories to the grand narrative of the Habsburg state. Dvořák's *Denkmalpflege* does not seem to have acknowledged this problem, and his wafer-thin distinction between political patriotism and cultural *Heimatliebe* (a love of one's homeland, country or native region) would in practice prove to be academic or non-existent.

Besides the religious, genealogical and patriotic motivations for preservation, Dvořák also enumerated three further impulses corresponding roughly to his mentor's historical, artistic and age values. The development of a primitive historical interest in monuments had brought about the despised historicizing restorations of the latter half of the nineteenth century, and Dvořák's opposition to them (which has in turn been called into question by recent reappraisals of historicism) was nothing less than vehement.⁹⁹ But the onward development of a more sophisticated historical interest then also provided the chief argument against restoration: the inviolability of monuments as original historical documents. Riegl, Dehio and Dvořák were unanimous in rejecting restoration on this basis.

In his take on artistic and age value, though, Dvořák departed significantly from Riegl, heightening the importance of the one and reinterpreting the other. He understood age value primarily in terms of what Riegl had elsewhere called *Stimmungswert* or atmospheric value, designating it with the aesthetic terms 'romantic, picturesque, atmospheric' (MD 14:296).¹⁰⁰ More importantly, though, Dvořák deprived the concept of age value of its radical claims to natural decay and dissolution. In his diluted interpretation, age value was taken as a demand for 'the preservation of the existing state' of monuments (MD 14:298), whereas Riegl had in fact seen age value as standing 'in ultimate opposition to the preservation of monuments'. In this sense Bacher's criticism of Dvořák was entirely

justified, for he ignored the inconvenient implications of age value, as indeed most conservationists have ever since.

The main source of the modern monument cult for Dvořák was not age value, but an extension of what Riegl had designated as ‘relative art value’ – and considered dismissing entirely as an insufficient reason for preservation on account of its subjectivity. Dvořák revived relative art value in the more generalized form of ‘a conscious or unconscious artistic sensibility’ (MD 14:300) – or ‘good taste’, as he called it in one of his lectures.¹⁰¹ In architectural terms, this artistic sensibility recognized not just the traces of age in a modest old streetscape, but also its aesthetic character as a *unified whole*, a whole that would scarcely suffer alterations if its effects were to be maintained, and this regardless of whether or not its individual constituent elements were of any artistic or historical value. Those who possessed this artistic sensibility, a cultured sense of taste, and thus an artistic ‘relationship to monuments’ would be capable of deriving

the greatest pleasure from an old street, say in Rothenberg, or even from one of our own less well-known streets. If we imagine each of the houses on its own, we would be highly indifferent towards them. Their effect lies in the totality. And now imagine them all with a new coat of paint – the entire charm is gone. Or imagine every second house repainted. Hence it is not just the traces of age in themselves, but the unified prospect.¹⁰²

This, in short, was the very modern notion of *ensemble protection* or *Stadtbildpflege* (townscape preservation). It provided conservationists with a powerful defence – all the more powerful for its want of objective criteria – in their struggle to ward off the relentless assaults of modernity in historic towns and city centres. The idea had emerged sometime around the turn of the century as a reaction to the *Freilegungen* (clearances) of subsidiary structures from around restored churches and cathedrals, a practice that Sitte had condemned in his *City Planning* in 1889. Though Riegl’s *Denkmalkultus* contains no mention of any such expanded, spatial value that would extend to the environs of a monument, it did become a major factor in his practical conservation work after 1903, notably in the case of Split.¹⁰³ Elsewhere, a stipulation on the protection of the surroundings of monuments had already been included in the extensive terms of the Hessian monument law of 1902, a development which Dehio had relayed approvingly in his Straßburg lecture:

Lastly, besides the monument itself, its surroundings are also to be protected. The adoption of this clause is especially welcome. One cannot isolate buildings; they are not museum pieces. A monument can also be destroyed indirectly, as a result of dissonances in its surroundings. A modern department store set down on the market square of an old town, or a loud and obtrusive advertising placard on an old house is

enough to transform a scene that was once familiar and full of character into a repulsive one.¹⁰⁴

Dehio merely cautioned here against pedantry in the application of this principle, and rightly so. It became a favourite argument of the Central Commission and the various Austrian *Heimatschutz* associations in the first decade of the twentieth century. *Stadtbildpflege* was a remarkably versatile concept and could be applied in one of two ways: either to prevent the destruction of buildings that may otherwise have fallen victim to the tramlines of progress on account of their insignificance, or, conversely, to prevent the construction of new buildings in the vicinity of existing ensembles. A further advantage of the concept was that the constituent elements of the *Stadtbild* no longer had to demonstrate any intrinsic historical or artistic value in order to qualify for this form of protection; they needed only to be relatively old, to belong some sort of identifiable whole, and to possess a certain aesthetic quality that nobody could really define.

Dvořák's university lectures on *Denkmalpflege* and his essay on the 'Monument Cult and Artistic Development' may not constitute a complete theory of conservation in themselves, but they are instructive as to the influences that informed his approach and the modifications he made to them in his early years at the Central Commission. The influence of his former tutor was certainly profound, though his ideas were by no means adopted uncritically. On the contrary, Dvořák consciously took three steps back from Riegl's advanced position. Firstly, while he welcomed most aspects of the notion of age value, he completely ignored the basic problem it posed, perhaps recognizing that it was essentially incompatible with the endeavour of monument preservation. Secondly, he was swayed by the seductive national sentiments that Dehio had identified as his chief motivation for *Denkmalpflege* and against which Riegl had warned, seemingly for both political and ethical reasons. The patriotic interest in monuments, so fundamental to the whole CC mission, would remain a more or less determining factor for Dvořák's own *Denkmalpflege* over the coming years – quite what form of patriotism is another question, for the concept stretched from a small-town folksy *Heimatschutz* all the way up to an overarching state patriotism, presumably hoping to bypass regional nationalisms on the way. This was not the main factor, however. Dvořák's primary motivation for preserving historic monuments was the only reasonable one for a partisan art historian: art value. This he elevated above all else, fully cognizant of its subjective nature and with a reliance upon aristocratic notions of educated taste that Riegl, and perhaps even Dehio ('we do not preserve a monument because it is beautiful'), had abandoned as being incommensurable with a socially justifiable *Denkmalpflege*. Here – with regard to Riegl's monument values that is – the omissions are

architectural history in an exhibition on the subject in 1988.¹⁰⁶ Many of Wagner's contemporaries shared the same view. In his early monograph on Wagner, written while the architect was still alive, the critic Joseph August Lux remarked that 'Vienna has become sentimental and loves its eternal past,' lamenting the failure of the municipal museum project as the 'famous tragedy of one of our greatest artists.'¹⁰⁷ He was echoed by other cultural luminaries such as Karl Kraus and Adolf Loos, but there was also a significant sector of Austrian public opinion that opposed the plans for a modern museum adjacent to the Karlskirche, preferring instead the neo-baroque designs of the historicist architect Friedrich Schachner (1841–1907). This public was backed by a formidable array of government bodies, professional associations and heritage groups: the Ministry of Public Works, the Austrian Association of Engineers and Architects, the Vienna Künstlerhaus, the Society for the Protection and Preservation of the Artistic Monuments of Vienna and Lower Austria (SPAM), and finally the Central Commission.¹⁰⁸ So, when Dvořák himself rejected the museum project in texts written for the CC, the *NFP* and for SPAM, he was by no means an isolated voice. But unlike those who viewed the controversy as a simple two-way battle between tradition and modernity, Dvořák's arguments – at least superficially – were more nuanced. He sought to reduce both Schachner's neo-baroque and Wagner's modern functionalism to one and the same phenomenon, positing modern conservation as the progressive alternative.

According to an overview of the urban development of the Karlsplatz written in 1916 by the CC conservationist Karl Holey, ever since the construction of the Karlskirche (1716–37) the history of this sprawling square had been one of gradual incursions upon the dominant position of the formerly free-standing church. It had originally been erected to designs by the undisputed master of the Austrian Baroque, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, and dedicated to Carlo Borromeo in fulfilment of an oath Kaiser Karl VI had made during the Viennese plague of 1713. It was thus an historically loaded monument, quite aside from its outstanding artistic qualities, for its name recalled not only a Counter-Reformation cardinal and a former Habsburg emperor, but also, by association, the decade in which the legal basis of Austrian state unity was laid down in the so-called pragmatic sanction, which had declared the Habsburg lands to be 'inseparable and indivisible'.

In 1815 a first architectural encroachment on the church was made by the construction of the Technical College on the south side of the square, 40 m proud of an existing street line (to the right of the Karlskirche in Wagner's plan, fig. 1.7): 'When the 125 m structure with its accentuated central bay was moved forward, this marked the beginning of the front of the Karlskirche being driven back [and also] implied the danger

that the church would be denied its singular predominance and forced into the corner.¹⁰⁹ Though the Ringstrasse era left the Karlsplatz untouched, significant further development occurred from 1894 onwards when the General Regulation Plan for Vienna was implemented. Responsibility for the new layout of the Karlsplatz fell to the brothers Mayreder, whilst Wagner was entrusted with the construction of the urban railway. The Wien river, which had previously cut across the square, was vaulted over as part of this development, and a bridge was demolished in the process, making way for Wagner's famous paired railway pavilions. Such concessions to traffic infrastructure were bemoaned by conservationists and praised by modernists, whereas Kraus fused both sides of the argument in a typically neat witticism: 'Vienna is being demolished into a metropolis' (fig. 1.8).¹¹⁰

A year after the demolition of the Elisabeth Bridge and the construction of Olbrich's 'golden cabbage' at the west end of the Karlsplatz, the Technical College was extended vertically by the addition of a third storey during the summer of 1898. This was seen as a further diminution of the prominence of the Karlskirche. The huge square as a whole, now extending across the former river and intersected by multiple visual axes and traffic arteries, had become an urbanistic problem comparable only to Berlin's Alexanderplatz.

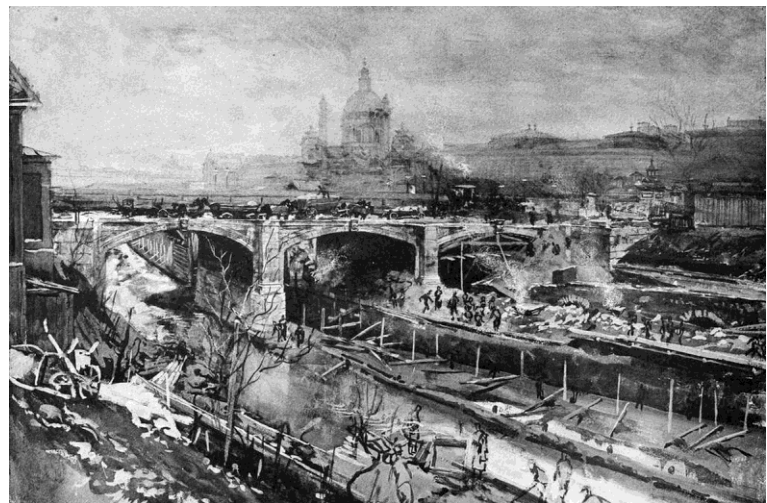


Figure 1.8. Karl Pippich, *Demolition of the Elisabeth Bridge* (1897)

A solution for the east end of the square was first mooted in 1899 by Max Fabiani, a Wagnerschüler, who suggested the construction of a museum to the left of the church as a visual counterweight to the Technical College. His idea was adopted by the city council, which then instigated a two-stage competition for a museum on the site in 1901. The jury awarded first prize to Wagner's designs at the first stage, though Schachner's neo-baroque effort won out at the second. Evidently not content with this result, the city requested the

construction of models of both designs as a means of postponing a final decision. The museum question was then mulled over for five years and hotly debated in the Viennese press, with ‘Wagner’s materialist functionalism and Schachner’s stylistic dogmatism now standing irreconcilably opposed.’¹¹¹

Dvořák managed to reconcile them in history. The first two texts he contributed to the museum debate were published in the *KJZK* in late 1907 and the feuilleton of the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1909. The basic argument of these articles was that the Karlsplatz question was not a museum question, but a monument question; the Karlskirche was to stand at the centre of the debate, and neither Schachner’s historicism nor Wagner’s modernism were suitable for the site adjacent to it.

Alongside this specific artistic question [Schachner vs Wagner], which can now be deemed as having been settled anyway, reservations have also been raised as to whether it would in fact be advisable to build a museum of the sort projected alongside the Karlskirche at all. Such a building would inevitably and fundamentally influence the appearance of the Karlskirche, since a monumental building erected in its immediate vicinity would compete with the monument and would, in addition, forever close the few views of the church that at present remain open. (MD 3:225)

In the remainder of this first short but illuminating notice (which actually mentions neither Schachner nor Wagner by name) Dvořák outlines three separate artistic tendencies with their respective approaches to the Karlskirche and the development of its surroundings, classing them chronologically as long-outmoded, recently surpassed, and progressive. Schachner’s historicism, wanting to augment the Karlskirche with a fitting baroque surround in the manner of an historicizing completion, was the long-outmoded view, comparable to the deplorable restoration practices of the past century. Wagner’s technological modernism, which likewise wanted to develop the area around the church, had also been surpassed. In Dvořák’s diplomatic first assessment, this approach represented ‘a particular tendency in modern architecture and proceeds from the conviction that an entirely new architectural style can be created if, without consideration for tradition, new technical conditions can be reinterpreted as the artistic expression of architectural creativity’ (MD 3:226). Dvořák did praise this recent phase in modern architecture on a number of occasions in his career and publicly recognized Wagner’s contribution to the development of Viennese architecture (MD 23:353), but his praise always had something of an empty ring to it, for it was invariably qualified with reservations about functionalist architecture’s lack of connection to artistic tradition or its incapability of attaining a truly monumental style. Hence Wagner’s approach was to be consigned to the past along with Schachner, and Dvořák could only conclude that the future belonged to *Denkmalpflege* – which demanded that the church be

left ‘in as undisturbed and unaltered a form as possible’. This third view, chronologically the most advanced of the three, held that ‘the present effect of the Karlskirche may not be altered and that any architectural development of the Karlsplatz would only be permissible if that effect were to remain unchanged by it’ (MD 3:226).

The timing of Dvořák’s first contribution to the Karlsplatz question is worth noting here. It was published at the end 1907; at a crucial stage in the debate just after Mayor Karl Lueger had called upon the city council, in October 1907, to make a final decision on the museum designs, and seemingly also just after Friedrich Schachner’s death on 7 November that same year. The words, ‘which can now be deemed as having been settled anyway’ (*die ja heute als abgeschlossen betrachtet werden kann*) in the passage cited above seem to be a direct reference to Schachner’s passing. If they are, it might be supposed that Dvořák was prompted take up his pen because the municipal council seemed to be on the brink of a decision and its choices were now limited to a dead architect or a functionalist architect. What is indisputable, however, is his aversion to the technological, utilitarian, materialist and functional ethos that underlay both Wagner’s architecture and the urban regulation plans of the eighteen-nineties. This comes across clearly enough in the unpublished *Denkmalpflege* lectures notes of 1906:

Thus it is all the more comprehensible that people who possess an artistic sensibility long for a different shape of things, a shape of things whereby the surroundings in which we live are not merely determined by transport network regulation plans and a rental barracks style that is oriented towards achieving the maximum possible profit. These people long for a shape of things that also permits of considerations other than just the greatest possible technical and economic exploitation of places and resources, where it is not just construction [illegible] and engineers who make the decisions, but also people who have a heart and a sense and a love for creativity guided by imagination and artistic tradition. I do not want to claim that our modern architecture lacks all these things completely, but they are rapidly being swept away by the storm of banal utilitarianism.¹¹²

When Dvořák addressed ‘The Karlsplatz Question’ (MD 13) for the second time, in December 1909, the controversy had reached another high point. The city had decided to construct a partial mock-up of Wagner’s most recent designs, now stripped of their formerly rich ornament in favour of a more chaste monumentality (fig. 1.9). The Conservator General’s initial demand for no change on the square had evidently been displaced by the more reasonable conviction that some form of development was indeed necessary, though any new building would have to subordinate itself to and now also *augment* the effect of the Karlskirche (something that had been ruled out two years previously). The historic monument had moved firmly into the centre of the debate, and Dvořák’s new arguments

against the construction of the museum focussed on the possible loss of certain oblique perspectives of the richly modelled baroque church and the prospect of its prominence in the cityscape being demoted by the addition of a symmetrical flanking wing corresponding to the raised Technical College. An elaboration of much the same case was made in his SPAM pamphlet a year later, 'The Museum Building on the Karlsplatz' (MD 15).



Figure 1.9. Mock-up of Wagner's museum project of 1909 (1910)

Regardless of whether the aesthetic arguments contained in these texts convinced their readers, the more interesting statements historically are those pertaining to Wagner. Just as Dvořák had previously sought to consign him to the past together with Schachner, in 1909 he made an even bolder assertion as to their shared pedigree, or rather lack of it, sketching out an historical development and a discontinuum that had produced the kindred nineteenth-century phenomena of imitative historicism and 'technical doctrinarism'. This can be summarized as follows: the architecture of past ages had been capable of erecting new buildings tactfully alongside the old, for it was still possessed of an uninterrupted artistic tradition that enabled it 'to achieve an inner unity, the unity of artistic accord' (MD 13:287). This continuity of historical tradition was lost in 'the social revolutions of the nineteenth century', and artistic ability was replaced by antiquarian knowledge. The result was an insubordinate (and implicitly bourgeois) historicist architecture that lacked any respect for genuinely (aristocratic) historical buildings and erected pseudo-Renaissance hotels and sham-Gothic railway stations in their environs, thereby reducing truly historical monuments 'to the level of an undignified rivalry'.

From this rivalry Dvořák derived the following unexpected conclusion: 'The case of the projected museum building on the Karlsplatz is no different to what so often happened to

historic architectural monuments as a result of the arrogance and parvenu artistry of those adept in the historical styles.’ That is, the modern monumentality of Wagner’s museum

would without doubt compete with instead of subordinating itself to the Karlskirche. Despite its stylistic radicalism the new building would stand in a similarly discordant relationship to the old monument as do those pseudo-historical monumental buildings to the archetypes in whose vicinity they were erected – buildings which are rightly disparaged by every educated citizen (MD 13:288).

Thus an architect who had long since denounced this historicism as an ‘edifice of lunacy’ was now himself to be counted among the same upstarts who had erected it.¹¹³ The construction of the partial 1:1 model of Wagner’s museum facade in 1910 did nothing to dispel suspicions of that the old was in danger of being trumped by the new. The idea that a less prominent site in the suburbs might be more appropriate was suggested, and Dvořák seconded this view. The city council closed the case on the Karlsplatz in 1910 and the plans for the municipal museum came to nothing until the nineteen-fifties, when Oswald Haerdtl was allowed to build a diminutive museum on the once so controversial site.

As Austria’s chief conservationist, it is perhaps understandable that Dvořák should have valued the dominant visual effect of the Karlskirche over any modern pretender to the adjacent site. After all, Fischer von Erlach’s baroque masterpiece fulfilled each of his theoretical criteria for the evaluation of monuments in ample measure. As a work of Viennese ecclesiastical architecture second only to the Stephansdom, and with direct associations to Counter Reformation, he saw it as a monument to the ‘*ecclesia triumphans*’ (MD 13:289) and thus as an object of religious piety – the first impulse for any veneration of monuments. Furthermore, its Habsburg patron lent it not only the quality of an ancestral monument, but also a profound patriotic colouring by virtue of its association with the pragmatic sanction. In this sense it could be seen as an architectural embodiment of the state itself, or so Dvořák argued:

It was conceived and carried out under Karl VI as the collaborative work of all the Habsburg crownlands, to a certain extent as a monument to the pragmatic sanction, the foundation of our state, and is thereby one of the most important visible symbols of a great historical development (MD 15:309).

Finally, the artistic, historical and age values of the Karlskirche were unqualified, even unparalleled. Any risk of its effect being impaired, any chance of the monument being

‘destroyed indirectly’ by changes to its surroundings were therefore to be repelled with extreme prejudice.

In his arguments against the construction of the municipal museum, Dvořák consistently underlined that his central concern was the Karlskirche, not the architecture of Otto Wagner. But even a casual reading of his polemics reveals the disingenuousness of this diplomatic disclaimer. The ‘great historical development’ that had produced the Austrian Baroque at the beginning of the eighteenth century had, as he saw it, been interrupted by the social upheavals of the nineteenth century, and the architectural products of this era – dogmatic historicism and technical doctrinarism alike – were cut off from the past and could therefore be considered as one and the same phenomenon: the necessary result of a culture that lacked artistic tradition. It would be unfair, however, to claim that Dvořák did nothing but negate the creative efforts of his times. As the architectural parallel to the ideal artistic and historical claims of modern conservation he believed he perceived on the horizon a synthesis of the old and the new, ‘a new architectonic style in the German Reich – to which constructive and material dogmatism was only a precursor’ (MD 13:286).

2. Dvořák, Bode and the Monuments of German Art

*Sanctus amor patriae dat animum*¹

Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), director general of the Royal Prussian Museums in Berlin from 1906 to 1920, maintained a lively professional correspondence with the key figures of the Vienna School. His meticulously catalogued literary estate in Berlin contains 108 letters from his opposite number within the Austrian museum system, Julius von Schlosser (1866–1938), as well as some 137 from Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941), who shared his keen interest in non-European, and especially Islamic art. There are a handful of letters addressed to Bode by Riegl and Wickhoff, and, of particular interest in this context, thirty-six from their younger protégé, Max Dvořák.²

By contrast, there are very few letters preserved among the eighteen cartons of Dvořák's academic papers at the University of Vienna, and unfortunately only one of them is from Bode. Nevertheless, the general gist of the complete correspondence can be largely inferred from the content of the existing half, which provides a number of revealing insights, from the particular to the general, into the intellectual history of this significant Bohemian academic; on the institutional history of German art scholarship; and, finally, as a case study on the broader question of Austro-German cultural relations in the early twentieth century (figs 2.1, 2.2).

The correspondence opens in July 1904 with an unsolicited letter of introduction from Dvořák, a copy of his 'Riddle of the Art of the Brothers van Eyck' enclosed 'as a humble token of the great esteem in which you are held by myself and all of us here in Vienna.'³ Fifteen years later, after the disaster of war, the collapse of the German and Austrian empires, and revolutions in their respective capitals, the exchange comes to a rather tragic end with this despairing plea:

As Your Excellency knows, the government is selling our works of art. Things are worse than one reads in the newspapers, which are not allowed to write about it. [...] And all this is happening just to keep the radical socialist wing at the helm for a few more months. The experts were not and are still not consulted, and when they protest they are threatened with the armed proletariat. I find all this so embittering that I want to leave Vienna. Could I not come to Göttingen, Cologne or Hamburg? I would prefer anything to remaining here.⁴

The influential museum director acted promptly on the appeal of his younger Austrian colleague, underlining sections of the letter in red pencil and annotating it as follows: ‘I could recommend Dvořák to the Rector at Cologne, since they are supposed to be [illegible] a chair for art history and Dvořák is apparently Catholic.’ Sure enough, the summons from Cologne came soon after, though Dvořák ultimately decided not to take up the post, remaining in his adoptive city, as the obituaries would later put it, ‘for the love of Vienna.’⁵



Figure 2.1. Max Dvořák (1910)

Between these extremities, the other letters and documents Dvořák sent to Bode in the intervening period touch on a variety of subjects, international, academic and mundane: Austro-German trade agreements, art historical associations, export laws and museum appointments, conservation bodies and kidney stones, Karlsbad, the Kaiser and so on. There are also frequent and revealing remarks on the state of art history as a scholarly discipline, and the not unrelated problem of the art market and its agents. One name singled out for repeated censure in this regard, for instance, is that of Georg Biermann, who seems to have represented the very embodiment of academic dilettantism and market-savvy opportunism.⁶ As editor of a number of journals and, from 1912, artistic advisor to the Grand Duke of Hessen, Biermann was an influential figure in the German art world. And to judge from the Dvořák-Bode correspondence, he repeatedly abused his privileged position for personal

financial gain. This and similar cases of pseudo-academics bringing the German cultural establishment into disrepute moved Bode, in May 1917, to make a public call for the foundation of a professional association of German art historians, curators and museum officials; a sort of guild that would bring accountability and self-regulation to an otherwise unregulated playing field.⁷ In this case, Bode sent an advance copy of his article to Dvořák, and the reply came back as follows:

Your Excellency, please accept my deepest thanks for kindly sending the article in the *Kunst Chronik*. I was most pleased to read it. Once again, Your Excellency has openly stated that which many of us have been concerned about for so long now, for this proposal is the only thing that can bring us forward. I have written a few lines of agreement for the *Kunst Chronik*, which I enclose here. Should Your Excellency be of the same mind, then I would ask that Your Excellency send the manuscript directly to the editors of the *Kunst Chronik*.⁸

He evidently did. Dvořák's response was published as the leading article of the *Kunstchronik* in June 1917. Echoing Bode, he called for a strict separation of art scholarship and art market – *Wissenschaft und Handel*. The position of art history as an independent academic discipline, he argued, had been hard-won by the previous generation thirty years earlier, and now a small minority (read Biermann) was threatening to undermine its scientific credibility by creaming off percentages for themselves and using positions in the public museum sector as a springboard for lucrative careers in the gallery business. Bode's professional association, Dvořák concurred, would be the ideal way to stamp out these instances of materialistic malpractice. He merely urged that the association's sphere of jurisdiction be extended beyond the German Reich to include Austria as well.⁹

All this must strike the cultural historian as rather ironic on a number of counts. For one, flicking through the pages of the *Kunstchronik*, the amount of space it dedicates to art sales and auctions provides eloquent witness, contra Dvořák, to the vital links between base material interests and the loftier realms of art. Also ironic: that the acquisitive Bode – who was later dubbed the Bismarck of the German Museums by Karl Scheffler – should have been the one to call for a regulation of the market he so deftly exploited on behalf of the Berlin collections.¹⁰ But the main point here is a simple one. Dvořák was a great admirer of Bode, and the two men had more than just kidney stones in common.¹¹ Cultural ties between Vienna and Berlin remained close as late as 1917, and while the Sixtus affair foundered behind closed doors, signalling Austria's fatigue vis-à-vis its military obligations to Germany, Dvořák and Bode were negotiating favourable bilateral terms for art export laws in their respective empires.

These concerns aside, though, the majority of Dvořák's communications to Bode revolve around one project in particular: a monumental series of publications entitled *Die Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst* (The Monuments of German Art), which was instigated and funded by Bode's *Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft* (DVfK, German Society for Art Scholarship, est. 1908). The word 'monumental' is not used flippantly here either – the projected series would have stretched to an estimated four hundred folio volumes and printing costs of some six million marks, the present day equivalent of around a hundred million Euros.¹²

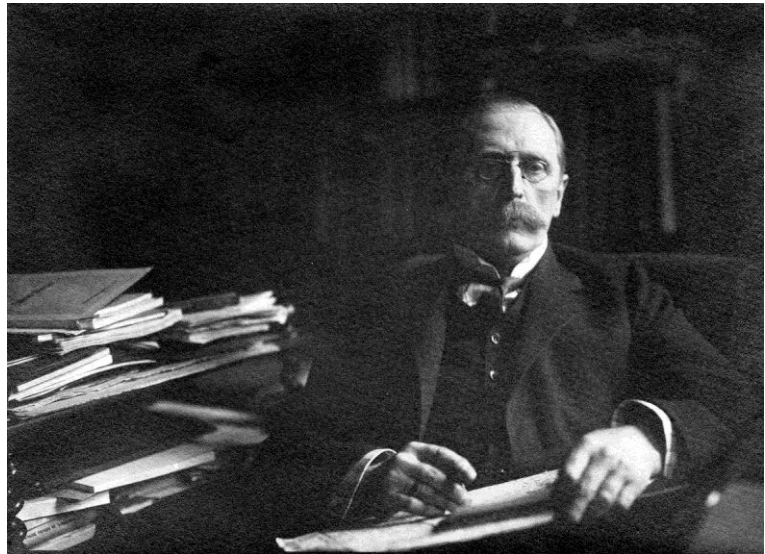


Figure 2.2. Wilhelm von Bode (c. 1908)

In his fantastical account of Pearl, the decrepit capital city of a dystopian dream empire, the celebrated Bohemian writer and artist, Alfred Kubin, noted that 'associations and societies were springing up like mushrooms. They all wanted something different: electoral reform, Communism, the introduction of slavery, free love, direct foreign commerce, stricter isolation, no border controls – the contradictory tendencies became manifest.'¹³ This fictional observation clearly had its basis in reality, for the antagonisms it identifies in society at large were also apparent in the broad panorama of German and Austrian art societies at the turn of the century. Founded around the same time Kubin was penning the words quoted above, the DVfK was just one such society, but a particularly influential and powerful one. The subject of this chapter is Dvořák's involvement with it, and, more specifically, his contribution to Bode's highly ambitious, not to say utopian project in pan-German art scholarship.

At first glance, Dvořák's contribution would appear to have been minimal. None of the major publications bear his name on anything but their acknowledgement pages, Bode nowhere mentions Dvořák in his autobiography, and there are only three references to the *Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst* in the standard bibliography of Dvořák's published writings.¹⁴ But the archival sources show that Dvořák's involvement behind the scenes, initially at the level of planning and organization, and then in driving the project forward, was far more substantial than these rather self-effacing documents would seem to suggest. If anything, Hans Tietze understated the point when he recalled his former colleague's 'decisive collaboration on the creation of the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft.'¹⁵ After Wilhelm von Bode (and perhaps even more than him), no other member of the DVfK was quite so insistent on the necessity of publishing a comprehensive and systematic survey of the monuments of German art.

The following consideration of Dvořák's role within this elite German art society will begin with the prehistory and founding aims of the DVfK, tracing its origins back to the first congress of art history in 1873. Here, in the context of the Vienna World Exhibition, a proposal for an international art historical association was put before delegates and accepted in principle, although little came of it until thirty-five years later, when the political and intellectual climate in Europe was decidedly less conducive to internationalist cultural collaboration. In 1907, Bode's plan for the DVfK was announced, and hotly debated, at the eighth international congress of art history in Darmstadt, a crucial moment that can justifiably be seen as a turning point in German art historiography. Heinrich Dilly has remarked that the discipline of art history around this time was a predominantly German affair, as indeed it had been ever since the first professorial chairs were set up at mid-century.¹⁶ But around 1907 there was a marked shift, in some circles at least, away from an outward-looking, internationalist art history and towards an introverted and explicitly German-nationalist one.

While Dvořák himself was not party to the initial planning of the DVfK, he was present during the final consultations and constituent assembly at Frankfurt am Main in March 1908, where, according to his own account, he brought the rigorous scholarly principles of the Vienna School to bear on the otherwise rather diffuse statutes of the nascent German society.¹⁷ His voice was heard for good reason. As a discerning critic of the existing German art inventories, one-time contributor to the provincial Bohemian art topography, and editor of the far more ambitious and critically acclaimed *Österreichische Kunsttopographie* (Austrian Art Topography), Dvořák already had a wealth of experience behind him in the

field of monument inventories. Insofar as they have a bearing on the DVfK and its series of publications, Dvořák's work on these inventories will also be considered here.

With the DVfK established, Bode asked three men to draw up separate programs for the proposed monument publication: Georg Dehio, Max Dvořák and Adolph Goldschmidt. Dvořák's experience stood him in good stead here. A comparison of the draft programs and their distillate clearly shows – and superlatives are justified here – that the most ambitious series of publications in the history of German art history was substantially planned not by the Prussians, but by the son of an archivist from Raudnitz in Bohemia. There are, however, a few reservations that have to be voiced as to the scope and feasibility of the *Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst*, for ultimately the whole undertaking was to prove completely impracticable; admirable, perhaps, for its scientific idealism and rigour, but flawed on account of its disregard for economic and political realities. In more peaceful times, the idea of producing a comprehensive record of Germanic art in Europe might have been the source of valuable cross-cultural collaboration. In the event, it became a cultural justification for imperialistic expansion during the First World War.

Art history: International Congress or German Members' Club?

In his opening address to the first ever congress of art history at Vienna in September 1873, Rudolf von Eitelberger underlined the importance of art scholarship for all cultured nations and asserted the existence of the discipline as a matter of fact. This relatively recent field of academic inquiry, he continued, was not merely confined to Germany. On the contrary – England, France, Belgium and Holland perhaps stood at an even higher level. 'The higher the degree of education [*Bildung*] in a country, the more research there is in the field of art history, the more works of art history are read.'¹⁸

On the back of this proposition, Eitelberger proceeded to outline the aims of the congress, present and future. It would bring together like-minded scholars engaged in the research of art history as universal culture and it would organize their collaborative scientific endeavour formally, by committee. The main topics of discussion at the first congress would include the methodical cataloguing of public collections, secondary and tertiary art education, the production and dissemination of reproductions, the possible application of photography in these areas and, finally, the conservation of artworks and monuments. Papers on these topics were presented and their conclusions put before the sixty or so congress delegates in the form of motions which were then debated, amended and ratified. Thus, for instance, the congress heard a number of short reports on the restoration of paintings,

drawings, buildings and metalworks before Karl von Lützow formulated the collective view of the congress in the following resolution: ‘The congress for art history sees fit to pronounce that, with respect to artistic monuments, the first obligation of restoration is to be designated as conservation.’¹⁹ The only minor objection here was voiced by Moriz Thausing, who argued that this statement was largely redundant because the principle it expressed already went without saying among art historians. He would perhaps not have made his objection ten years later, when the Great Portal question made it glaringly obvious that the Viennese architectural establishment had not yet renounced true-to-style restorations. But the resolution was accepted and discussion moved on, treating a few less fundamental questions before the second session was wound up for lunch.

The following day, the third session of the congress heard a lengthy letter from Prof. Anton Heinrich Springer (1825–1891), a Bohemian art historian based in Leipzig. Springer’s letter addressed most if not all of the points on the agenda, and included a proposal and program for a new art historical society, or, more accurately, a ‘society for the application of photography to art historical scholarship’.²⁰ It was to be called the *Gesellschaft Albertina*, with reference to the Viennese museum and in honour of Queen Victoria’s Prince Consort, who was supposedly a great advocate of technical reproduction. Springer’s eight-point program can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The society will utilize photography for the benefit of art historical study and ‘provide the means necessary for producing a methodically organized sourcework on art’;²¹
- 2) it will publish photographs of outstanding, unknown or insufficiently known artworks;
- 3) it will produce a regular annual publication as well as larger, irregular publications;
- 4) members receive the regular annual publication (*Jahresgabe*) free of charge;
- 5) membership costs 20 marks / 25 francs per annum;
- 6) the society is run by a committee elected by the congress of art history;
- 7) members paying 200 marks / 250 francs per annum are made committee members;
- 8) administrative and financial reports are to be sent out with the *Jahresgaben*.

The main aim of the proposed society, then, was the creation of a photographic collection of primary sources; what Springer called an *Urkundenschatz für Kunstgeschichte*. It would consist of reproductions of ‘the most outstanding drawings, selected and organized according to certain principles, [...] direct photographic reproductions of the great picture cycles and frescos, particularly those of Italy.’²² Reproduction costs were to be covered by membership fees, the incentives for joining being the *Jahresgaben*, consisting of a few choice photographs and facsimiles, as well as discounted prices on the major publications,

which would reproduce, in glorious monochrome, entire bodies of work such as Raphael's madonnas, the cartoons for the Stanza della Segnatura, or Holbein's English portraits.

Springer had consulted a couple of publishers on the economic feasibility of his proposal. He found that if a thousand paying members could be convinced to subscribe, a substantial surplus of means could be procured for the production of the major publications, which would then naturally find a ready market and wide readership amongst the members themselves.²³ The apparent simplicity of Springer's calculations convinced the congress. There were no significant objections, the self-evident Italian bias of the project went completely unremarked, and, on the suggestion of Richard Schöne (Bode's predecessor at the Berlin museums), the congress resolved to adopt the program of the Gesellschaft Albertina with the provisional exclusion of point six: the election of a committee by the congress itself. On this point, a committee consisting of Schöne, Eitelberger and Springer was proposed, but the two men who were present both declined. In any case, von Lützow remarked that Springer had explicitly requested that the committee include foreigners – the society was to be an international one. Eitelberger confirmed this intention on Springer's part, but had his own reservations, ostensibly for purely practical reasons, i.e. the shortage of foreign colleagues at the congress and the questionable efficacy of a committee that would thus inevitably be scattered across Europe. His doubts were laid aside, however, and the congress appointed a three-man committee to get the society up and running: Prof. Karl von Lützow (German, resident in Vienna), General Consul Joseph Archer Crowe (English, Düsseldorf), and Prof. Anton Heinrich Springer (Bohemian, Leipzig).

It seems little came of the Gesellschaft Albertina after the congress at Vienna. Twenty years later, an 'Art Historical Society for Photographic Publications' was founded in Leipzig (1893) on the basis of Springer's plans, but even then it lacked the numbers and thus the funds to produce any sort of 'adequate publication of art historical monuments.'²⁴

Similarly, the congress itself was supposed to reconvene at Berlin in 1875, but this had to be postponed because the Prussians were busy putting their museums in order. The second congress eventually met at Nuremberg in 1893, and although its foreign contingent was significantly diminished, an official statute was approved in which internationalism was given pride of place: 'Article 1. The congress of art history aims to promote personal contact and the exchange of ideas between colleagues from all countries, to organize lectures and excursions, and to discuss the important questions and tasks of art scholarship.'²⁵ Thereafter, the congress met every two years or so, its numbers growing steadily in line with the gradual expansion of the discipline, its demographics dependent on location more than anything, even if the number of German speakers always remained disproportionately high (see table

1). The bilingual printed matter from Budapest in 1896 referred to the congress as ‘international’ for the first time, and by Innsbruck 1902 the *Kunsthistorischer Kongress* had officially become the *Internationaler Kunsthistorischer Kongress* – at least nominally – though in fact only five percent of those present were not subject to one of the two German monarchs. Looking at the attendance figures prior to Rome 1912, it would be fair to say to that ‘despite the international designation, the congress up to this time was a conference of Swiss, Austrian and German art historians.’²⁶

The minutes of the Darmstadt congress in particular – besides their convenience for percentage calculations – make for fascinating reading. It was here that Bode first announced his plans for the DVfK; plans that called the international orientation of the congress of art history into question and seemed to represent a genuine threat to its continued existence.

Location	Year	Ger. %	Aus-Hun. %	Other %	Total
Vienna	1873	31	56	13	64
Nuremberg	1893	75	17	8	63
Cologne	1894	84	6	10	94
Budapest	1896	19	66	14	104
Amsterdam	1898	21	10	69	146
Lübeck	1900	89	2	9	171
Innsbruck	1902	25	70	5	137
Darmstadt	1907	84	9	7	100
Munich	1909	82	7	11	318
Rome	1912	16	8	76	586

Table 1. Attendance figures for the (International) Congress of Art History according to stated place of abode (1873–1912)²⁷

This much was already intimated in the agenda. As usual, the congress would begin with the routine business of reports from its local and provisional committees and the appointment of a new permanent committee (items 1–3). It would then consult on 4) the distribution of art historical literature for review; 5) ‘the foundation of an art historical society’; 6) the lack of an adequate art history journal in Germany; 7) photographic reproductions of German monuments, 8) Aby Warburg’s proposed international iconographic society; followed by any other proposals and motions. But it was item ten, in conjunction with item five, that caused the stir: ‘The future of the congress of art history.’²⁸ Early on in the congress at Darmstadt, after the initial reports had been heard, the assembly was duly asked to nominate a new permanent committee – an easy enough task, one would have thought. But a certain nationalist element, namely Professors Oechelhäuser (Karlsruhe)

and Dehio (Straßburg), argued that this would be impossible before item ten had been discussed. How could they sensibly elect a competent committee before they were clear as to the future of the congress? As chair of the session and representative of the former provisional committee, Joseph Strzygowski conceded that there had indeed been some doubts about the future, although these had been dispelled. He nevertheless acceded to Oechelhäuser's objection and agreed to shift the election of a permanent committee to the end of the agenda. Clearly, item five had set an implicit question mark after item ten, which would thus have to be treated before item three; item four was then skipped because it and the remaining items could for the most part be subsumed under item five. Or in other words, the DVfK was promoted to the top of the agenda and Karl Koetschau (subsequently its secretary) took the floor.

Koetschau began by pointing out the major weaknesses of the international congress: its informal, irregular meetings were unable to provide the continuity that art history as a discipline required and, more importantly, it lacked the funding necessary to implement any of its resolutions and plans. The obvious solution would be a national society with fee-paying membership and, eventually, state subsidies. A working program could then be drawn up to ensure efficient organization, with working groups, deadlines, and proper remuneration for intellectual labour. And as it so happened, earlier that year a small group of art historians had been summoned to a meeting in Berlin with Bode and Friedrich von Althoff, a civil servant from the Prussian Ministry of Education, to discuss an organization along precisely these lines. This conference had decided

to establish a society that will undertake to solve the tasks that we, due to a lack of means, have not been able to carry out, and much more besides. This will free up our congress. It will no longer have to confine itself to those practical things and will be able to dedicate itself to the development of our discipline. Furthermore, it will be able to become a real international congress by trying to encourage other countries to establish societies similar to the one being formed in Germany, such that in future the congress would be a sort of assembly of delegates from the various societies. The Berlin society, though, and I want to underline this point, the Berlin society has a strongly accentuated national tendency. Having spent so long looking around abroad it's high time we put our own house in order.²⁹

Sold on the prospect of a new German art historical society with the moral, if not financial backing of the Prussian government, some of those present at this preliminary meeting in Berlin had at first considered giving up on the international congress entirely. Koetschau had initially thought the new German society would render it superfluous, and Strzygowski openly admitted that 'a few of us actually wanted to dash the congress or just let it die out.'³⁰ Ultimately though, they had decided that the congress should continue to

exist; as Koetschau said, it was to become a forum for theoretical discussion and eventually an international congress proper.

By contrast, the ‘accentuated national tendency’ of the DVfK was presented to the eighth congress as a substantial counterweight to its own superficial internationalism and patent lack of means. A draft statute was circulated according to which the principal aims of the DVfK would be ‘to further art historical knowledge and to elevate artistic life in Germany.’³¹ When Bode addressed the congress at Darmstadt he outlined the prehistory of the proposed society, its target membership and some of the many tasks it had set itself. Friedrich von Althoff was credited as its progenitor, but also as a man with an excellent track record in raising funds by way of popular fee-paying societies. ‘He’s financed a good dozen such institutions in this way; I mention here only the Society for Airship Travel and a number of other societies he’s called into life within the education sector.’³² Incidentally, Bode would certainly not have mentioned this particular society a year later. Graf Zeppelin’s *Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Luftschiffahrt* (est. 1898) suffered its first major setback in August 1908 when dirigible airship LZ 4 crashed and burned near Stuttgart, thus failing to complete a twenty-four-hour military test flight. In any case, the DVfK was to be based on a similar financial model and its membership and funds were to be drawn from the broadest possible circles:

Politicians, members of the Reichstag from all the various parties, and a number of art lovers from all over Germany will be invited to join along with the art historians; and not just from within the German Reich, but from the entire German-speaking region, namely also from Austria and Switzerland, where we have many diligent friends and colleagues. It will even extend beyond these borders where other Germans are concerned. Thus the Verein is not just intended as a Verein for Germany, but as a German Verein in the broader sense, and the tasks it has set itself are German tasks in the broadest possible sense.³³

Broad, then, in the pan-German sense. But the art-historical tasks Bode calls ‘German’ here largely coincided with those of the international congress. This posed something of a problem. The draft statute of the DVfK also included plans for a new journal, a bibliography of the history of art and reproductions of artworks in the form of a monument publication – and these, as enumerated above, were all items on the agenda of the international congress. The only difference was a reduction of scope, from international to national, and the overlap of intentions obviously represented a challenge to the existence of the congress. Bode was therefore careful to point out that Althoff’s statute was merely a draft. Similarly, the meeting in Berlin had been no more than a preliminary assembly; the constitutive assembly was yet to take place. The congress was being consulted in advance rather than simply co-opted or

outflanked by the Prussians, and the Bismarck of the Berlin museums diplomatically appealed to its members for their input, advice and support.

Once Bode had finished his presentation, the floor was opened to debate. Remarkably, nobody took the opportunity to speak; there was stunned silence – or tacit approval. After a brief pause, the collective response of the congress, or rather lack of it, was given proper articulation in a motion put forward by von Seidlitz: ‘The proposed foundation of the Verein is received with unanimous applause; we expect it to promote our future endeavours and express our thanks to Excellency Althoff for his efforts on our behalf.’ With that, the nascent DVfK had obtained the blessing of the international congress – which was then immediately threatened with dissolution by the abovementioned nationalist faction. The debate that ensued is worth reproducing here in abridged form:

Oechelhäuser: We need to be clear about this: does our congress, as an international congress, still have any justification alongside the newly founded society? For even under its provisional board the society has already come so far that it will soon be a fact, and a welcome one at that. [...]

Dehio: I am entirely of the same opinion as Professor Oechelhäuser on this. It is impossible to debate the individual issues before we know whether we are to be a German national congress or an international one. The outcome of the discussion will inevitably be completely different depending on which position we take. It is absolutely necessary that we decide whether we are a German congress or an international one.

von Seidlitz: Is anyone proposing the motion that we give up the international congress?

Interjections from the floor: No!

von Seidlitz: Then we need only proceed with our discussions on the assumption that the international congress shall continue to exist.

Dehio: The way point ten in the printed matter is formulated seems to call that into question. In any case, the notion of an international congress is certainly not embodied in this assembly. There are perhaps a few foreign guests among us...

Interjection: Not just guests; members!

Dehio: ... then excuse me if I've been misinformed. [...]

Strzygowski [chairing the session]: The international character of our congress is not to be shaken. Its character may have fluctuated up until the Innsbruck congress, but since then we have definitely been international, and even if we are not yet international, we will have to become so now. [...] So, I would like to ask you to assume that the congress shall continue to exist as an international congress for as long as it is in our hands.³⁴

Thus despite the nationalist agitation of Dehio and Oechelhäuser, the congress of art history as a whole resolved to stick to its internationalist statute, with Koetschau, Warburg and Strzygowski speaking up in favour of its outward-looking orientation. And these were more than mere empty words: the attendance figures for the congress at Rome (which Dvořák helped to organize) show that an art historical congress on a transnational basis was still feasible, even in the age of nationalism, as late as 1912.³⁵

The foregoing overview of the history of the congress, however, clearly also evidences a marked nationalist turn within German art history after the turn of the century; an introversion that was prefigured by the *Tagungen für Denkmalpflege* (from 1900) and the founding of the *Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz* (1904).³⁶ The international congress had started out, in Eitelberger's hands, as a collaborative forum for the study of *universal* visual culture, and had subsequently consolidated this international position in its statutes. Similarly, Springer's unrealized Gesellschaft Albertina was to have been consciously internationalist, even if its focus would predominantly have been Italian art. But by 1907 there seems to have been a relatively widespread sense within the discipline – no doubt exacerbated by the demographics of the congress itself – that German art history had for too long concentrated its efforts on Italy and Greece at the expense of its indigenous monuments.³⁷ The Germans could boast a well-funded archaeological institute in Rome, a thriving institute for art history in Florence, and a large portion of the credit for having rescued the Acropolis. What about German art? Writing shortly after the Darmstadt congress, Bode was able to claim that German art historians had 'produced a far greater number of monumental publications on the Italian art of the middle ages and the Renaissance than Italy itself,' although the credit for this achievement was now to be perceived as a debt to Germany: 'Even art scholarship,' he complained, 'is not immune to the tiresome old German habit of enthusing over everything foreign and of thus neglecting and denigrating its own *Heimat*.'³⁸

The DVfK was pitched to the congress – in the form of a German member's club – as a remedy to this unpatriotic state of affairs. Its aims and subscription appeals drew heavily on national and pan-German sentiment; financially rewarding ideologies that Springer's more ecumenical, non-starter society had failed to exploit.

The Founding Aims of the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft

The main impetus for the DVfK can be traced back to 1905, when Bode was asked to draw up a feasibility report on a new, centrally administered German monument inventory. As he recalled in his memoirs,

Ministerial Director Althoff had asked me for a report on the rather ill thought-out suggestion of a certain Centre Party politician: instead of the provincial authorities producing monument inventories, as had hitherto been the case, a new, large scale inventory was to be made centrally, by the Reich. I tried to demonstrate how absurd this plan was, that it would entail unnecessary cost and effort, that the work would inevitably have to be given to the same people who were already making the inventories in the individual states, and that they would be none too pleased about that sort of supervision. But we were to proceed with haste and energy on another task, for which the inventories had already done part of the preparatory work, namely a publication of our German monuments in the grand style. This was the greatest and most important task of German art history. Tackling this would put us ahead of all other nations in the field. [...] The idea of a society similar to our Kaiser Friedrich Museum Society occurred to me, only this time extending beyond the Reich to all the German-speaking territories and cultures.³⁹

The first point to be drawn from the above is that the DVfK was basically conceived as a means to an end: the ‘publication of our German monuments in the grand style’. Just as Bode had set up the Kaiser Friedrich Museum Society in 1896 to encourage wealthy benefactors to support the construction of a new museum (now the Bode Museum), so the DVfK would finance its chief undertaking, the monument publication, by way of membership fees and donations rather than government subsidies.⁴⁰ In this much, Bode was basing his financial model directly on that of Springer’s society, only this time he was counting on a far higher, sustained level of interest on the part of the German-speaking public.

Secondly, the proposed monument publication was to be distinguished from the countless monument inventories and art topographies that had been diligently and laboriously collated in the German provinces, principally for conservation purposes, from the *Gründerzeit* onwards.⁴¹ In his report to Althoff, a memorandum entitled ‘Monumenta artis Germaniae: the monuments of German art in image and word, commissioned by the German Reich, published by the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft’, Bode argued that a new monument inventory would be largely superfluous, since the existing inventories were already well advanced, and in many cases complete. He conceded that their execution had come in for some justified criticism – ‘they are completely inconsistent in their format of publication and illustrations, as well as in the periods and the artworks they treat, and they have all too often been produced by staff with insufficient training’⁴² – but he was

disinclined to start all over again and thus cover old ground. Instead, he suggested a richly illustrated ‘monumental history of German art’ based on the research contained in the existing inventories (there were already a total of a-hundred-and-fifty volumes), but structured according to historical succession and individual art forms rather than internal geographical divisions. If the existing art topographies were antiquated and amateurish, the new monument publication would follow the rigorous principles of modern historical science; the proposed title, *Monumenta artis Germaniae* (MAG), consciously harked back to the exemplary *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (MGH), a multi-volume critical edition of medieval textual sources that had helped to establish Germany as a world leader in the field of historical scholarship in the nineteenth century.⁴³ This grand historical undertaking, characteristically, was established just after the Napoleonic Wars.

Bode’s memorandum on the *Monumenta artis Germaniae* included a loose sixteen-point outline of the enormous undertaking. The MAG would stretch from late antiquity to the eighteenth century, covering one and a half millennia of religious and vernacular architecture, sculpture, applied art, book illustration and painting. It was to include monographs on masters such as Cranach, Dürer, and Grünewald, and would perhaps even appropriate Van Eyck, Rubens and Rembrandt under the broad umbrella of Germanic cultural heritage. Such a history, which was apparently completely lacking, would ‘provide a true picture of the incredible development of German art in its principal phases.’⁴⁴

It was recognized that all this would take time, decades even. But the cultural rewards would be worthwhile. The monument publication would attract a younger generation of art historians to the study of German art, ‘which has hitherto been undeservedly neglected.’ A cheaper, parallel publication could also be produced alongside the monumental editions for the benefit of university students and the education of the masses. Most importantly, Bode argued, the publication

would put Germany ahead of all other countries in the field, and rightly so, for no other country since the beginning of the Christian era can point to so rich and diverse an artistic development, with the possible exception of Italy. If a monumental work such as this is put off any longer, other nations will no doubt get ahead of us with similar grand publications of their own art; namely France and Italy, where for around a decade now scholarship has been focussed explicitly on the research of national art – in an almost chauvinistic manner and to the universal approbation of the public.⁴⁵

Again, the strongly accentuated national tendencies of the DVfK and its actual *raison d’être*, the projected MAG, are evident not only from Bode’s 1930 autobiography, but

also from this memorandum at the inception of the project, where cultural antagonisms are presented to government ministers as emotive justifications for monumental art history.

In many respects, Dvořák was dealing with similar issues at around this time: monument inventories, expansive art histories and national antagonisms, though in his case the latter existed within the Austrian cultural sphere rather than merely beyond state borders. Specifically, when he succeeded Riegl at the Central Commission Dvořák had been saddled with the enormous task of getting the long-overdue Austrian Art Topography underway.

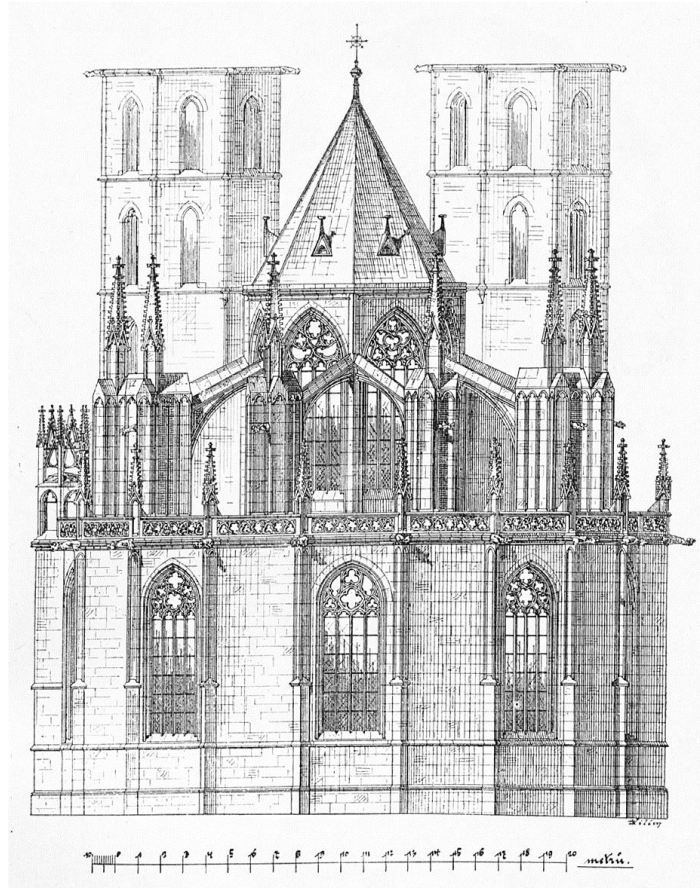


Figure 2.3. Josef Mocker, Bartholomäuskirche, choir restoration, Kolin
From the first volume of the *Bohemian Art Topography* (1898)

At this stage, with the inventORIZATION of monuments in the German Reich proceeding apace, and with an independent Bohemian art topography beginning to ask questions of any unified conception of Habsburg artistic heritage, the centralized monument authorities in Vienna still had no serviceable list of the thousands of monuments they were supposed to be protecting. One first attempt to map the art of the empire had been made by Eitelberger and Heider in the late 1850s, and whilst its coverage was consciously fragmentary and temporally limited, the two handsome volumes of their *Mittelalterliche*

Kunstdenkmale des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates (Medieval Artistic Monuments of the Austrian Empire) will certainly have pleased the young Franz Joseph I, to whom they were dedicated.⁴⁶ But the cost of producing these books, not to mention the Italian Wars of Independence, brought an early end to the project, and for the time being all further monument research was confined to the scholarly journals of the Central Commission. The work of inventorization was then resumed in the 1880s by the new president of the CC, Alexander Freiherr von Helfert, by which time the daunting size of the task had been diminished – roughly halved in fact – by the Compromise of 1867 and the establishment of an autonomous Hungarian monument authority. Taking the crownland of Carinthia as a test case, Helfert chose to organize his new monument inventory along French lines. The resulting volume, which had taken the best part of ten years to complete, was unanimously declared a failure.⁴⁷

Dvořák first came to the problem of inventorization in 1902, when he reviewed a series of publications that was being issued at a rather alarming rate by the Archaeological Commission of the Bohemian Academy of Sciences in Prague (est. 1890); its *Topographie der historischen und kunst-Denkmale im Königreich Böhmen* (Topography of the Historic and Artistic Monuments of the Kingdom of Bohemia).⁴⁸ This particular project had been conceived in 1894 and was then rapidly implemented with funding from the provincial Bohemian government. The first ten volumes appeared between 1897 and 1902, with the conspicuous absence of any direct financial support from the imperial government in Vienna. Despite Dvořák's own peripheral involvement with the Bohemian art topography (he later contributed to the volume on his birthplace, Schloß Raudnitz), his assessment of the first ten volumes was curt: 'The inventories are being published in Czech and German, and as far as I can tell they are on the whole well produced, if rather inconsistent. The illustrations often leave much to be desired; pictures by dilettantes should only be used in exceptional cases' (fig. 2.3).⁴⁹ His criticisms here could be interpreted as nothing more than an oblique attack on the restoration architect who produced the majority of the drawings: Josef Mocker, a student of Friedrich von Schmidt and a Czech nationalist to boot. But Dvořák may also have been partially motivated by an overarching Habsburg patriotism. From the perspective of the Central Commission in Vienna, this flurry of art historical activity in the Slavic north will have left the core German-speaking crownlands looking, to borrow Schinkel's words, rather 'naked and barren' by comparison, 'like a new colony in a formerly uninhabited country.'⁵⁰ The Bohemian art topography effectively put pressure on the Central Commission to finally get Austria's own artistic heritage on the map (fig. 2.4).

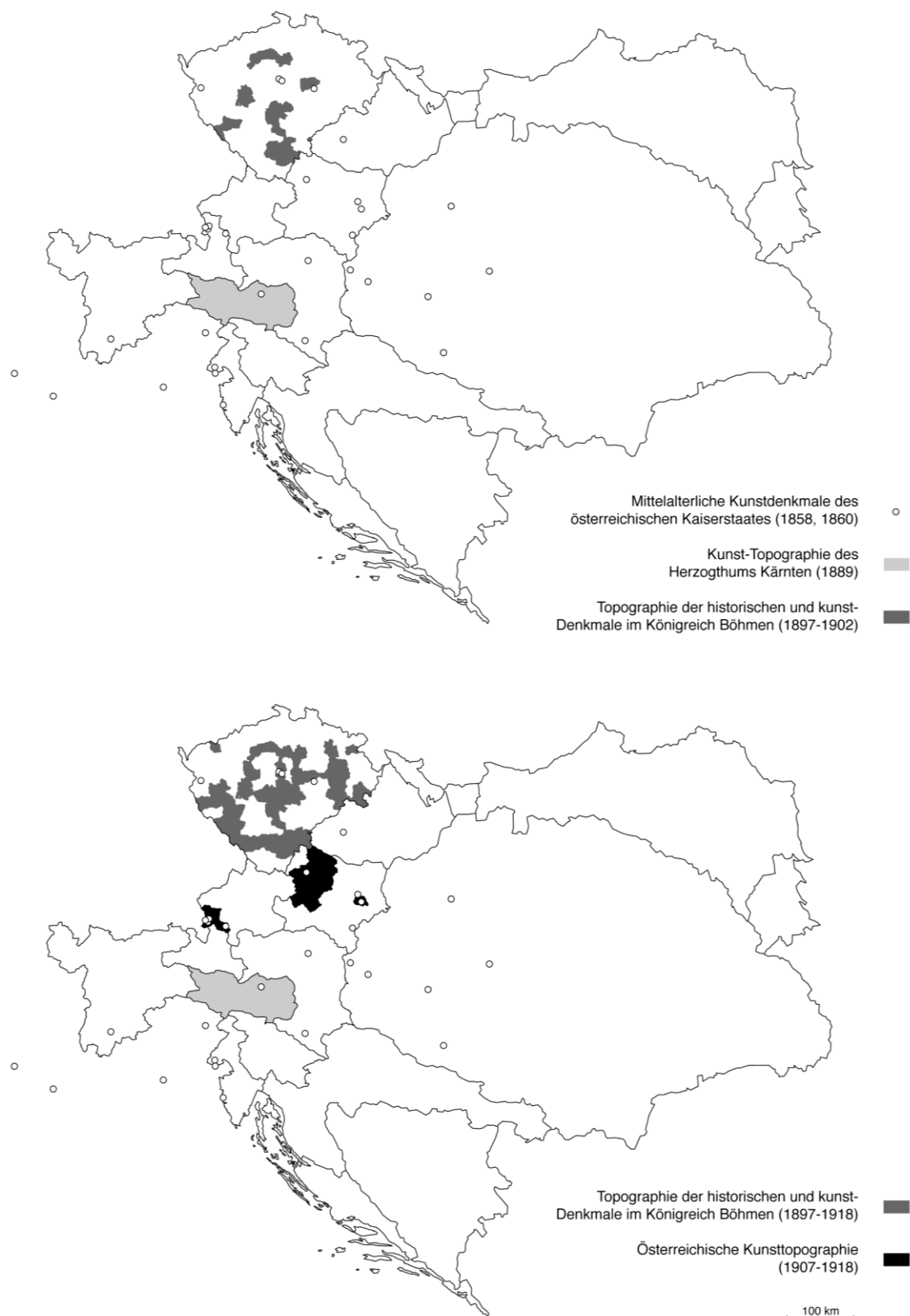


Figure 2.4. Art topography coverage in Habsburg Austria (1902 and 1918)

Dvořák set about the task of inventorization conscientiously. As preparation for the *Austrian Art Topography* he made a thorough study of the existing German inventories and, like Bode, he generally found them wanting. In a programmatic article published in 1906, Dvořák too compared the German topographies to the analogous MGH, and thus art history to history proper (MD 2). The result was not favourable. Whereas the MGH had been followed by ‘review upon review, discussion upon discussion,’ the publication of the topographies had proven scientifically sterile. ‘I know of no serious or significant work of art history that has been inspired by or based on the art topographies. Long rows of books stand unused in the libraries and people seldom look anything up in them. This has become all the more conspicuous recently, and especially over the last few years, as people have increasingly started looking into the history of German art’ (MD 2:219).

As the causes of this sterility Dvořák identified a long list of shortcomings in the topographies. Due to a desire for consistent coverage, coupled with a lack of critical judgement, significant artistic monuments were often treated as summarily as the insignificant. An important cycle of sixteenth-century frescos, for instance, might be given as little space as a relatively unimportant group of gravestones. At the same time, whole periods were being neglected as a result of the compilers’ personal stylistic preferences, which more often than not meant the marginalization of antique and baroque art. The descriptions of the monuments themselves were often vague to the point of non-statement and lacking in even the most basic provenance data. This last point, for Dvořák, was the indispensable precondition of any further art historical investigation. A basic requirement of the topographies had to be the provision of accurate information ‘on the date of origin, the artist, and the general and regional significance of the artworks under discussion, the groups they can be associated with and the historical questions and problems they pose’ (MD 2:221). And if such information was not immediately to hand, it was to be ascertained by thorough research of archival sources: ‘just as one can quite rightly require that a publication of historical documents should employ all the available material when dealing with critical questions, so one can also expect the art topographies, if they are to be more than administrative inventories, to draw upon every available source, at least to the extent necessary for determining the chronology and style of the inventorized monument as accurately as possible’ (MD 2:222).

In short, Dvořák drew two lessons from the failings of the German topographies. If the planned *Austrian Art Topography* was to be of any use to art historians – and thus more than merely an administrative list for conservation purposes – it would have to be, firstly, more critical and objective in its selection of monuments, and secondly, far more rigorous in

its scientific treatment of them. And according to the ideal demands of the historical method that Dvořák inherited from his tutors Wickhoff and Sickel, rigorous scholarly treatment meant the exploitation of every available archival source, every relevant document, and every related monument.

The ambitious program of the *Austrian Art Topography* was laid out along these lines and fully articulated in Dvořák's introduction to the first volume, which appeared in 1907 (MD 5).⁵¹ It was reviewed favourably on the whole, even with a degree of admiring envy on the part of the German art historians. Paul Clemen, conservator for the Rhineland, ranked it above every other German art topography in terms of its broad scope and scientific precision, astonished at the Central Commission's seemingly limitless finances.⁵² Even Georg Dehio, whose concise *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler* (Handbook of German Monuments) was a distant competitor in the inventory market, eventually gave his seal of approval to the undertaking.⁵³ There were of course criticisms and reservations too, not least regarding the feasibility and incalculable duration of the enormous project. But suffice it to say here, Dvořák's critique of the German topographies and his program for their Austrian equivalent essentially served to consolidate his position as one of the leading German art historians of his generation. It was in this capacity that he was invited to attend the constitutive assembly of the DVfK on 7 March 1908.

'On Bode's personal invitation I travelled to Frankfurt with a fixed program: that of the Vienna School.'⁵⁴ These words are taken from the unpublished notes of a lecture that Dvořák delivered to an audience of historians in Vienna, 1909. The subject of the lecture was the foundation of the DVfK, and its aim was evidently to drum up membership for the society in Austria. Any German nationalist overtones are thus understandably absent from Dvořák's account, though he was certainly well aware of them. Instead he focused on his own decisive role in the formation of the DVfK as an emissary of the Vienna School and its principles of art history. These he defined as follows:

Since Thausing's time, art history in Vienna – thanks to its connection with the Institute for Austrian Historical Research – has developed in constant conjunction with the other historical sciences. As a result, and in contrast to other tendencies, it has always seen its principal task in determining historical facts in a strictly scientific manner; on the basis of a thorough critical investigation of the monuments concerned, and without recourse to any aprioristic theories.⁵⁵

As a highly personal account of how these scientific principles were successfully exported to Berlin via Frankfurt, Dvořák's fragmentary lecture notes are to be treated with circumspection. But since they are not substantially contradicted elsewhere, and since they

represent one of the most detailed available sources on the foundation of the DVfK, they are well worth summarizing here.⁵⁶

Dvořák arrived in Frankfurt a day before the constitutive assembly for a final consultation on the draft statute that had first been made public at Darmstadt six months previously. Althoff, Bode, Dvořák and around twenty other ‘trusted men’ were present at this meeting, which began at eight in the evening and was scheduled to last an hour. In the event though, discussion ran on until four in the morning. Dvořák reports these details with a perceptible sense of self-satisfaction, for he personally instigated the heated debate that kept the old guard from their beds that night; a debate over the aims of the DVfK. On this point even the two founders were not in complete agreement. According to Althoff’s statute the activities of the new society were to concentrate on the popularization of art by way of educational measures such as the introduction of compulsory art history classes from elementary school upwards. Bode on the other hand saw the greatest task of the DVfK in the systematic publication of German monuments for academic purposes. The difference was basically one of breadth versus depth. Bode had been willing to accept Althoff’s democratizing ideals simply for the sake of having the old man on board, for he brought the financial support of a number of big industrialists to the project, even if he was soon to retire from the Prussian Ministry of Education. Conversely, Althoff had only consented to the idea of a costly monument publication on the proviso that a cheaper, more accessible series be produced in parallel for the benefit of the masses.⁵⁷

The representative of the Vienna School was not so willing to compromise on matters of principle and aligned himself staunchly with Bode’s publication plans, which, as we have seen, corresponded to his own scientific hopes for the discipline of art history. So when Dvořák was given the opportunity to comment on the statute at the evening consultation he advised strongly against the popularization agenda. The public interest in historic art was already present in abundance, he claimed, citing the *Bund Heimatschutz* as evidence of a vigorous artistic culture in Germany. Any further efforts to bring art to the masses would therefore be superfluous. What the discipline did need though, and this as a basic precondition for any sort of art historical education, was a deepening of the scientific knowledge of German art through a systematic survey of all existing material. Again, he called for an organization akin to that of the MGH, something that would inevitably require the undivided resources of the DVfK and its members.

Ministerial Director Althoff was clearly taken aback by the nerve of this thirty-something Bohemian, for he responded ‘haughtily and almost impolitely’ to the demolition of his well-laid retirement plans. But the initial damage had been done, and was completed

the following day at the constitutive assembly, where Dvořák's position was reinforced first by the Hamburg museum director Alfred Lichtwark, then by Franz Adickes, the Mayor of Frankfurt. Adickes too 'drew parallels with the foundation of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* – the importance of which he knew better than many of the art historians present – and his inspiring words challenged the assembly to live up to the founders of this great historical work by creating something similar for the history of German art.'⁵⁸ When a ballot was finally taken on the draft statute, a narrow majority elected to scrap the detailed paragraphs on popular art education. The publication of the MAG was thereby moved to the forefront of the DVfK agenda.

In his 1909 promotional lecture on the DVfK, Dvořák may have slightly overstated the significance of his own contribution to the Frankfurt negotiations – there were plenty of art historians at the constitutive assembly who shared his views, and it is probable that the shift in the society's aims, from popularization to publication, would have occurred without his intervention anyway. But for the sake of effective publicity – bearing in mind that his audience consisted of prospective Austrian members – Dvořák sought to present the monument publication as an existing desideratum of Vienna School art history and, by extension, the German society as an Austrian concern. In a sense he was quite entitled to do so, for his contribution to the program of the monument publication itself was indeed substantial.

The Monuments of German Art

In point of fact, when the DVfK was officially registered in June 1908, most of Althoff's populist ideals seem to have been retained, at least on paper. By all accounts he was a stubborn negotiator, so he may well have insisted on the inclusion of the rejected paragraphs, contravening the democratic process in order to bring about his democratization of art. In any case, the main substance of the finalized statute is contained in the first clause:

§ 1. The Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft aims to further art historical knowledge and to elevate artistic life in Germany. It has set itself the following tasks in particular:

- 1) to provide an illustrated art historical journal and a systematic review of art historical literature;
- 2) to support the production of art handbooks and photographic visual materials, as well as other art historical works;
- 3) to bring about the complete inventorization and systematic publication of the monuments of German art (*Monumenta artis Germaniae*) using existing preparatory works where appropriate;

- 4) to work towards the creation and maintenance of art historical institutions and connections to suitable locations at home and abroad;
- 5) to lobby for the establishment of travel stipends for contemporary artists;
- 6) to encourage the public interest in and understanding of art by an expansion and improvement of art historical tuition at secondary and tertiary education institutions;
- 7) to ensure that all centres of further education place particular value on art historical understanding by way of suitable courses;
- 8) to influence ever wider circles of the population through various sorts of art historical lectures and demonstrations.⁵⁹

Noteworthy here is that the definitive statute actually included plans not only for popular education initiatives, but also for international collaboration and the support of contemporary artists. But by the time Althoff died in October 1908 nothing had been undertaken in these areas, for the monument publication had long since become the society's sole concern. Indeed, the very first act of the DVfK after its constitution in March 1908 was to get the MAG underway. To this end Bode appointed a three-man committee consisting of Georg Dehio (b. 1850), Adolph Goldschmidt (b. 1863) and Max Dvořák (b. 1874). They were each to draw up an individual program for the monument publication and would then consult on their proposals before presenting the results to the board of directors in Berlin in the summer of 1908.

Of the three draft programs, Goldschmidt's was the thinnest and the least focussed. He envisaged the DVfK producing not one, but three distinct forms of publication: a series of individual photographs made in conjunction with the Royal Prussian Institute for Photogrammetry, a series of artist monographs, and then the full monument publication as well. The structure of the latter was to be organized primarily according to the four art forms – architecture, sculpture, painting and the applied arts – but his secondary sub-divisions within these categories were inconsistent and unclear, being based variously on chronology, typology or materials. His plan for the commencement of the great undertaking was similarly relaxed. The publication of the MAG was to proceed 'not under compulsion of any strict temporal, geographical or systematic order, but rather freely; as and when the opportunity arises, when the manpower is there and as the directors see fit.'⁶⁰ To his credit, Goldschmidt did reiterate the statutory requirement for works with a broader public appeal, but his program as a whole was far too loose for the rigorous demands of the DVfK and therefore received no further consideration.

Greater things will have been expected of Dehio, who had actually studied under the director of the MGH and whose experience producing the first full overview of German monuments – the abovementioned five-volume *Handbook* – ought to have made him a front runner in this particular art historical collaboration. His proposal contained some serious

food for thought. Unlike Goldschmidt, Dehio asked himself why the monument publication was necessary at all, and came up with the following reasons. Firstly, it would serve as ‘a permanent visual record of those monuments whose existence is constantly exposed to the danger of alteration or destruction.’⁶¹ Secondly, it would provide extensive study material, and Dehio too underlined the importance of producing a cheaper, less elaborate edition with this in mind. But the main publication would essentially be a sourcework consisting of photographs plus commentary, with the emphasis on images. Text was to be limited to bare essentials: technical descriptions and information on place, date, patron and artist. The structure he proposed for the series was a valiant enough attempt to organize the history of German art categorically and chronologically, according to art forms and epochs, but in practice his organizational principles fell apart on paper, fragmenting into monographs and isolated periods that refused to fit neatly into the overall schema.

The two major strengths of Dehio’s proposal were grounded in practicalities. He recognized, firstly, the simple fact that the techniques of photographic reproduction were liable to change. Colour photography, for instance, was not yet adequate for art historical purposes, but would be in future. And since the duration of the project could be expected to span at least one generation (a gross underestimate, as it turned out), he tried to build a certain degree of flexibility into his program to allow for technical advances.

His second contention was more fundamental. Like Goldschmidt, Dehio drew up his program on the basis of the draft statute he had received with his invitation to the Frankfurt assembly. And in this version of the statute clause 1.3 differed slightly but significantly from that quoted above. The original intention had been a *complete* publication of *all* the monuments of German art, rather than just some of them (the ‘all’ was sensibly omitted in the definitive statute).⁶² Dehio and a number of other sceptics quite rightly had reservations about the feasibility of such comprehensiveness: ‘the literal implementation of this principle would result in an accumulation of such inconceivable proportions that it would be an evil in itself, to say nothing of the costs.’⁶³ Thus the superlative ‘all’ would have to be demoted to a ‘most’ or a ‘many’ – some sort of selection would surely have to be made from the totality of extant German monuments. But the idea of a selection presented Dehio, who was clearly well up on his Riegelian theory, with a minor epistemological dilemma. ‘On the other hand,’ he continued, ‘there are no reliable scientific criteria for dispensing with the insignificant, since an object that is unquestionably only of minimal artistic value may nevertheless still take on unforeseen significance at some stage in the future.’⁶⁴ His solution to this problem was at once practical, counter-intuitive and utterly illogical. He proposed a two-tier system whereby the more significant monuments would be reproduced on a large scale, whilst the

overwhelming mass of less or insignificant monuments were to be pictured in a smaller format. This suggestion had the virtue of meeting the demand for comprehensive coverage, but it also managed to reintroduce the spectre of scientifically inadmissible selection criteria through the back door, as it were, purely for the sake of financial feasibility. The more obvious solution would of course have been to abandon the pseudo-scientific obsession with comprehensiveness altogether.

When Dvořák drew up his program for the MAG he had the benefit of having seen both of his colleague's proposals. On 20 June 1908 Bode sent a short note to Vienna enclosing Goldschmidt's program and asking when he could expect to receive Dvořák's.⁶⁵ This was sent to Berlin a week later with a covering letter and the following remarks: 'In the working program itself my draft differs from the other two primarily in that I have tried to grasp the individual topics more concretely [...]. But the difference is not so great as to prevent us finding a middle line when we come to discuss the matter in person [...]. I hope Professors Dehio and Goldschmidt will agree with my suggestions, which really only represent an expansion of their own proposals.'⁶⁶

Dvořák's 'Memorandum on the Organization and Working Program of the Monumenta artis Germaniae' was far and away the most extensive and thorough of the three drafts (MD 6).⁶⁷ Unlike Dehio, he did not make the mistake of taking the statute of the DVfK too literally. His considerations began with the acknowledgement that a complete publication of the monuments of German art 'could not simply mean the visual reproduction of all existing material, which any photographer could produce, *but rather a critical publication of the individual monument groups in line with the principles of modern historical science*' (MD 6:248). By 'critical' here, Dvořák seems to have meant two things: selection and analysis. Though he never uses the word, a degree of selectivity would inevitably be necessary in order to make the undertaking possible, hence *groups* of monuments, not all of them. The inconceivable mass of German monuments was to be reduced down to a more manageable level, but without resorting to isolated specimens or regressing to the (not inconsiderable) scope of the art topographies, which were 'still far from exhausting the wealth of the artistic production of the past that has survived in Germany' – despite their one-hundred-and-fifty volumes (MD 6:249). On a scale of all to nothing, then, Dvořák's critical selection was located somewhere between the all and the art topographies, and would therefore still have been pretty close to exhaustive. Furthermore, in line with the strict dictates of modern historical science and the ever-present paradigm of the MGH, Dvořák's conception of a critical publication demanded that all available sources and all related monuments be consulted and subjected to scholarly analysis: '*it is an imperative and self-*

evident requirement that all the extant material be taken into consideration for the groups of monuments that are to be published in the *Monumenta artis Germaniae*' (MD 6:249). So even if the series of publications was not going to reproduce everything, its textual commentaries and its selection of monument groups would at least be based on analyses of the totality, and could therefore make a justifiable claim to comprehensiveness.

Applied to the entire history of German art from the *Völkerwanderung* to the nineteenth century, these ideal demands would clearly have involved far more time, money and effort than even Dehio's two-tier catalogue. Dvořák must have realized this, for he introduced an otherwise completely arbitrary temporal limit to his program, which was to come to an abrupt end in 1550. Besides giving away its author's own periodical preferences – i.e., for the glory days of the Holy Roman Empire – this limit stuck too closely to the medievalist MGH and thereby omitted, for instance, the German Baroque, which was clearly an unacceptable oversight.

In every other respect, though, Dvořák's articulation of the structure of the series looked watertight. Following Goldschmidt and Dehio, he divided the material up into art forms and periods, but unlike them he precluded any deviation by presenting his structure in a lucid table, with the four columnar sections of architecture, painting, sculpture and applied art being neatly broken down into four lateral epochs: the *Völkerwanderung* (c. 400–750 CE), the Carolingian era (750–950), the Ottonian, Salic and Hohenstaufen dynasties (950–1250), and the Gothic (1250–1550). It was a framework of admirable symmetry and grand proportions (MD 6: figs 1–3). Each block was to consist of one or more departments which would cover 'all', 'collected', or 'the corpus of' monuments in question and would be assigned to individual art historians as departmental directors. Dvořák admitted that the 'publication of all this material all at once would be such an enormous undertaking that its realization is virtually unthinkable in the foreseeable future', but his framework would allow for an immediate start on a number of departments – at least those for which competent art historians could be found (MD 6:249). Finally, these directors were to constitute a special monument commission within the DVfK, the organization of which Dvořák also delineated in his program, again going well beyond his colleagues' efforts.

The next communication from Vienna to Berlin suggests that this highly ambitious draft was well received: 'I would be very glad,' wrote Dvořák to Bode, 'and not just for personal reasons, if my program were to form a suitable basis for the MAG.'⁶⁸ When the working program of the *Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst* was finalized later that year (the Latin title having been dropped in favour of the German vernacular), the one flaw in Dvořák's program was easily rectified. Its premature ending was simply extended to 1800.

But the majority of clauses – with one notably ominous exception – were actually taken over directly from Dvořák's program, in some cases almost word for word.

§1. The 'Monuments of German Art' are a collection of sources on German art history in which art historically important groups of monuments are to be published methodically.

§2. The work shall employ all available material on the individual groups of monuments and shall endeavour to publish, as comprehensively as possible, everything that is of significance for the scientific problems they pose.

§3. The pictorial reproductions shall be accompanied by commentaries. These shall contain descriptions (e.g., of technical characteristics, restorations, etc.), as well as all information that can be ascertained from external sources as to place and date of origin, artist and patron.

§4. The methods of photographic reproduction employed for the illustrations shall be determined by the characteristics and the significance of the monuments in question. The publications shall be of a consistent format; exceptions shall be allowed where necessary.

§5. A monument of German art is not only to be understood as something created within the borders of the present German empire, but rather any monument which expresses the artistic creativity of, or has a direct connection to, the German nation.

§6. The monuments are grouped according to chronological and objective criteria, always bearing in mind stylistic coherences. According to these criteria and in line with the attached synopsis, four sections shall be created with a number of departments. The directors of the individual departments are free to propose further articulations of their departments.

§7. The execution of the work is entrusted to the monument commission, whose organization shall be laid out in a separate agenda.⁶⁹

Parts of clause three and four here can be ascribed to Dehio. Almost all the rest is Dvořák, and his structural framework also formed the basis of the monument commission's four sections and twenty-nine departments. The exception is clause five, which appears seemingly out of nowhere as a jarring note of cultural imperialism in a monumental art historical undertaking that can otherwise only be criticized for being unrealistically ambitious and academically detached from the broad public interest that the DVfK was supposedly attempting to court. The implicitly expansionist fifth clause was added some time after the board of directors had received the three draft proposals and can be attributed to Karl Koetschau, the secretary of the Verein who had heralded its 'strongly accentuated national tendency' at the international congress of art history in Darmstadt the previous year.⁷⁰

When the German army marched into Belgium in August 1914 they were quickly followed by a rearguard of DVfK art historians. Paul Clemen, whose research for the Verein had previously been limited to the ruins of the palatines on German soil, was appointed Prussian inspector of monuments in the occupied territories in October 1914.⁷¹ He was soon joined by a number of other DVfK members, who were now fortunate enough to have unimpeded access to those ‘monuments of German art’ that had formerly been inconveniently situated outside Germany’s constrictive borders. Ultimately, the fact that clause five became reality in this manner inevitably raises the question as to what extent the nationalist rhetoric of the DVfK actually served as a militant intellectual avant-garde in the original sense of the word.

Dvořák’s involvement with the DVfK continued long after his contribution to the planning of the *Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst*. He was a member of the hundred-strong extended committee from the outset and replaced Wickhoff on the board of directors in 1909. He was of course also a member of his own monument commission, and in this capacity directed research for the publication in no less than five departments – more than any of his German colleagues. As such, he was able to employ a number of Austrian art historians on the project, notably fellow Vienna School graduate Wilhelm Köhler (Carolingian miniatures) and his own former student, Betty Kurth (medieval German tapestries), though he never lived to see the fruits of their labours. In fact, both Austrian subject matter and Austrian art historians are surprisingly well represented in the bibliography of DVfK publications.

The publicity that Dvořák arranged for the DVfK in Austria seems to have been effective.⁷² As well as the two promotional lectures he delivered in 1909 and 1913, and the notices he published in the *KJZK*, he also petitioned the Austrian government and a number of wealthy patrons for financial support, with some degree of success. While the Austrian imperial government only contributed a paltry 5 000 marks, Prince Liechtenstein was persuaded to fund Kurth’s work on German tapestries to the tune of 25 000 marks.⁷³ Thoughts along these lines extended to the highest level. In Germany, Kaiser Wilhelm II had accepted the protectorate of the DVfK in August 1908. In Austria five years later, shortly after the Verein’s general assembly in Vienna, Dvořák considered inviting Kaiser Franz Josef I to join, though evidently nothing came of the idea – the Kaiser was Austrian, not Prussian.⁷⁴

If Dvořák’s decisive influence on Bode’s project in pan-German art scholarship has until now been largely overlooked in both Vienna and Berlin, it has hopefully been amply

demonstrated here. The Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft – in its day the largest and most important art history society in central Europe – ultimately has Vienna School principles to thank for its rigorous publication program; a program which may have produced a handful of books that are now considered standard scholarly works, but could never have been realized in its entirety within, say, a hundred years by anything but the most wealthy of empires, let alone private funding initiatives. The art historical results, one suspects, would not have been all that different had Goldschmidt's *laissez-faire* approach been adopted. But putting these questions of feasibility and the organization of art historical labour aside, there is also the issue of influence in the opposite direction to consider, i.e., that exerted upon Dvořák by Bode and the other leading lights of the DVfK. Here, there are some ingrained assumptions about the Vienna School to be challenged, and an interesting personal development, as much political as intellectual, to be outlined.

In the online dictionary of art historians, an anonymously authored entry on Dvořák states the following: 'When Dvořák was appointed a full professor in 1909, the appointment touched off the great schism among the art faculty at Vienna. The decidedly pro-Germanic camp resented the Czech Dvořák's elevation; their retribution erupted at Wickhoff's death when the group succeeded in appointing the maverick and nationalist ideologue Josef Strzygowski from Graz.'⁷⁵ This piece of received wisdom goes back to Schlosser's canonical and openly selective chronicle of the Vienna School, in which he explicitly wrote Strzygowski out of history as an apostate.⁷⁶ All very well. We are not concerned with Strzygowski here, nor the ongoing personal feud he fought against Dvořák and his predecessors. The problem with this account – the standard version of events – is that it presents Dvořák in the flattering light of the underdog; as the innocent Czech victim of German nationalist agitation and thus, implicitly, as an opponent of German nationalist ideology. His involvement with DVfK clearly calls this view into question. Following Bode's own shift from Italian to German art, and the more widespread (though by no means universal) parallel tendency in German art history around the time of the foundation of the DVfK, Dvořák also became decidedly pro-German. This development could be traced through the art historical subject matter he chose to address in his lectures and essays over the years, or, for instance, in his repeated laments about the comparative lack of knowledge on German art as opposed to that of Italy in particular. Two points of reference will have to suffice here.

The first is his essay on modern Czech art, 'Von Manes zu Švabinský' (From Manes to Švabinský, 1904); the second a feuilleton on a proposed 'Oesterreichische Staatsgalerie' (Austrian State Gallery, 1912). These two texts lend themselves to comparison, for in both

cases – though they deal with quite different issues – Dvořák employs identical forms of argumentation: taking one derogatory statement on a particular national culture as his starting point, he then contests that statement in defence of the given national culture. In the 1904 essay he quotes an unnamed German art historian as calling the Czechs ‘an artless nation’, and then proceeds to refute this claim by presenting a history of nineteenth-century Bohemian art in which foreign influences are downplayed in favour of a unique and immanent historical development based on vigorous indigenous artistic traditions.⁷⁷ By 1912, though, the focus of Dvořák’s attention had shifted. In his feuilleton of that year, he cited another German art historian, one who claimed ‘that German art, with very few exceptions, has only ever been receptive.’ This assertion is rejected out of hand as being ridiculous; Dvořák merely reminds his readers that ‘the times in which only Italian or Netherlandish artworks were deemed worthy of inclusion in public collections – according to a definite, sacrosanct rank order – are long since past. [...] But little by little we have broadened our horizons where art history is concerned.’⁷⁸ Alois Riegl’s rejection of any sort of exclusionary canon had aimed at an art history that would be free of value judgements and national bias; in Dvořák’s hands it became an excuse to promote the overlooked virtues of northern European cultural heritage from a national German perspective.

Thus there was a broadening of Dvořák’s own cultural horizons over time; a development that begins in his native Bohemia and progresses – perhaps as a compensatory reaction to the traumatic experience of his appointment at the university – through and beyond Habsburg patriotism on the way to an increasingly ardent advocacy of its dominant German culture.⁷⁹ In this much he was no more than a vessel of the prevailing intellectual tendencies of the empire, in which the complex constellation of nationalities required and allowed a native Bohemian art historian to become, in addition, politically Austrian and culturally pan-German. The latter can partly be ascribed to Dvořák’s unflinching admiration for the Bismarck of the Berlin museums.

3. Diocletian's Palace: A Case Study in Politicized Conservation

*Of these it can be said, contradictory as it may sound,
that the history of their preservation is at once the
history of their destruction.¹*

*But occasionally the ambitious government
administrator arms himself with an aesthete who
thinks it would be a shame to destroy the picturesque
charm of decay. Imagine the Americans and the
Berliners here; they'd soon spoil the atmosphere.
Poverty is just so picturesque!²*

Looking back wistfully on the *Belle Époque* from the safe distance of Brazil in 1942, Stefan Zweig recalled the instrumental role that the feuilleton of the liberal *Neue Freie Presse* had played in helping to establish his career as a writer in Vienna. To have had an article accepted and published by this cultural section of Europe's most influential German newspaper meant that he had arrived on the literary scene as a respected authority.³ For the young Zweig, the feuilleton had always been a hallowed column. It existed in a detached, ideal world 'unter dem Strich' – that is, 'in the lower half of the front page, separated sharply from the ephemera of the politics of the day by an unbroken line that extended from margin to margin.'⁴ Other Viennese writers such as Hermann Bahr and Karl Kraus were less naïve about this apparent separation of art and politics. For in fact and in practice, the cultural affairs of the dual monarchy were directly subordinate to economic and political realities. It was actually only appropriate that the feuilleton was located 'below the line' – a line, incidentally, that was by no means impermeable or insusceptible to violation in either direction. Any cultural administrator will have been well aware of this, and Max Dvořák, one suspects, was no exception.

Dvořák wrote a number of feuilletons in his short career, five for the *Neue Freie Presse*.⁵ Indeed, he was first introduced to the literate German-speakers of central Europe in the arts column of the same newspaper in 1905, when his mentor Franz Wickhoff published a glowing summary of the young historian's achievements on the occasion of his nomination to the Austrian Academy of Sciences.⁶ Most of Dvořák's own feuilleton and newspaper

articles treated questions relating to arts administration: libraries, galleries, museums and so on, but others were dedicated specifically to conservation issues. The first of these had covered ‘The Karlsplatz Question’ in December 1909, marking his arrival as a recognized authority in Viennese cultural life (MD 13). His second feuilleton was published the following year: ‘Monument Preservation and Art’, a sweeping diatribe against the supposed artistic and architectural depravity of the bourgeois nineteenth century, its *stylgemäß* (true-to-style) restoration methods in particular.⁷ But this second feuilleton was just the tip of an iceberg, a brief, apolitical extract from a longer essay on a far more complex cultural-political issue: the preservation of Diocletian’s Palace in Split (MD 10).

Dvořák was involved with this most ancient and significant of Austrian monuments throughout the duration of his career as a conservator; from a brief report on the subject in 1905 right up to a concerned word of warning issued to the new Yugoslavian government in 1920. As such, Split represents the ideal case study for any serious consideration of his approach to architectural conservation. All the more so for the fact that Diocletian’s Palace had served as the plaything of historicist restorators throughout the second half of the nineteenth century; changing Viennese attitudes towards the preservation of historic monuments can be traced from one year to the next via references to Split on the pages of the *Mitteilungen* and in related publications by Vienna School art historians and other Central Commission functionaries. The great Rudolf Eitelberger first broached the subject in the inaugural volume of the *MZK* in 1856. This and other studies were later taken up by CC member Alois Hauser, who, as the cathedral architect in Split, was entrusted with the indelicate task of a true-to-style restoration of the internal palace precinct. Hauser died in 1896, leaving the job he had started half done and the bell tower of Split cathedral still teetering under scaffold. Thankfully, he also left posterity a written record of his trying experience.

The turn of the century saw an increased level of state interest in Diocletian’s Palace and, in April 1903, the establishment of a separate commission that would be directly accountable to the Ministry of Education in Vienna. Strangely enough, Alois Riegl, the sole salaried member of the CC at the time, was not invited to join this special commission, which seems to have been conceived as a predominantly archaeological affair. Nevertheless, he was able to bring the doctrines of the modern monument cult to bear on Diocletian’s Palace by publishing a fine piece of argumentation in favour of preserving the prosaic medieval and modern buildings of historic Split alongside its monumental archaeological remains. He then sat with this new commission on just two occasions before his death in June 1905, whereupon he was succeeded by Dvořák.

Dvořák's involvement with Split was of course conditioned by the actions of his predecessors. He adopted Riegl's basic position and advocated it with a vengeance, reacting vehemently to the policy of *isolamento* and restoration that had been set in motion by his own institution prior to the emergence of the more progressive ideas. The radical shift in policy that followed – from restoration to conservation – understandably caused some degree of perplexity among those native Dalmatians who had been diligently working away on the restoration of the palace, the crowning glory of their national architectural heritage. Over time, the population of Split had come to accept Hauser's restoration project, abrasive though it was, glad to finally see some substantial funds and initiatives coming down from their tight-fisted overlords in Vienna. From the Dalmatian perspective then, the new policy will initially have looked like an abandonment of existing plans, and Dvořák was faced with the difficult task of bringing his Slavic cousins round to the idea of minimal intervention. This task was made no easier by the tense political situation in the Balkans around the time of the Bosnian Annexation Crisis (1908–09), which brought existing southern Slav resentment against Austria to a fever pitch.

The case study that follows is an attempt to sketch out these changing Austrian approaches to the conservation of Diocletian's Palace over a period of seventy years; from the foundation of the Central Commission up to the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. Besides the pertinent architectural structures in Split, which will be described in due course, its principal sources are Eitelberger, Hauser, Riegl and Dvořák. It will be clear from the outset that Diocletian's Palace was as much a political issue as a cultural one – something that is particularly striking in Eitelberger's art historiography. Similarly, towards the end of the period under consideration, Hermann Bahr's *Dalmatian Journey* (1909) provides many useful first-hand insights into Austrian cultural and economic policies in the southernmost crownland of the empire; policies which inevitably affected Dvořák's conservation activity.

It will be noted that all of these main sources are Viennese. Thus any conclusions that might be drawn regarding the reciprocal influence of conservation and politics in Dalmatia must inevitably remain provisional. Without a knowledge of the Italian and Croatian languages, the voices and opinions of the local Dalmatian population go largely unheard, so the history traced here can only claim to represent one particular view of Split: that of the ruling cultural elite in Vienna.⁸ This deficiency is perhaps compensated to a limited extent by two translated Dalmatian sources: a monograph on the palace by Don Frane Bulić, translated into German in 1929, and a state-of-the-nation speech delivered in 1910 by Dr Josip Smolaka, the democratic Dalmatian representative to the imperial parliament in Vienna. His lament over the economic impoverishment of his country was

translated into English by the British historian R. W. Seton-Watson as early as 1911. Otherwise though, the Dalmatians' views on the treatment of their cultural heritage can only be made out as faint echoes in the punctilious accounts of their royal and imperial superiors. Whilst these echoes may go some way towards explaining Dvořák's dogged insistence on the preservation of the so-called old episcopium – a building that became the particular focus of controversy – they cannot entirely explain why this unremarkable structure was destroyed by an arson attack in 1924.⁹

Rudolf Eitelberger's Pragmatic Cultural Imperialism

Thirty years after the Revolution of 1848, Rudolf Eitelberger still felt unable to present a calm, balanced account of the overwhelming impressions that those turbulent days had left on him. He had initially backed the losing side in the Viennese uprising before taking over as political editor, then feuilleton editor of the semi-official *Wiener Zeitung*, where he continued to champion the liberal cause in defiance of Metternich's defunct absolutist system. Famously, his openly constitutional views temporarily impeded his appointment to the position of associate professor at the University of Vienna, for he remained suspect in the eyes of the young emperor until 1852.¹⁰ By 1879, though, after a period of tough neo-absolutist censorship followed by a spate of concessionary constitutional reforms, Eitelberger's generation of Austrian liberals had been fully assimilated. Writing that same year, Eitelberger described the personal ideological consequences of his early revolutionary experience in an account that is surprising not so much for the political *volte face* it implies as for the fact that it appears in a work of art history: the foreword to the first volume of his *Collected Writings on Art History* (4 vols, 1879–84). Here, with a disarming frankness, Eitelberger retrospectively asserts that his impressions of March 1848 'contributed much to consolidating in me my principles of a political and patriotic attitude and gave a predominantly Austrian character to all of my work, both the literary publications and those relating to the visual arts. [...] thus in every situation and on every question I never lost sight of the prospect of being of some use to my fatherland, which I have sought to serve with every fibre of my spirit.'¹¹ This patriotic attitude, he openly admitted, lies as the 'Colorit der Zeitlage' (colouration of the age) over the entirety of his art-historical output. From the very beginnings of the discipline then, art history and politics went hand in hand in the service of the state.

This was true of Split on a grand scale. When Eitelberger first introduced the Palace of Diocletian to the readership of the Central Commission's *Mitteilungen* in 1856, his

intentions were at once pragmatic, cultural and political. His article on ‘The Substructures of the Imperial Palace of Diocletian in Split’ was based largely on the research of a Dalmatian conservator by the name of Vinko Andrić, who had found the vaults to be full of rubble, sewage and filth – ‘a source of illness and an upholder of uncleanness,’ which, according to Eitelberger, was ‘nowhere more at home in the monarchy than in the crownland of Dalmatia.’¹² He therefore appealed to his government to have the vaults cleared out and fitted with a decent sewage system for the benefit of the local population. In addition, the extant parts of a disused Roman aqueduct were to be integrated into a new water conduit running from nearby Salona (Solin) to Split. Such practical measures would only endear the monarchy to its subjects in Dalmatia. And indeed, by 1880 the aqueduct had been made serviceable again after a thousand years of neglect, an achievement that was justifiably seen as a feather in the cap of the Central Commission, though nothing was done about the unhygienic filth in the vaults for years to come.¹³ This question of hygiene was to become a serious bone of contention twenty-five years later.

Above and beyond these practical concerns Eitelberger was also acutely aware of the global significance of the Palace of Diocletian and its status as the most important and best preserved example of late imperial Roman architecture within the borders of his own empire. He recommended it as such to his academic colleagues, who had previously paid it far too little attention. More importantly, he recommended it to his imperial government, which had a duty of care towards it. Here Eitelberger hit upon on a fundamental problem, one that would accompany the conservation of the palace for at least the next sixty years: property relations. Arguing on the basis of the global significance of the palace he sought to withdraw the monument from the caprices of its private owners and inhabitants. ‘The Imperial Palace of Diocletian belongs neither to Split nor to Dalmatia,’ he claimed,

it belongs to the entire educated world. Any questions concerning its restoration must be dealt with from a perspective that is elevated well above local interests. If the usual local interests were to determine the restoration of this monument, it would soon be disfigured by additions and alterations of all sorts, such that there would be relatively few visible traces of it left after a few decades. The present condition of the palace clearly demonstrates what happens when nothing but these local interests are considered.¹⁴

Having thus taken Split out of Spalatian hands, so to speak, and having established its place in the ideal realm of universal world culture, he then swiftly pulled it back down a notch to the level of empire in an attempt to convince his government that *it* was in fact the legal owner of the material substance of the Roman remains. This could be argued on the basis of historical precedent. In the eighteenth century, under the Venetian Republic, the palace was

‘unconditionally understood as being government property’ just as ‘this possession was also seen as the property of the state’ during the brief existence of French Illyria, from 1809 to 1813.¹⁵ Therefore, when the Austrian Empire had acquired Dalmatia it had also unwittingly inherited ownership of Diocletian’s Palace. Eitelberger was obviously not making this point for the sake of petty possession, but rather to demonstrate to the Austrian state that it was now financially responsible for the maintenance and restoration of the palace. But this responsibility was not to be seen as an onerous burden. By properly looking after one of the most important Roman buildings in the world, he believed, Austria had an ideal opportunity to demonstrate its status as a *Kulturstaat* at the global level. The preservation of the Palace of Diocletian would be good foreign policy.



Figure 3.1. Aerial view of Split (1926)

All this may sound like a rather far-fetched exaggeration of the importance of cultural affairs in what was, after all, a peripheral town on the Adriatic coast more than five hundred kilometres away from Vienna (and without any railway connection). But for a liberal art historian and avowed Habsburg patriot such as Eitelberger – and later also for Hermann Bahr – the competent custodianship of Dalmatia’s artistic heritage seemed a matter of vital importance to the empire. This is evident from Eitelberger’s *Medieval Artistic Monuments of Dalmatia* (1861), particularly the historical introduction to the revised, second edition of 1884.¹⁶ Before turning to this text, though, it will be useful to hear a brief description of the relevant elements of the architecture and the history of the palace itself.

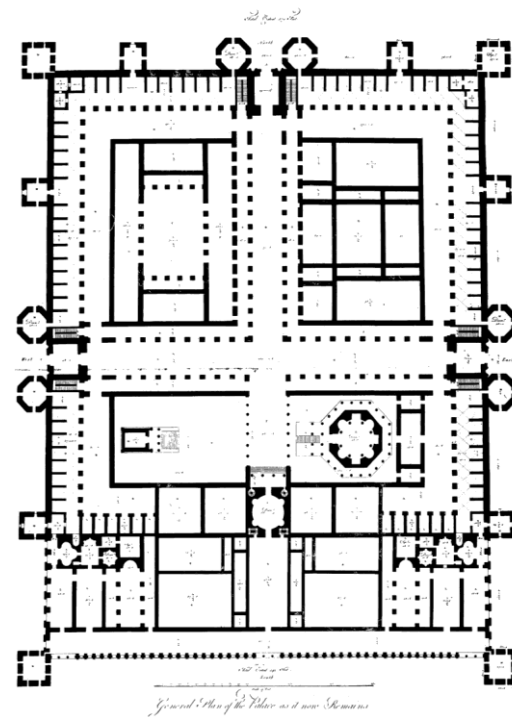


Figure 3.2. Robert Adam, plan of Diocletian's Palace (1764)

When Eitelberger first saw Split in 1859 he will have found the remains of the Palace of Diocletian somewhat more cramped, but not substantially changed from the well-preserved monumental ruins depicted in Robert Adam's famous folio of engravings, which was still the best published source of information on the subject even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century (fig. 3.2).¹⁷ The palace complex, completed around the time of Diocletian's abdication in 305 CE, is enclosed by a trapezoid of masonry walls approximating the rectangular plan of a typical Roman *castrum*, with long sides of 216 m oriented roughly north-east to south-west, and short sides of 175 m and 181 m on the north and (seaward) south front respectively (fig. 3.1). These walls were reinforced by a number of towers on the external walls and four square towers projecting from the corners, three of which are extant. Internally, the palace was quartered by perpendicular axes, the *cardo* and *decumanus*. These connected the four gates: the *porta ferrea* and *porta argentea* to west and east, the *porta aenea* giving onto the seafront, and the *porta aurea* facing the town of Salona to the north east. The *porta aurea* and the so-called cryptoporticus of engaged columns on the south front are the outstanding architectural features on the exterior. In Eitelberger's time, the former was partially concealed behind a pile of rubble (fig. 3.3), whilst the base of the southern facade was encumbered by more lean-to structures than it had been in Adam's day.¹⁸

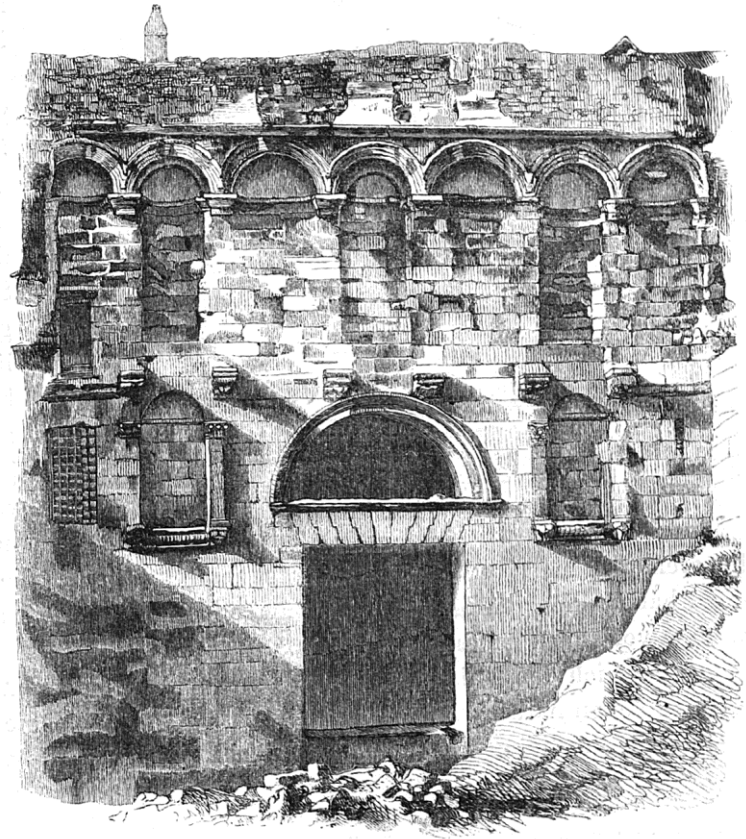


Figure 3.3. W. Zimmermann, the *porta aurea* (1861)

Speculative archaeological reconstructions of the complete internal arrangement of the palace need not concern us here. What still stood of the Roman architecture in the mid-nineteenth century is, broadly speaking, still standing now: Diocletian's octagonal mausoleum and the diminutive barrel-vaulted Jupiter temple that faces it are located either side of a central open peristyle just south of the *cardo*. This peristyle is bordered by a Corinthian colonnade supporting an entablature on a series of round arches that spring from one capital to the next – a feature that has frequently been cited as a significant architectural innovation of the palace.¹⁹ Another such innovation is the intrusion of a semi-circular relieving arch into the pediment of the portico or *prothyron* on the south side of the peristyle. This prothyron served as the entrance to the emperor's apartments and leads through to the last noteworthy, partially preserved overground structure: the vestibule or rotunda, the dome of which had evidently long since collapsed when Adam surveyed it in 1757.²⁰

The historical development of the palace after Diocletian's death begins with the destruction of neighbouring Salona by invading Slavs and Avars around the middle of the seventh century. Refugees from Salona initially fled to the islands off the coast of Split, then

returned to the mainland to establish a town within the relative security of the palace walls.²¹ The description of its subsequent development is perhaps best left to Dvořák himself.

The situation is as follows: as is well known, a medieval town was built into the ruins of the palace. The mausoleum of Diocletian was dedicated to the Madonna and converted into the church of the Bishop of Split. Emerging from the rubble of the palace, surrounded by the great palace walls, new buildings, streets and squares developed into a town on the field of ruins; a town unique in its class, a town in which the immense remains of the Roman monument combine with a medieval town complex and the creations of many centuries of artistic production into architectural *vedute* that outdo Piranesi's most audacious fantasies. Very little in Austria can match them in terms of their picturesque effect (MD 10:279).²²

For Dvořák, then, Split was a combination of the Piranesian sublime and the implicitly Sittesque, Viennese picturesque. For practical purposes though, the main point to note here is that Diocletian's octagonal mausoleum became first the church and ultimately the cathedral of Split. The requisite campanile was constructed in place of the mausoleum's prostyle – directly over the steps leading up to the cathedral – from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth century a choir and sacristy were added at the liturgical east end, interrupting the formerly continuous peripteros around the exterior of the mausoleum. The peripteros was later interrupted again by a chapel knocked through from within the cathedral and by dwellings hemming it in from without.²³ Thus the surroundings of the church were gradually built up over time, most densely on the south and east sides, but also – crucially – by the construction of the episcopium (bishop's palace), which enclosed the whole north-east side of the cathedral. Similarly, the Jupiter temple, having been converted into a baptistery in the seventh century, was also enclosed by a dense group of houses that either abutted it directly or were built into its immediate vicinity. No less than four separate chapels were constructed around and between the columns of the peristyle and prothyron, i.e. around the atrium between the cathedral and the baptistery. By the beginning of the nineteenth century all but five of the intercolumniations in the peristyle had been closed off by chapels, dwellings and shop fronts. A watercolour by the celebrated Viennese painter Rudolf von Alt may serve as a rough guide to the mid-nineteenth-century view of the resulting ensemble (fig. 3.4).

Eitelberger perhaps had a similar picture in mind when he decided, in 1884, to reissue his earlier work on *The Medieval Artistic Monuments of Dalmatia*, for even in 1859 he had seen Split as the only viable economic and cultural capital of Dalmatia. This second, revised edition is of particular interest here for the reports it contains on the restoration work at Diocletian's Palace, to which we shall return in a moment. But it is also curious on account of the twofold rationale Eitelberger gives for republication. The first reason is

actually rather trivial: apparently very few copies of the 1861 edition had remained in Austria, most of them having been bought up by eager antiquarians and grand tourists from Britain. ‘The English have always been interested in Dalmatia,’ he says; ‘to most Austrians it remained a *terra incognita*.’²⁴ Now though, Austrian ignorance or indifference toward the Balkans had suddenly been displaced by a keen interest. Thus his second rationale: ‘The focus of public attention is currently [1884] turned toward Dalmatia more than ever. It would be quite impossible for me to ignore the present political circumstances in Dalmatia in the second edition of this work. [...] today Dalmatia is comparable to a profoundly turbulent sea, whereas the Dalmatia of 1859 was the picture of a calm and quiet land.’²⁵ This turbulence on the Balkan peninsula was the result of both changed political circumstances and the gradual development of self-assertive national Slav cultures, i.e. the Austro-Hungarian military occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina following the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, and the ascendancy of a broadly anti-Habsburg South Slav Movement alongside a waxing ‘Slavic Renaissance’ in the cultural field.



Figure 3.4. Rudolf von Alt, *The Cathedral Square in Split* (1841)

Just as the introduction to the first volume of Eitelberger’s collected works had made art history a politically engaged, patriotic-imperial endeavour, so the lengthy historical introduction to his work on Dalmatian art also had political intentions, and in fact constitutes a gallant early attempt to solve the intractable ‘Southern Slav Question’.²⁶ Eitelberger was under no illusions. He did not believe that Vienna could placate unrest and disaffection in Dalmatia and elsewhere merely by showing an interest in its art history and by patching up a few old buildings. He did however see both art history and the administration of cultural

heritage, under the broad banner of historical education, as an integral element of a possible economic and cultural solution. This solution would to some extent recognize historic national particularities and the distinct cultural heritages of the southern Slavs of the empire. 'They have an historic past behind them, and now, as they become aware of their national past, they also seize confidence in the future.'²⁷ Rather than attempting to stifle any consciousness of this national past, Austria would be well advised, he believed, to foster it.

In more concrete terms, though, Eitelberger called for investment in shipping and agriculture, traffic infrastructure, education, the relaxation of export duties, as well as religious and linguistic freedoms (this on the proviso, of course, that German was to remain the *lingua dell' impero*, as the Italians of Dalmatia would call it). These eminently progressive policy suggestions were first drafted as a private memorandum just after Eitelberger visited Split in the late fifties. In 1884 he decided to make them public as if to say, 'this is how we ought to deal with the Slavs' – for Austria's governance of Dalmatia was still far from living up to the relatively recent exemplar of enlightened French rule: between 1809 and 1813 the short-lived Napoleonic administration of a certain Marshal Marmont had abolished the feudal system and introduced universal elementary education in Dalmatia, whereas in 1814 Austria abolished universal elementary education and reintroduced the feudal system.²⁸ If the Austrian government would only reverse this policy of keeping the Dalmatian people in poverty and illiteracy, Eitelberger expected to see four significant benefits: 1) increased investment would turn an economically passive province into a source of state revenue, 2) good governance would yield a loyal and 'warlike nation of brave soldiers', 3) due consideration of Slavic interests in Dalmatia would create a sturdy bulwark against Italian irredentist propaganda and 4) 'make a good impression on neighbouring Bosniaks and Turkish Slavs elsewhere'.²⁹ This all pointed in one direction. In 1859 Eitelberger firmly believed that neither the coastal crownland of Dalmatia nor the neighbouring landlocked territory of Ottoman Bosnia were viable as separate economies. He drew the logical conclusions from this and claimed that if the Turks had any sense they would have to take the coast by force. Moreover though,

Conversely, the Austrian government, which possesses Dalmatia, has no other choice but to constantly direct its political efforts towards eventualities that would make the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina possible, and on the other hand to govern in Dalmatia itself in such a way as to make the neighbouring Bosniaks themselves more inclined to accept Austrian rule someday.³⁰

A rather bold statement to find in a work of art history. In any case, by 1884 the desired military occupation (though not yet legal possession) of Bosnia was a *fait accompli*, even if

the Austrians had done little to earn it besides signing the Treaty of Berlin (1878). They still needed to win over the increasingly self-assertive Slavic peoples of their now expanded southern territories, and since Croatia was jealously and tyrannically governed from Budapest, Dalmatia was left as one of the only direct spheres of influence available to the imperial government in Vienna, that is, if it wanted to do anything positive about the south Slav question at all. Or, to use the anglophone euphemism for cultural propaganda, Split had become a crucial theatre in Austria's 'battle for hearts and minds'.

In a retrospective footnote tagged onto his earlier political memorandum as though to draw attention to one area in which Vienna had made a contribution to Dalmatia and the general wellbeing of the south Slavs, Eitelberger again underlined the global significance of the antiquities of Split and remarked that 'The Austrian government has done a great deal for the *conservation and restoration of architectural monuments* and for the museums there.'³¹ While these words will have been entirely lost on the illiterate peasant majority of the Dalmatian population, they were true enough, and perhaps carried some weight among the educated urban classes.³² But what was actually done?

It seems the French regime of Marshal Marmont provided the liberal Austrians of the post-March era with their model of good architectural restoration, too. Eitelberger spoke admiringly of his 'wonderful scheme for the reconstruction' of Diocletian's Palace and lamented the fact that political circumstances had not granted him enough time to remove the 'ugly lean-to buildings' from the seaward facade of the palace as planned.³³ Although these blemishes on the south front had still not been removed by 1884, the *porta aurea* had at least been divested of its rubble. In addition, further disfiguration and a possible loss of original fabric had been successfully warded off thanks to the acquisition of a couple of pieces of real estate located around the external walls. By some inexplicable oversight on the part of the municipality of Split – perhaps 1861 was a bad year financially – the well-preserved northern corner tower (*Torre de San Rainero*) had been sold to a building firm, and a plot of land abutting the eastern wall had also found its way into private hands somehow. Fifteen years later, the building firm intended to tear the tower down completely, whilst the proud owner of the site on the east wall had already started erecting a building on it when the local conservator intervened. Both properties had to be redeemed with funds from the Central Commission, and the *MZK* again felt obliged to remind its readership that the fabric of Diocletian's Palace was the property of the state.³⁴ Indeed, the *MZK* reports that were received from Dalmatia in the latter half of the nineteenth century are littered with similar legal skirmishes between private owners and the central authorities, municipality and state.

In the central palace precinct things were not left quite so much to chance or the fancies of private owners and municipal politicians. Here, the gentlemen in Vienna entrusted the restoration of the cathedral and its surroundings to the Dalmatian architect-engineer Vinko Andrić (1793–1866), who had trained at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome under Canova from 1812 to 1816. It is worth noting that Andrić spent part of his final year of study working on the excavation of the Forum Romanum and will therefore have been more than familiar with the sort of subtractive restorations that were being carried out there, notably the ‘laying bare’ of the Arch of Titus (also by the French).³⁵ In 1854 the Central Commission appointed him conservator for Split and Zadar, a role in which ‘he campaigned for the reconstitution of the original form of architectural monuments and advocated the “cleansing” of antique monuments of medieval and subsequent changes.’³⁶ Though his unsparing approach went well beyond mere restoration, Eitelberger was surprisingly supportive:

His plans, namely to liberate the exterior of the cathedral from the accumulation of abutting buildings and, having also freed up its interior from additions that disturb the impression of the building, to use this as the atrium of a new cathedral, since the old cathedral is far too small for the growing population of Split anyway, found no less applause with the experts than did his fine survey of the Roman aqueduct, which was made for the purpose of bringing sufficient water from the nearby limestone mountains to the numerous inhabitants of the palace.³⁷

Thus again we find preservation efforts combined with practical concerns in Eitelberger’s writing; they are hailed in the same breath as parallel praiseworthy endeavours, even to the point where he seems to endorse the idea of building a (presumably larger) cathedral onto the back of Diocletian’s mausoleum for the sake of its function, i.e. as a Christian congregational space. Understandably, these plans for a new church extension were not at all popular and were abandoned when Andrić died in 1866, only to return later at sporadic intervals. But the idea of ‘liberating’ the Roman monument from its historical accretions – the notion of ‘isolating’ the mausoleum within a specific spatial and temporal context – originates with this architect from Traù (Trogir), the first native Dalmatian to make a survey of the palace. *Isolamento* à la Andrić would later become a powerful and stubborn obsession for both the population of Split and for the old guard of restorators at the Central Commission. Whilst the dogma of the superiority of classical art lived out its last moments in the late nineteenth century, even Eitelberger, who actually had a particular affinity for the art of the middle ages, was loath to see so important a Roman building encumbered by medieval accretions. ‘Only a blind admiration for the middle ages’, he claimed, ‘could deny the enormous difference that distinguishes the antique buildings of Dalmatia from the Romanesque.’³⁸ He and significant others in both Split and Vienna wanted to liberate

Dalmatia's imperial heritage from the encumbrances of more recent architectural history, and this was also his justification for supporting the destructive restoration policies that were put into practice by the Viennese architect Alois Hauser.

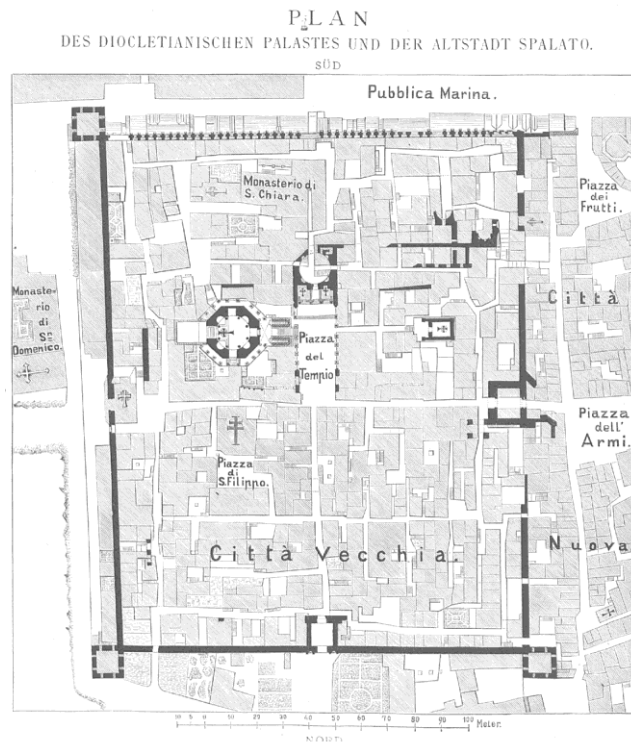


Figure 3.5. Alois Hauser, plan of Diocletian's Palace (1883)

The Destructive Preservation Work of Alois Hauser

Alois Hauser (1841–1896) will perhaps be judged less harshly if it is remembered that he took over responsibility for the restoration of Diocletian's Palace at a time when local Dalmatian plans for the *isolamento* of the cathedral and peristyle were already being implemented. Nevertheless, he seems to have willingly acquiesced in this policy, only abandoning some of the more extreme proposals that had been put forward by Vinko Andrić, who, as we have seen, was himself following Napoleonic models. Hauser's activity in Split commenced around 1876 and was predominantly focussed on the central palace precinct. He oversaw the demolition of a number of buildings in and around the peristyle area, he restored the cathedral and he began the restoration of the campanile, which was left unfinished when he died at the young age of fifty-five.

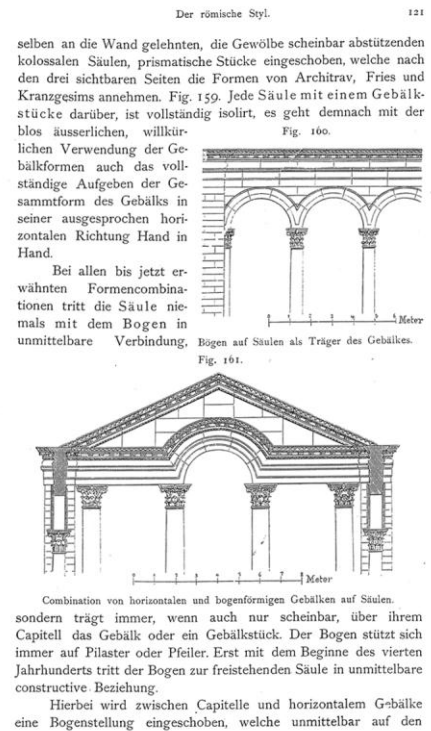


Figure 3.6. Alois Hauser, from the *Stylistic Doctrine* (1877)

Hauser studied architecture and archaeology in Vienna and Berlin before going on to teach at the Viennese School of Applied Arts, the pedagogical appendage to Eitelberger's Austrian Museum of Art and Industry. This effectively made him an employee of Eitelberger, who served as director of the school having established it in 1868. By this time the latter was a highly influential arts advisor to the imperial government, and thus it is probable that he was involved in Hauser's appointment to the position of *Dombaumeister* (cathedral architect) in Split.³⁹ But Hauser's teaching activity is also of some relevance here. His precise title is particularly telling: he was 'Professor for Stylistic Doctrine' (*Styl-Lehre*), and thus responsible for introducing a generation of Austrian architects and designers to the acceptable canon of historical architectural styles, from antiquity up to the Renaissance.⁴⁰ He wrote a series of short textbooks on this subject for his students, just as Otto Wagner also wrote *Modern Architecture* as an accompaniment to his master class at the Academy of Fine Arts fifteen years later.⁴¹ In some respects these two works can be seen as complementary opposites, late-historicist and proto-modernist respectively. In any case, the less famous of the two – now entirely forgotten – was conceived as a trilogy: the slim first instalment appeared in 1877 as a *Stylistic Doctrine of the Architectural Forms of Antiquity*, while the following two volumes on medieval and Renaissance architecture were published some years later.⁴² These books had been commissioned by the Ministry of Education, which

therefore owned the rights, and so the Central Commission in turn decided to distribute the first volume to all of its 'Section I' conservators (those concerned with the monuments of classical antiquity). As a result, Hauser will have had a quietly pervasive influence on restoration practice throughout Cisleithania – assuming people read the book, of course. It encouraged students (and other readers) to learn the historical styles by heart and by rote. The essential forms of each period were presented – not to say isolated – as simple line drawings and clear, objective descriptions of prototypical examples, the Palace of Diocletian being one of them (fig. 3.6). It was evidently this sort of publication Dvořák was referring to when he blamed the degeneracy of late-nineteenth-century art and architecture on 'false stylistic doctrines, pattern books, and slavish imitations' (MD 21:332). He may well have been given a copy when he first joined the CC.

Hauser himself became a member of the Central Commission in 1875 and was appointed *Dombaumeister* in Split the following year. He did not waste any time. The first dispatches sent back to the *MZK* reported dramatic progress. Three buildings that had stood in the immediate vicinity of the old mausoleum were in the process of being demolished as part of the first phase of a state-sanctioned 'isolation and restoration' plan which Hauser had drawn up on behalf of the Ministry; a plan that set out to achieve nothing less than the complete 'exposure of the cathedral in Split' – the removal of all surrounding buildings as well as the choir, the sacristy and the protruding S. Doimo chapel.⁴³ Two houses that had formerly encroached on the south side of the octagonal peripteros had now been completely removed, and the café that had once blocked off two of the peristyle intercolumniations (i.e. the café visible on the left in Rudolf von Alt's picture) was also carefully dismantled. This clearance of more recent additions promised to provide an 'unimpeded view' of the cathedral through the columns of the peristyle, while the south side of the peripteros had also 'been freed up and now stands on the original paving at its full imposing height, all the way from the socle to the roof cornice.'⁴⁴ Demolition work in the central palace precinct continued apace along these lines for a number of years, wiping out all trace of a chapel and a number of other houses, until progress was brought to a temporary halt in 1880. It had transpired that the physical disruption around the cathedral and the columns of the peristyle was either directly causing or at least revealing serious damage in the original Roman fabric. Settlement and cracks had become evident in the now exposed areas of the external walls of the mausoleum. Parts of the ornamental articulation of the interior had also become unstable, such that fragments of stone and stucco were starting to come loose.⁴⁵ As a result, the cathedral had to be closed temporarily and the church bells silenced, which caused some upset among the local population. Of course, the flaws also had to be made good, and this

work added significantly to the cost of the whole isolation procedure, which was all being paid for by the state. Not only did it have to put up considerable sums of money to purchase the buildings that Hauser had earmarked for destruction; it also had to pay for the demolitions themselves as well as any necessary restorative repairs. Fortunately for Hauser, he always retained the full backing of his influential senior colleague. 'The restoration of the cathedral is now in full swing,' wrote Eitelberger, as late as 1884, 'Architect Professor Alois Hauser has done himself particularly proud with the restoration of the cathedral. The Central Commission in Vienna has found the right man for this difficult job.'⁴⁶

But Hauser also made his own independent and well-reasoned defence for the voids he was creating at the centre of Split. He justified his destructive preservation projects in a couple of lectures held at the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry, one in 1876, just as the isolation work was beginning, and another in 1883, once work on the restoration of the cathedral interior was well underway (fig. 3.5). His argumentation is interesting. Hauser was a diligent student of the long and complex architectural history of Diocletian's Palace, and he later wrote a number of scholarly art-historical essays on the subject, these to a certain extent anticipating Alois Riegl's reappraisal of the *Late Roman Art Industry* (1901) by establishing the important link between late Roman and early Christian art.⁴⁷ His lecture of 1876, being based on the same thorough historical knowledge, provided a solid overview of the construction of the palace itself and a history of the additions that had been made over the centuries, along with cursory appraisals of their artistic value, or rather lack thereof. For instance, the imposing forty-seven-metre campanile was seen as a fine example of Romanesque architecture, in its own right at least, but otherwise it was perceived as an unwelcome and disruptive addition to the original mausoleum. It had obscured the only source of light to the church interior – the open segmental arch above the doors – and, as a result, had necessitated the incision of new window apertures in the original Roman masonry of the church as well as the removal of the original coffered roof of the peripteros outside. Similarly, the 'box-like' seventeenth-century choir had been tacked onto the mausoleum as a mere expedient and had required the knocking through of one of the niches. This was done without any consideration for a portion of internal frieze, which was thus annihilated in the process. Hauser's condemnation of these and the more prosaic accretions outside was conditioned by an almost anxious desire to reveal, to lay eyes upon the remaining original fabric: 'Over time, the cathedral was built in on all sides by the construction of smaller buildings that cut right into the colonnades of the peristyle quite irregularly. The monument thereby became virtually invisible or only glanced out here and there between the later additions, with which it formed a highly picturesque whole.'⁴⁸ Clearly, Hauser was by no

means blind to the picturesque charms of the ensemble that had emerged at the end of this patchwork history, but more than anything he was enamoured with the idea of the former monumentality of the imperial palace, just as Marmont and Andrić had been before him:

Once the observer has had his fill of these overall picturesque impressions he will soon be convinced that the chief value of his picture is down to the grandeur and power of the preserved Roman buildings. These can look down with a justified pride on the many inferior accretions and new buildings at their feet, for they are of exemplary technical execution. Whilst their parasitic structures are now already partly decrepit and evidence every conceivable affliction, the Roman remains stand there resolutely as though they had been finished only yesterday.⁴⁹

These ‘parasitic’ accretions, particularly the additions of the seventeenth century, were therefore entirely dispensable, for they could never compare with the monumental qualities of the authentic fabric. Philosophizing on the ironies of history before his audience at the Austrian Museum, Hauser remarked that the only reason any of the ancient structures had been preserved at all was precisely because they had been so thoroughly incorporated into the fabric of the medieval town; encased in later additions which had served as a protective layer against the relentless forces of time. This was especially true of the central precinct: the cathedral and the peristyle. ‘Of these it can be said, contradictory as it may sound, that the history of their preservation is at once the history of their destruction’⁵⁰ – that is, the purity of these monumental structures had been (temporarily) destroyed by later accretions, though these same accretions had also fortuitously preserved the Roman fabric within a thick skin of stone that now only needed to be peeled away in order to reveal the original structures in all their former glory. After the turn of the century, of course, Hauser’s paradox would be turned against him by the anti-restorationists, for his isolationist preservation policy was nothing if not destructive.

For the time being though, in the eighteen-eighties and nineties, restoration work in the palace precinct was resumed according to plan, with further clearances, exposures and isolation of the cathedral and peristyle. Once the portal of the cathedral had been restored, a supportive scaffold was erected around the campanile in 1882, for it too had become structurally unstable and was threatening to collapse.⁵¹ Here, the intention was to remove the ‘artistically worthless’ octagonal termination of the tower and to restore the upper two levels of its four-storey structure, though in the event, when the restoration started in earnest in 1890, the entire structure proved so unsound that it had to be completely dismantled and reconstructed in a form that merely resembled the original as closely as possible. The *MZK* is conspicuously silent on this aspect of the palace restoration; one gets the impression that the campanile had become something of an embarrassment to the Central Commission, not to

mention a serious financial burden. Aside from the purchase of two further chapels to the north of the cathedral in 1893 – one of which was immediately dismantled and removed – almost all funds approved for Split by the Central Commission in the 1890s were spent on the repair of the campanile.⁵² After Hauser's death in 1896, a short notice in the *MZK* sought to clarify the status of the work: 'Firstly, we should make the correction that the work on the said tower can hardly be called a restoration anymore, rather, it is a reconstruction of the tower on the old model.' The anonymous author of this report nevertheless made the best of the bad situation. 'A new tower or a rebirth of the old in new garb will actually do Austria proud, for it has spent no small sum of money on it up to this point.' The new cathedral tower, according to this patriotic editorial voice, would be 'a pleasure and an edification for generations to come, as an example of the munificence of our government.'⁵³ The Austrian state had indeed spent large amounts of money on the monuments of Split – in fact around twelve per cent of the total CC annual budget over the course of the eighteen-nineties (see table 2).⁵⁴ Whether it was money well spent is another matter, and, as we have seen, the government's munificence towards Dalmatia was never as disinterested as the editor of the *MZK* sought to imply.

Year	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1896	1898
Total	108672	113000	94707	105385	130100	168810	240009	243952
Central Commission	11430 11%	11430 10%	11630 12%	14835 14%	16755 13%	20055 12%	22175 9%	25270 10%
Stephansdom Vienna	2000 2%	2000 2%	0 0%	5000 5%	5000 4%	5000 3%	5000 2%	5000 2%
Prague Cathedral	15000 14%	18000 16%	15000 16%	15000 14%	15000 12%	15000 9%	15000 6%	20000 8%
Diocletian's Palace	3570 3%	5000 4%	10000 11%	10000 10%	15000 12%	25000 15%	30000 13%	30000 12%

Table 2. Comparative Austrian monument expenditure in florins and percentages, from the budgets of the Ministry of Education (1888–98)⁵⁵

The question as to how the Spalatians themselves perceived the protracted restoration of the campanile and Hauser's radical interventions at the inner core of their town shall for the moment remain open. Reading between the lines of his and Eitelberger's accounts, only one obvious negative reaction stands out: there was clearly a certain sector of

the population, no doubt the pious parishioners of Split, who were concerned to see that their cathedral was not secularized by the restoration, turned into a museum of Roman antiquities or returned to its original sepulchral function. This was a common enough concern with church restorations throughout the monarchy, and both Eitelberger and Hauser made a point of underlining that secularization was not their intention.⁵⁶ Otherwise though, popular Dalmatian opinions on the *isolamento* of their finest national monument are nowhere recorded on the pages of the *MZK*, at least not in the nineteenth century. Long-term local attitudes towards Hauser's isolation work are best judged on the basis of the strongly negative public reaction to the Central Commission's policy U-turn in the early twentieth century.

Alois Riegl: From Isolamento to Ensemble Protection

Shortly after 1900, and for a number of different reasons, the imperial government in Vienna began to take its responsibilities toward the Palace of Diocletian rather more seriously. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century calls for improved administrative organization, a proper archaeological survey and adequate state funding for the preservation and research of this pre-eminent monument had only increased in number and intensity. Despite the significant sums of money that had been poured into the reconstruction of the campanile in the eighteen-nineties, by 1904 the flow of funding had evidently diminished to a trickle. The builders had been laid off and all work on the tower had ground to a halt. As the archaeologist Otto Benndorf remarked after a site visit, the twenty-four-year-old wooden scaffold was now bone dry and therefore represented both a serious fire hazard and, given Dalmatia's turbulent climate, a real threat to the roof structure of the cathedral below (fig. 3.7).⁵⁷ The Central Commission could only appeal to the Ministry of Education for funds in order to get the job finished as quickly as possible. It was finally completed in 1908.

While it is difficult to determine exactly how much money was spent on Diocletian's Palace during the first decade of the twentieth century, the few figures that were published in the *MZK* for this period show that, if anything, the proportion of Central Commission funding allocated to Split actually decreased. The CC administrative budget for 1909 saw an impressive year-on-year increase of around 22% (from 116 000 crowns in 1908 to 142 211 crowns in 1909), but the proportion of overall annual restoration spending set aside for Diocletian's Palace had fallen to somewhere between five and seven per cent (25 000 crowns), having stood at a proud fifteen in 1893.⁵⁸ Although these percentages only furnish a vague idea of the actual financial situation – other sources of funding may have

found their way down to Dalmatia via channels other than the CC – the financial prospects for Diocletian's Palace were clearly not good.⁵⁹

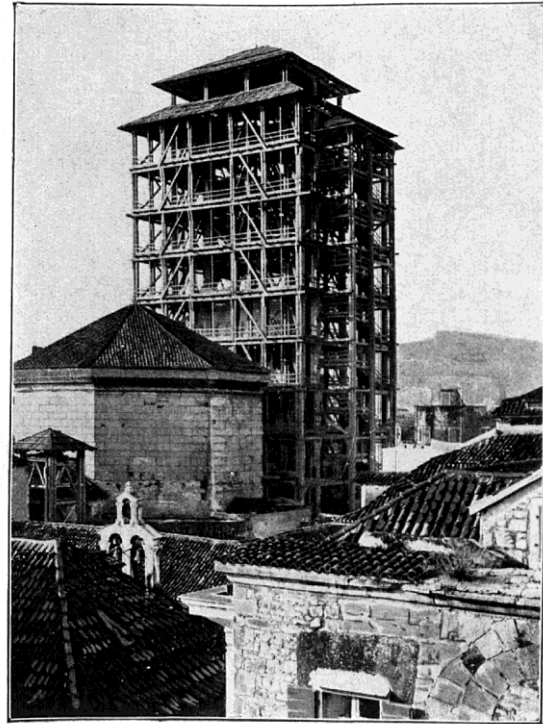


Figure 3.7. The campanile under scaffold (before 1908)

Moreover, the general economic impoverishment of Dalmatia around 1900 seems to have had an indirect and profoundly counterproductive effect on the preservation efforts. In 1902, Wilhelm Kubitschek – an archaeologist, CC member and joint editor of the *MZK* with Alois Riegl – wrote a couple of reports on Dalmatia, texts which are interesting as much for the new, combative tone they adopt as for the content of their arguments. He attacked certain recent developments in Split (without explicitly naming them) as attempts to ‘assassinate’ parts of the fabric of the Roman monument.⁶⁰ And he went on to accuse the municipality not only of selling deeds for plots of land adjacent to the palace walls, but also of actively encouraging construction on such sites, presumably to cater to the tourist industry.⁶¹ Regardless of whether or not this assertion was exaggerated, it is difficult to believe that local politicians in Split, who were hardly unaware of the importance of their architectural heritage, would have resorted to such measures unless compelled to do so by pressing economic need.

But here Kubitschek again revived the long-standing issue of property relations at Diocletian's Palace. Arguing on the basis of more accurate information than had been

available to Eitelberger some fifty years before, he ascertained that the Republic of Venice had passed an act in 1731 which recognized the fabric of the palace as the property of the municipality. This act, however, had been revoked during the French administration when Marmont declared the palace to be the property of the state. Thereafter, all those residing within its walls or in buildings adjacent to them could only claim the right of usufruct. It went without saying, at least for Kubitschek, that actual ownership had automatically passed to the Austrian state when it took over the administration of Dalmatia in 1814.⁶² But the state had consistently proven itself reluctant to accept this endowment and the responsibilities it entailed, so Kubitschek again urged the fatherland to finally acknowledge its ownership of the palace and to legislate for its perpetual protection. 'It is a duty of honour for Austria to protect this monument from further destruction,' he argued, and was reinforced in his bid for state ownership by Wilhelm Anton Neumann, director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, who organized a petition in order to demonstrate local support for the idea.⁶³ It was signed by a thousand Spalatians and submitted to the Ministry of Education later that year.⁶⁴ A further influential Spalatian voice was then added to the clamour when local conservator Frane Bulić sent in his own polemical brochure, *Il Palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato è proprietà dello Stato* (1902). It was politely received by the Central Commission, but all these voices combined still failed to provoke any sort of unequivocal appropriation by the state.

This prevarication on the part of the Austrian government could perhaps be seen – at a push – in terms of a benevolent imperial power granting a subject nation a degree of autonomy in the administration of its own cultural affairs. That it was clearly not seen in these terms, at least from the educated Dalmatian perspective, is strikingly demonstrated by the curious and contradictory person of the abovementioned Don Frane Bulić (1846–1934): a man of the cloth, an eminent archaeologist, a native of Split, Riegl's nemesis, conservator for the Central Commission, suspected Slav conspirator, devoted admirer of Dvořák and, above all else, a patriot for the Palace of Diocletian.⁶⁵ When Hermann Bahr met Bulić in 1906, the conversation soon turned to the question of state ownership. Bahr describes their lively encounter in his *Dalmatian Journey*:

But he speaks of our government in far worse terms than even Smodlaka. Apparently it doesn't understand the first thing about the Palace of Diocletian. He told me how, when he was appointed conservator some years ago, he had marched into the bureau to officially register Diocletian's Palace as the property of the state in order to protect it from barbaric interventions. But instead of being thanked for this, as he firmly believed he would be, what do you think happened? He stands up and takes hold of me – he still can't believe it to this day. 'What do you think? No one would guess! What do you think happened? I ought to have been knighted, but all I got was

a good clip round the ear. A clip around the ear! Instead of thanking me for coming up with the only way of protecting the palace!’ And he rubs his ear as if it were still smarting. ‘But the Ministry of Finance said it would cost too much money. They don’t want to know about it in Vienna. Whenever I’m in Vienna they say that’s all very well and good, but we don’t have the money.’ And again the old gentleman jumps up and grabs me by the shoulders and repeats in his heavy, incredulous voice: ‘No money? No money for the Palace of Diocletian?!’⁶⁶

For all the righteous exasperation of this animated account, Bulić would later come to play an important role in mediating disputes between the Central Commission in Vienna and the political representatives of the citizens of Split.

While the Austrian government remained unwilling to acknowledge direct responsibility for Diocletian’s Palace, there was nevertheless a definite turn for the better in 1903. This was a significant year in many respects. For one, the Central Commission celebrated its first fifty years of activity. Secondly, its long-serving president, Alexander Freiherr von Helfert, could also look back on forty years in office. Granted, his tenure had not been entirely without controversy, but the speeches, articles and commemorative publications that celebrated the double anniversary were suitably laudatory in tone and naturally chose to highlight the old man’s positive achievements, Split being one of them.⁶⁷ At the same time though, this anniversary clearly marked the end of Helfert’s era. In 1902 the very public dispute over the restoration of the Great Portal of the Stephansdom had not only discredited the Central Commission by revealing its irreconcilable internal differences – namely between the old guard of restorators and the younger generation of conservationists – it also provided a foretaste of the paradigm shift that was to occur with the publication of Alois Riegl’s *Moderne Denkmalkultus* in 1903.⁶⁸ By some fortunate coincidence, this new body of theory appeared just as the Austrian Ministry of Education decided to assemble an independent commission to consult on how best to preserve the Roman remains of Split. This new commission, it can fairly be said, heralded ‘a new era of state action for the preservation and research of Diocletian’s Palace.’⁶⁹ For some reason Riegl was not asked to take part.

The said commission first met in April 1903, with the Central Commission represented exclusively by delegates from its Section I – for classical antiquity – alongside members of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, the district commissioner and the mayor of Split.⁷⁰ Indeed, the ‘April Commission’ was a predominantly archaeological affair. Its chief tasks were, firstly, to regulate the problem of property relations within the palace in order to save the Roman ruins from the destructive acts of the barbaric natives and, secondly, to instigate a full archaeological survey of the site. Following well-established practice, the commission would probably have given little consideration to the monuments of later

periods, and none if Wilhelm Kubitschek's extreme views can be taken as being representative. His wish was to see the interior of the palace complex completely evacuated in order to facilitate a full-scale archaeological dig. On this model the Dalmatian inhabitants of the town centre would have had no say in the matter; they were simply to be resettled elsewhere, outside the palace walls. And there was a recent precedent for such radical measures, albeit an exceptional case: Kubitschek cited the example of Delphi, where an entire village had been levelled for the sake of the French-led excavation just before the turn of the century.⁷¹ Of course, no one will have taken him seriously for a moment – the enforced displacement of some three thousand southern Slavs could well have started a war with Serbia – but his extreme position does serve to illustrate the conflict of interests that had developed between the classical archaeologists and their offspring, the art historians, as the one discipline branched off from the other and sought to stake out its claim to a less destructive, more inclusive architectural history of Split. As a Section II conservator responsible for the care of medieval and modern monuments, Riegl wanted to preserve as much of the existing fabric as possible, and thus initially found himself in direct opposition to his colleague and co-editor at the *MZK*.

The actual situation on the ground in Split was far less dramatic than Kubitschek's aggressive proposals seemed to suggest. In 1903 the restoration work was still muddling along according to the dated principle of *isolamento*, but far from a complete evacuation of the ruins, this clearance work was limited to the projected demolition of a handful of buildings around the cathedral, the baptistery and at the *porta ferrea*. A number of these properties had been purchased by the state and were only awaiting demolition. Others were already in the process of being torn down when Riegl intervened with his 'Report on an Investigation Concerning the Defence of the Interests of the Medieval and Modern Monuments within the Former Palace of Diocletian at Split, Undertaken on Behalf of the President of the Royal and Imperial Central Commission'.⁷² This short text would come to determine the Austrian approach to the preservation of Diocletian's Palace for the next fifteen years.

With all the diplomacy and balance so typical of Riegl's mode of argumentation, his report acknowledged the primacy of archaeological interests from the very outset, but it also firmly asserted an *Existenzberechtigung* (right to exist) for the post-antique buildings of Split, even where these seemed to represent nothing more than impediments to a proper archaeological study. Referring to the minutes of the April Commission, Riegl pointed out that its mandate was 'to determine the most expedient measures for the preservation of *the remains of the palace in their present state*'.⁷³ Thus the conflict of interests between

Sections I and II of the Central Commission was to a certain extent a matter of semantics. The archaeologists will have understood the phrase ‘remains of the palace in their present state’ (*Reste des Palastes in ihrem derzeitigen Bestande*) to mean the Roman remains alone, whereas Riegl proposed a broader, more catholic interpretation. For him it meant the Roman remains taken together with their added contents as a single historical organism – at least where those contents could lay claim to any art-historical, aesthetic or commemorative values. According to this reading the April Commission had overstepped its remit when it resolved, in agreement with local politicians, to undertake excavations and clearances for the sake of archaeological investigation, since this would have meant not the preservation of the palace as a whole, but the destruction of elements that were to be seen as integral to its value as a monument. As Riegl put it, ‘the freeing up of the antique parts of the palace means nothing other than the removal of the medieval additions and the modern modifications to the palace precinct.’⁷⁴ In order to prevent this from happening he set himself the task of appraising the art-historical and commemorative value of the structures in question, i.e. the three groups of buildings that had been slated for demolition. In doing so he was careful not to impinge on the archaeologists’ territory; he sensibly left it to them to assess whether any real archaeological advantage was to be gained from the clearances. It would then be up to the Ministry of Education to make an informed judgement, on the basis of both assessments, as to whether the buildings were to be demolished or not.

The least significant group of buildings, for Riegl, consisted of four barracks built around or into the volume of the *porta ferrea*. He had no objection to their removal and only stipulated that the voids thus created in the gatehouse structure were to be filled in with temporary market stands once the desired archaeological investigations had been carried out. The second group of buildings was made up of two houses at the rear of the baptistery. These were also of minimal art-historical significance, and Riegl sanctioned their removal on the grounds that exposing the fine cornice of the Roman temple would compensate for any loss of other values. He did voice one important concern, though, namely that a large void opened up in the region of the baptistery might be aesthetically detrimental to the overall effect of the narrow streetscape (*Straßenbild*).

The third group of condemned buildings was at once the most significant and the most complex. It consisted of three smaller groups clustered closely around the peripteros of the former mausoleum of Diocletian: a line of houses to the south, a dense accumulation of smaller dwellings abutting the seventeenth-century choir of the cathedral to the east, and the extensive structure of the former episcopium to the north. In conjunction with two chapels in the peristyle, three smaller connecting buildings and two wings that branched off to the

south, the episcopium effectively formed an enclosing perimeter around two courtyards immediately to the north of the cathedral peripteros. It was to be the chief object and beneficiary of Riegl's spirited defence. The precise description he provides in the following appraisal almost makes up for the lack of any painting or photograph of the building:

The episcopium is a low building from the beginning of the baroque era whose regularly laid stone blocks have carefully smoothed joints. The window apertures on the street side make no claim to artistic appreciation, neither in their relationship to the walls nor in the treatment of their details. The eye is merely drawn to the framing of the portal with its chamfered blocks and the ornately inscribed cornice above them. Walking through the portal into the hall, then through this into the courtyard, one finds a window with a balustrade and consoles above the opening to either side of the passageway. In this respect the episcopium no doubt possesses a certain art-historical value which is only diminished by the circumstance that there are multiple other examples of the same stylistic tendency in Split, and even then these are of richer execution. The considerable age value of the building is unqualified. This primarily consists of the amiable colouration of the old brownish-yellow stone blocks, but it also finds support in the building's modest proportions, which almost recall medieval building methods. The episcopium also enjoys a certain age value as an essential component of historic Split's characteristically dense streetscape.⁷⁵

The remarkable thing about this description, which, after all, was an attempt to justify the preservation of the structure in question, is that it effectively concedes that the episcopium is not of outstanding *intrinsic* artistic value as a monument. The only architectural elements that are identified as having any significant art-historical value are the portal articulations on the street and courtyard sides, and the latter is immediately depreciated by a qualifying statement to the effect that it is by no means unique in its local context. Either there is an admirably objective eye at work here or a smart rhetorical ploy, and perhaps both, for Riegl then goes on to locate his main reasons for the preservation of the episcopium beyond the intrinsic artistic qualities of the object itself and instead in its 'age value' and its situation within the historic urban ensemble of which it formed an integral part. He concludes the first section of his defence by ascribing a definite commemorative value to the monument on the basis of its traces of age and recommends that 'all arguments for and against be carefully assessed before deciding to lay a destructive hand on the building.'⁷⁶

This argument seems to have convinced the Austrian archaeologists to put their sledgehammers aside. Georg Niemann, for instance, the architect commissioned to make an archaeological survey of the palace in 1904, had initially claimed that the episcopium was of 'no artistic value'.⁷⁷ Five years later, he was drawing up plans for a sensitive architectural solution that would leave the building largely intact, by which point Riegl (posthumously) also had the rest of the archaeologists arguing his corner too. But there were other parties to consider, and these were to prove less susceptible to the nuances of Riegelian rhetoric. The

local population of Split, as represented by the town mayor and district commissioner, still wanted to have all the buildings surrounding the cathedral – and the former episcopium in particular – torn down in order to create a spacious plaza around it and to bring light and air into the densely built-up palace precinct. This, in short, was a hangover of nineteenth-century *isolamento*, and the Spalatians gave three reasons for its continued implementation: traffic, hygiene and aesthetics. From Riegl's perspective the first two reasons could be dismissed as pretexts for the third. Traffic considerations, as Dvořák would later argue, could hardly be seen as pressing grounds for the demolition of the episcopium; any excessive volume of traffic could be routed around the outside of the palace walls, away from the predominantly pedestrian central precinct (MD 10:272). Likewise, the urban hygiene issue seemed at best a secondary consideration, but if concessions to the modern demand for light and air were genuinely necessary for sanitary reasons, Riegl argued that a larger open space could be created by removing the historically unimportant houses to the south of the cathedral rather than the episcopium to the north. This left only one justification for its demolition: aesthetics.

On this point Riegl was in his element. Flying in the face of the last fifty years of CC policy, he now questioned for the first time whether the spatial and visual isolation of the former mausoleum of Diocletian would actually represent any real aesthetic gain: 'It would perhaps be more advantageous in the picturesque sense if it were to present itself to the viewer incrementally and at close quarters rather than as an open, comprehensive overview from somewhat further away.'⁷⁸ The significance of this argument is not to be underestimated, for it represents the first application of Sittesque urban aesthetics to the preservation of Diocletian's Palace; a privileging of picturesque historical agglomerations over the artificial recreation of monumental vistas. 'In any case,' Riegl continued, underlining his basic advice by way of repetition, 'the present view of the peripteros from under the trees in the courtyard of the episcopium is so charming that one ought to weigh up all the artistic consequences carefully before deciding to make any radical changes here.'⁷⁹

Riegl's report to Helfert soon succeeded in achieving at least part of its purpose. In October 1904 the education minister Wilhelm von Hartel decided to set up a permanent, executive 'Commission on the Preservation, Care and Research of Diocletian's Palace in Split'.⁸⁰ It was to be directly answerable to the Ministry rather than the president of the CC, and, unlike the April Commission before it, it would include a representative from Section II: Riegl himself. This so-called 'Palace Commission' was constituted at the district commissioner's office in Split on 17 October 1904, its first meeting chaired by a representative of the Dalmatian governor. Present from Vienna were Benndorf, Niemann and

Riegl in their functions as archaeologist, architect and conservator general respectively. The local contingent consisted of the mayor of Split, one parliamentarian from the Dalmatian provincial diet and one local conservator, i.e. Milić, Zlendić and Bulić.⁸¹ Thus the two cities, Vienna and Split, were equally represented, with the governor (or his proxy) holding the casting vote. In practice though, this was largely irrelevant because most of the resolutions were made unanimously. Still, the debates that took place between the Spalatian contingent and the professors from Vienna are worth following in some detail, particularly where the episcopium question comes up on the agenda.

The minutes from the Palace Commission of 1904 record everything from the smallest practical minutiae to the bigger theoretical issues. There is discussion of whether lime or cement mortar should be used for repointing joints (lime); whether brick or stone should be the preferred replacement material (stone); and whether this new material should be designated as such by way of inscriptions, marked by variegated surface treatment, or merely photographed for the record (both the latter options). These practical issues all reflect an engagement with recent developments in conservation theory and practice, particularly the writings of Camillo Boito in Italy.⁸² But the first major theoretical statement to come from the Commission itself was expressed by the archaeologist Benndorf, who had clearly already assimilated at least some elements of Riegl's conservation theory:

The Palace Commission declares that it categorically rejects 'clearances' in the modern sense of the word, since these represent damaging interventions. In addition, it only plans to undertake work on the cathedral and baptistery if this furthers scholarly research into these buildings and reinstates their original appearance without detriment to other important interests.⁸³

This motion, which was accepted unanimously and apparently without debate, is an odd composite of the new and old approaches to preservation. On the one hand, it shows Riegl's influence in its assertive rejection of 'clearances' (*Freilegungen*), but on the other, it also retains the nineteenth-century notion of a possible reinstatement (*Wiederherstellung*) of some imagined original. Basically Benndorf's motion was a contradiction in terms; any reinstatement of the Roman mausoleum and temple would inevitably have involved clearances. It seems he was torn between the appeal of Riegl's ideas and the archaeologist's natural desire to be able to see his object of study in as complete a state as possible.

This theoretical dilemma was quickly resolved in practice – and in favour of reinstatement – when Bulić informed the Palace Commission that the two houses adjacent to the baptistery had come up for sale and that negotiations with the owners had been initiated. The Central Commission in Vienna had warmly approved of the purchases and the Palace

Commission unanimously resolved to go ahead with them, the intention being to demolish the buildings. Riegl, however, attached conditions to his reluctant assenting vote. He again raised the concern that the clearance would create 'a gap in the characteristic plan of the town' and would leave a coarse party wall exposed to view. But he agreed to the planned clearance on the twofold condition that no further buildings were to be demolished in the vicinity of the baptistery and that no large gaps were to be opened up around the cathedral. At this point, the minutes record Bulić siding with Riegl and making his vote conditional on these terms too, although there must have been some sort of misunderstanding here, for it very soon became clear that, as a convinced adherent of *isolamento*, he was all in favour of further clearances and – for some reason or other – insistent on doing away with the episcopium.

This was the next point on the agenda, and it is here that the vast distance between Split and Vienna becomes palpable. The municipal council had already once expressed the desire to demolish the episcopium as soon as possible for the sake of sanitation and circulation. The town mayor, Milić, confirmed that this intention still stood and that the municipality was willing to undertake the work itself on credit. Dalmatian parliamentary representative Zlendić also gave his full backing to the proposal. Finally, a letter from the Catholic diocese confirmed that it, too, approved of the plans and even saw them as commendable. It seemed all Dalmatia was intent on destroying the building. What of the Austrian response?

Professor Riegl clarifies that from the perspective of state conservation policy the demolition of an episcopal palace with a history stretching back to at least the seventeenth century and probably much further is a matter of such grave and far-reaching implications that it cannot be decided according to considerations of local convenience alone. Considerations as to the historical value and age value of the building and as to its position within the palace precinct as a whole need to be weighed up and taken into account with the utmost care.

These arguments are by now quite familiar, but the string of counter-arguments that came back from Bulić is unexpectedly impassioned, even when read through the filter of the secretary's shorthand:

Conservator Monsignor Bulić remarks the following. With reference to the desire to remove the former episcopium [...]: given the circumstance that the building in question was only erected in 1677 (on the foundations of the older episcopium, which was destroyed by fire), then abandoned as uninhabitable by the Spalatian bishops eighty years ago and only adapted as a business premises a few years ago; given that it is of no value from an historical or art-historical point of view, for the main portal, the only noteworthy piece of the building, represents nothing out of the ordinary; given that I and my predecessors have been making proposals for its

removal for thirty years, as well as the fact that these have consistently been approved by the Ministry of Education and by the CC; given the circumstance that the walls and the foundations of this building may contain antique remains of the arcades that once stood between the east and west gates of the palace; and taking into account the municipal council's offer to demolish the entire building on terms that are eminently advantageous to the state, I support the motion for the full and rapid removal of the old episcopium.⁸⁴

One can only imagine how Riegl reacted to this tirade. The minutes in the *MZK* merely note that he raised objections to each of the grounds Bulić had cited in favour of demolition. Happily, the situation was quickly diffused by the architect Niemann, who conceded that the building was of little or no artistic value, but also pointed out the difficulty of assessing in advance what the aesthetic results of any demolition might be for the palace precinct as a whole. He therefore offered to project new plans of the area and suggested postponing any decision (the classic *modus operandi* of the dual monarchy) until these had been considered.⁸⁵ His motion was unanimously accepted, the meeting was brought to an amiable close and the gentlemen from Vienna left Split with the mayor's welcome assurance that the municipality would not take any action without first consulting the Palace Commission.

Riegl was able to attend just one further sitting of the Palace Commission, in May 1905. His last official act with regard to the Palace of Diocletian was to have rejected a proposal according to which a new, larger cathedral was to have been built onto the back of the existing church once all the houses, the choir and sacristy had been demolished at its east end.⁸⁶ With this shelved project the lingering memory of Vinko Andrić was finally laid to rest, but the episcopium question refused to go away, try as the Palace Commission did to keep it off the agenda. It would return with a vengeance a few years later, around the time of the Bosnian Crisis of 1908–09.

Max Dvořák and the Episcopium Controversy

Bulić's initial incredulity and indignation at the Central Commission's changed policy is quite understandable in retrospect. For one, as he so forcefully pointed out, both the Central Commission and the Ministry of Education had been giving their backing to the isolation plans for years. Secondly, the restoration architect, Alois Hauser, Bulić's former colleague, seems to have thoroughly endeared himself to the people of Split (to whom he dedicated his printed lectures), and so Bulić – who shared Hauser's unconditional admiration for the person and architecture of Diocletian, and thus also the desire to see it exposed – will initially have perceived the new, conservative approach to the care of monuments as an outright discrediting of his former collaborator's creative work, and for that matter his own

tireless archaeological endeavours. Nevertheless, he continued to serve as the local conservator on the Palace Commission and gradually came to accept, along with the more impulsive of the Viennese archaeologists, that the demolition of the episcopium was perhaps not such a good idea. If indeed he was ever fully convinced of this, it was largely down to Dvořák, with whom he had much in common: they spoke cognate languages as well as sharing the same religious confession and, broadly speaking, Slavic ethnicity. These personal factors were not unimportant in the context of the multinational Austrian situation. In any case, when Bulić came to write his monograph on the Palace of Diocletian some years later he praised Dvořák unreservedly for having campaigned for its preservation with ‘the erudition of a scholar and the sensitivity of an artist.’⁸⁷

On the other hand, the two men moved in very different political circles. Though Dvořák claimed (disingenuously) that he stood far from political affairs, there can be no doubt that he was a loyal servant of the Crown and, like Eitelberger before him, a firm adherent of the Austrian Idea (MD 18:323). By contrast, it has already been demonstrated that Bulić was rather less well disposed towards the Austrian state. He could perhaps lay claim to a degree of political indifference insofar as he had refused to take office when the Austrian government tried to install him as a harmless parliamentary representative for Split (the population having in fact voted for the social democrat Josip Smodlaka), but earlier government reports actually have him down as a possible enemy of the state.⁸⁸ This was on account of financial collections he made for students who had been rusticated – presumably for political reasons – from the University of Agram (Zagreb) in Croatia, and because of rumours that images of the ruling family had been defaced at the gymnasium of which he was headmaster.⁸⁹ Far more revealing than these circumstantial reports, though, is a footnote to R. W. Seton-Watson’s coverage of the Friedjung trials of 1909, where Bulić is counted in the good company of a prominent group of pan-Slav politicians and writers: Frane Supilo, Josip Smodlaka and Ante Trumbić, amongst others.⁹⁰ The latter, incidentally, sat on the Palace Commission as mayor of Split in 1906 and would later go on to become one of the founding fathers of Yugoslavia (in 1915 he set up the separatist Yugoslav Committee, which was instrumental in the creation of the new state).⁹¹ Thus it would be fair to say that the circle around Bulić in Split included a number of men with some very strong ideas about the Austrian state. Of course, this is not to implicate Bulić himself in their treacherous irredentist conspiracies, but since at least a few of these south-Slav patriots sat on the Palace Commission at various stages and in various roles, it is difficult to imagine that the treatment of the Palace of Diocletian, and particularly the episcopium question, was not perceived by

some as a cultural-political struggle between periphery and centre; between the citizens of Split and their imperial rulers in Vienna.

This inevitably made things particularly difficult for Dvořák when he replaced Riegl on the Palace Commission. The whole situation in Split from 1905 onwards required a fine balancing act of conflicting interests; interests which were only exacerbated by the increasingly turbulent political climate in the Balkans. On the one hand, the municipal administration and the population of Split were demanding demolitions which the Central Commission was now reluctant to approve, while on the other the Austrian government was reluctant to provide the additional finances for any really necessary consolidation and repair. Similarly, Dvořák was caught between two – from his perspective – equally destructive approaches to the historic fabric of Split: new buildings and renovations around and within the palace by private owners and small businesses posed a constant threat to the received state and appearance of the historic fabric, whilst on the other hand the tenacious idea of a true-to-style restoration of the cathedral precinct never entirely died out. In all this, just as Bulić was disinclined to abandon the clear course established by his historicist predecessors, so the new conservator general adhered closely to the radically conservative principles that had recently been introduced by his own mentor. ‘Even on his deathbed’, wrote Dvořák in 1909, ‘my tutor and predecessor in this office, Hofrat Alois Riegl, asked me not to make any concessions on the issue of the episcopium’ (MD 10:270). Thus the episcopium was a matter of honour for both men. Dvořák’s first report on Split, written while Riegl was still alive, already evidences this dependency:

In agreement with the views represented by its Conservator General, Section II, at the last sitting of the Split Palace Commission, and on the basis of photographs provided by Conservator Bulić, the CC has resolved that it is most decidedly in favour of the preservation of the old episcopium in Split. The building is of historical and art-historical value, there are no compelling reasons to call its continued existence into question and it constitutes an essential element in the characteristic picture of the present palace precinct, which the CC has a duty to protect.⁹²

The chief difference between Riegl and Dvořák’s respective approaches to the Palace of Diocletian is thus not to be found in their conceptions of good conservation practice, which were virtually identical, but in the emphatic tone in which Dvořák expresses the same arguments. But this new stridency led to the introduction of art-historical half-truths: the episcopium, contrary to Dvořák’s statement in the passage above, and as Riegl had had to admit, was not of much intrinsic historical or art-historical value. Furthermore, from the Spalatian point of view, there were some very good grounds for its demolition, though Dvořák completely glosses over them in his report. The only substantial argument left to him

was that in favour of preserving the ‘characteristic picture’ (*Charakterbild*) of the palace core, an argument he would later attempt to bolster with a wholesale (and sociologically dubious) condemnation of the supposedly artless culture of the nineteenth-century.

For the first few years of Dvořák’s activity in Split, though, the Viennese delegation managed to keep the episcopium off the agenda. There were, after all, plenty of other issues to address. In 1905 the owner of one Café Prezzi below the cryptoporticus on the south front had requested permission to convert the roof of his building into a terrace. The Palace Commission acceded on condition that the changes were not interfere with the cornice above it, but in the event Prezzi decided to completely rebuild his café, eliciting both a citizens’ petition against him and the stern disapproval of the Central Commission.⁹³ Similarly, a lawyer’s house that formed part of a loggia on the south facade had required renovation, but here ‘the architectural elements of the palace walls were supplemented with modern additions and annexed to an obtrusive modern facade,’ which, according to Dvořák, was perhaps ‘worse than if one had completely destroyed the old fragments in the first place’ (MD 10:278). In these instances he could only censure, look on in dismay and urge the government to pass legislation to protect the palace from its own barbaric inhabitants. The ancient substance, meanwhile, was showing its age in a number of areas and starting to avenge itself on its inconsiderate tenants. External parts of the *porta argentea* were crumbling and the top section of the *porta aurea* was unstable. Worse still, the remainder of the fragmentary vestibule dome was threatening to collapse and was in urgent need of consolidation – a Spalatian doctor was apparently killed by a falling stone before any action was taken. From Dvořák’s perspective, this only confirmed that the few resources available to the Palace Commission were being squandered in pursuit of the false aim of *isolamento*. In 1906 the government spent 36 000 crowns (i.e. significantly more than the regular annual conservation budget of 25 000 crowns) on the purchase and demolition (in 1908) of the Joževic and Romagnolo houses at the back of the baptistery; money that ought to have been spent on preserving the existing fabric. From this point on the Palace Commission gradually stopped approving acquisitions of privately owned properties and instead adopted a policy of supervision and consultation where renovations needed to be undertaken.⁹⁴ This freed up funds for more pressing repairs and preservation work, such as the restoration of the cathedral’s thirteenth-century wooden doors, which Dvořák oversaw personally, and for Karl Holey’s consolidation plans for the vestibule and the *porta aurea* (fig. 3.8).⁹⁵

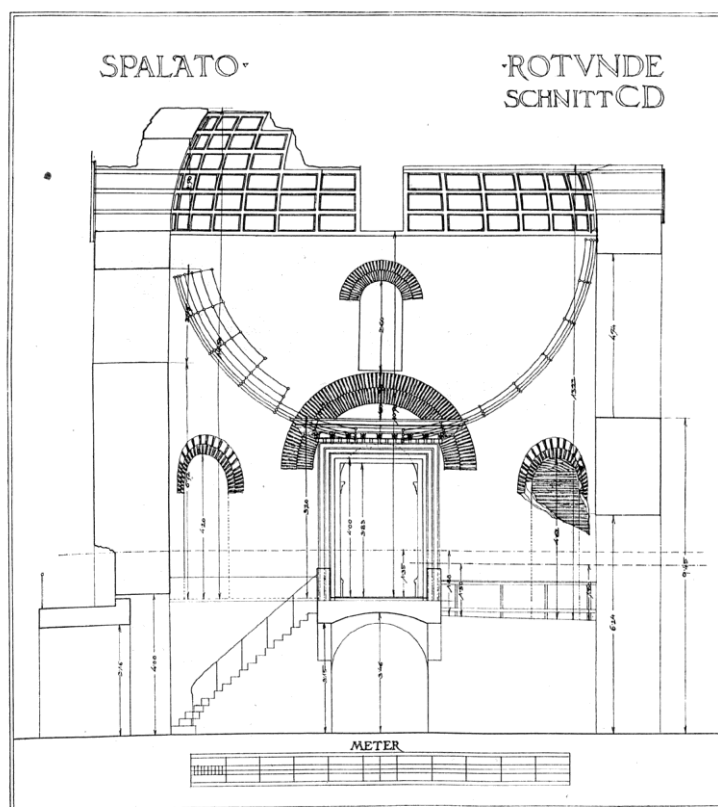


Figure 3.8. Karl Holey, project for the consolidation of the vestibule/rotunda (1909)

By 1909 the episcopium question could no longer be ignored. The whole affair had clearly developed into a controversy of far more than just local significance, for the Palace Commission sitting of April that year was chaired by none other than the Dalmatian Governor (Nardelli) himself. He had the following to report:

His excellency the chairman lets it be known that a deputation from the Association of Dalmatian Engineers and Architects visited him and submitted a memorandum expressing the wish to have the episcopium demolished in order to free up the cathedral. A number of doctors in Split have also sent him a petition referring to the high mortality rate within the palace and expressing the expectation that the demolition of the episcopium will have to be carried out for reasons of hygiene.⁹⁶

The Viennese delegation was not impressed. Dvořák had only recently attempted to refute this argument once and for all with the third instalment of his series of 'Restoration Questions' in the Central Commission's *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch*: 'And the sanitation questions!', he exclaimed incredulously, 'One has to say, *difficile satiram non scribere*' (it's difficult *not* to write satire, MD 10). Like Riegl before him, Dvořák saw the hygiene issue as nothing more than a pretext for certain aesthetic preferences. He merely added – perhaps with Hauser's *Styl-Lehre* in mind – that these doctrinaire, nineteenth-century school-book

aesthetics were those of a plebeian caste that lacked even the rudiments of any artistic understanding or aesthetic sensitivity. These were harsh words. If any of the middle-class Spalatian professionals who were lobbying for the demolition of the episcopium actually read this essay in the *KJZK*, or indeed the extract that was later printed in the *NFP*, they might justifiably have felt rather put out, to put it mildly. Given the tense political climate in the Balkans following Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, the new Central Commission policy and Dvořák's condescending anti-restoration polemics were incendiary. Bulić gave this account of the situation in Split:

Even before last year's sitting [April 1909] there was a palpable sense of fermentation among the people of Split. It was aimed at the demolition of the episcopium and was caused by a brochure published by the Association of Dalmatian Engineers and Architects, which endorsed the wishes of the population. Whilst the resolution of last year's sitting accommodated the wishes of the population as far as possible, though without relinquishing the Commission's position in favour of preserving the building, the population somehow caught wind of news that the Commission had resolved upon the preservation of the episcopium in its status quo, which was not true. This immediately resulted in the publication of clamorous opinion pieces for and against the preservation of the episcopium in various newspapers, and ultimately a meeting was called where the resolve to have the episcopium torn down was expressed. A further upshot of this meeting was the foundation of the society 'Za Spljet' (For Split) which had engineer P. Senjanovic publish a brochure for the benefit of the present [1910] Commission meeting, where he lays out the reasons why the society and the population want to have the episcopium demolished.⁹⁷

It may be recalled here that where Eitelberger had hoped that the diligent custodianship of Dalmatian cultural heritage would bring about a rapprochement between southern Slavs and their Austrian rulers, and even imagined that this might facilitate the smooth incorporation of neighbouring territories, exactly the opposite had happened. It can hardly be a coincidence that the agitation Bulić describes here was happening at precisely the same time as the Bosnian Annexation Crisis, which was only brought back from the brink of war when Serbia was forced to accept Austria-Hungary's violation of the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (1878) in late March 1909. Austrian aggression in the Balkans had had a direct knock-on effect on its custodianship of Diocletian's Palace, and the episcopium question consequently became more polarized than ever.

All the popular initiatives and brochures mentioned by Bulić in the above passage were dismissed out of hand by the Viennese members of the Palace Commission; apparently they contained no new arguments. Moreover, the Austrian archaeologists were now pushing strongly for the preservation of the episcopium, since the on-going archaeological investigations on site had provided new evidence in favour of its retention: 'this building,

though perhaps not all that valuable in itself from an art-historical point of view, roughly follows the border lines of the original square that was once dominated by the mausoleum and, as a frame to a painting, is indispensable for the artistic effect of the cathedral.’⁹⁸ So, according to these new findings the episcopium could virtually be considered as part of the original Roman configuration (fig. 3.9). The new head of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Robert Ritter von Schneider, naturally shared this opinion and went on to give the citizens of Split a stern warning not to make the same mistakes that other cities had come to regret having recklessly isolated their finest monuments. He too dismissed the sanitation issue as a smokescreen. The area around the cathedral was one of the healthiest and airiest parts of the town, he argued. If the Dalmatian doctors were genuinely concerned about the health of their fellow citizens they would be better advised to do something about the noxious filth and sewage in the vaults underneath the southern tract of the palace. It will be recalled here that the imperial government had been aware of this sanitation issue ever since Eitelberger had first brought it to their attention in 1856.⁹⁹

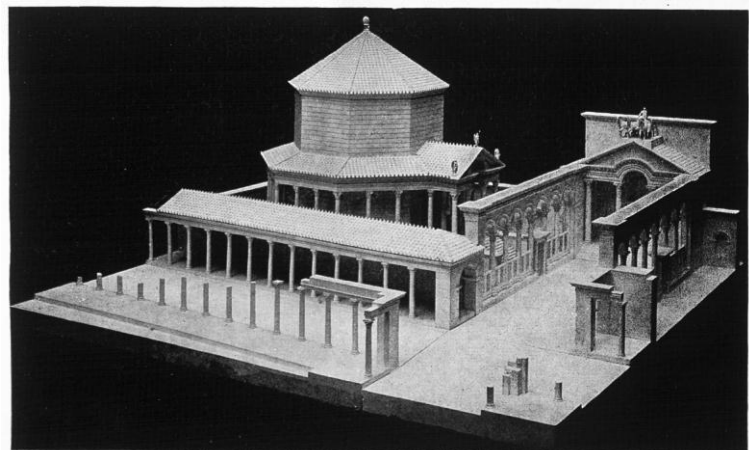


Figure 3.9. Georg Niemann, reconstruction of the central precinct (1910)

It was at this point in the proceedings that the Dalmatians, including Bulić, proposed a compromise whereby only the eastern tract of the episcopium would be removed in order to open up the area somewhat without entirely destroying the ‘picturesque effect’ of the enclosure. This motion was rejected by Dvořák, who was not for making concessions. He again deferred the question and asked Niemann to draw up further projects for a variety of possible minimal interventions, which would be discussed at some unspecified later date. In the event, only the S. Doimo chapel and the central connecting wing between the episcopium and the mausoleum were demolished, thus partially reinstating the continuity of the peripteros. Also, to judge from the Hébrard plan of 1911, a passageway was opened up

leading through the episcopium from the *cardo* to the courtyard (fig. 3.10). With the matter temporarily settled, Dvořák breathed a sigh of relief and moved onto the more important task of obtaining funds for Holey's consolidation of the vestibule.

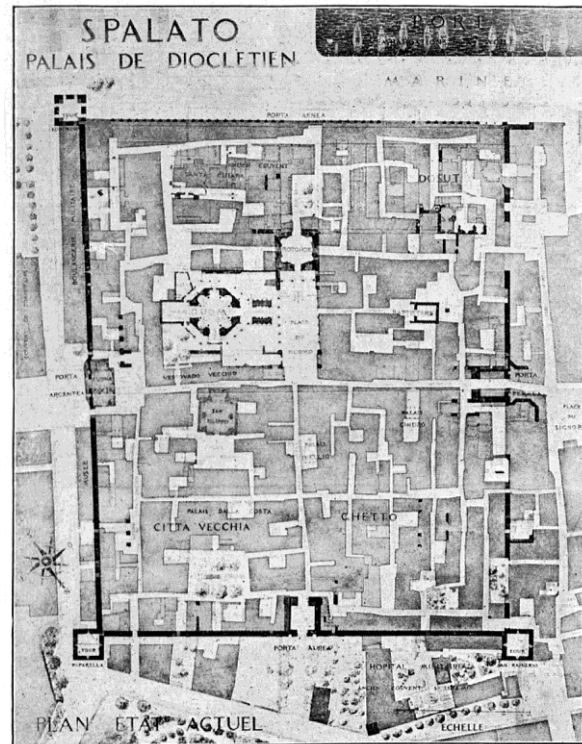


Figure 3.10. Ernest Hébrard and Jacques Zeiller, plan of Diocletian's Palace (1912)

The last Palace Commission protocols printed before the outbreak of the First World War are from October 1912. They contain very few new developments. Funding for the vestibule had been approved but not produced, the citizens of Split had formed a committee to prevent construction work above the lower cornice of the cryptoporticus, and the mayor had repeated the municipality's desire to have the episcopium removed. But on the whole it seems the more vocal destructive urges of the south Slavs had been placated – for the time being. The penultimate point on the 1912 agenda notes that the municipal council had decided to start renaming the streets of Split after local historical figures (an act of no small political significance). Dvořák advised against this and closed the session with the motion that 'a telegram be sent in homage to His Royal Highness the Archduke and heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand, mighty protector and patron of the nation's antiquities.'¹⁰⁰ This was perhaps one indiscretion too many.

The final word from Dvořák on the Palace of Diocletian actually came after the war, once Split had been incorporated into the newly forged Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and

Slovenes. It was published on the front page of the *Kunstchronik* in 1920. Here, we find the episcopium remarkably transformed from a baroque into a Renaissance building, presumably in order to heighten its perceived importance, and while Dvořák's genuine concern for the artistic heritage of the country is clearly evident, so, too, is that cultural paternalism that had always characterized his attitude towards the former Austrian crownland.

The new Palace Commission that the Yugoslavian government has installed in Split has decided to clear the area around the so-called mausoleum of Diocletian, the present cathedral. To this end, the adjacent buildings are to be demolished along with the old episcopium, a venerable Renaissance building. This is a new decision on a question that was the subject of lively discussions within the former Austrian Palace Commission fifteen years ago. At that time the intention to destroy the building was perhaps understandable, since the craze for clearances had not yet been overcome, and even then the ominous plans were defeated by reason and artistic sense. To want to take it up again and implement it now is truly an anachronism, all the more regrettable for the fact that this is one of the most significant monuments in the Adriatic region and one whose effect would suffer enormously as a result of the clearance. Far be it from me to want to get involved in Dalmatian conservation issues, but out of a love for the artistic treasures of the country I must nevertheless warn that where a building which is of interest to the entire civilized world is concerned one ought to reconsider twice and thrice before carrying out a resolution that would result in irrevocable devastation and loss.¹⁰¹

This protest may even have had some effect on the new regime in Yugoslavia. The episcopium was allowed to remain standing until 1924, when it was finally burned down by an arsonist, presumably a native of Split (fig. 3.11). Thus Alois Hauser's paradox was vindicated, if not in the intended sense, by the case of the episcopium: the history of its preservation had indeed turned out to be the history of its destruction. The simple question here has to be: why?

There are positives and negatives to be drawn from each of the four phases of activity that have been outlined in the foregoing history of the Central Commission's custodianship of the Palace of Diocletian. These four phases can be grouped into two pairings on either side of the restoration/conservation debate and the temporal watershed of the turn of the century: Eitelberger and Hauser were the well-meaning advocates of a profoundly destructive isolation policy which was nevertheless in tune with the wishes of the Dalmatian people and, initially, the Austrian archaeologists. Riegl and Dvořák after them promoted a more inclusive approach to preservation that valued the historical evolution and picturesque appearance of the townscape over an unimpeded view of one of the most significant physical manifestations of ancient Dalmatian (now Croatian) history.

Eitelberger's admirable concern for the material and artistic wellbeing of the Dalmatian people is offset only by the dubious expansionist ends that he offered his

government as an incentive for tending to these practical and cultural matters, whilst Hauser's diligent dedication to the architectural history of Diocletian's Palace came at the expense of later historical accretions and unwittingly caused considerable damage to the Roman fabric itself. Victor Hugo has an apt phrase for him: *tempus edax, homo edacior* (time erodes, man erodes more).¹⁰² But regardless of how one judges the concrete interventions that Hauser made at Split now, with over a hundred years hindsight, his work nevertheless raises the fascinating dialectic of creative destruction, which finds uncanny echoes in contemporary critical approaches towards cultural heritage in the visual arts.



Figure 3.11. Split cathedral after the fire of 1924 (1926)

Riegl's justifications for the preservation of post-classical Split are certainly closest to current views on the wholesale conservation of historic urban ensembles, though this is not to say they were necessarily correct or sensible in the fraught socio-political context that developed in the Balkans after his death. Given the extraneous political circumstances that were conjured up in Dalmatia by the aggression of the Austrian state in 1908, which only exacerbated existing tensions between the authoritarian German centre and the subordinate Slav periphery, this year would have been a good year to compromise on the episcopium question. Rather than doing so, Dvořák dug in and insisted on the imperial line for largely subjective aesthetic reasons, publishing, to boot, an insensitive denunciation of the last fifty

years of restoration work in Split. The tone of this polemic was ill judged, not least because it issued from the same central institutional authority that had only recently been advocating the opposite course of action. Under Dvořák, though this was certainly less his fault than that of the state he served, Riegl's sound ethical principle of keeping national egotism out of the heritage equation took on the unfavourable countenance of a dominant culture imposing its aesthetic will on an impoverished and dominated minority, denying them direct visual access to the celebrated historic architecture of their greatest patriarch, Diocletian, the one Roman emperor who had laid aside the sceptre of power in favour of growing cabbages in his native Spalatian soil, or so the legend went.

The episcopium question, then, was clearly far more than just a debate over traffic and sanitation facilities. But it was also more than a purely aesthetic debate over the picturesque historic core of a globally significant urban monument. For the nationally self-conscious residents of Split and the future founders of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the episcopium represented a choice between two masters: one foreign emperor who resided five hundred kilometres away and had done precious little for Dalmatia; the other, though temporally absent, still visually and palpably present in the mausoleum at the centre of his monumental palace. It was hardly a fair contest.

4. The Conservation Catechism and Denkmalpflege at War

They are called cultural treasures, and a historical materialist views them with cautious detachment.¹

*Then someone provocatively put the pointed question as to what people really thought: what's more important? Ten thousand starving people or a work of art?!*²

Writing on the centenary of Max Dvořák's birth in 1974, Walter Frodl had to concede that the Austrian Federal Monument Office still lacked the courage to re-issue his *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege* (The Conservation Catechism, 1916, MD 27) – and this ‘despite its weighty content, despite its auspicious title, and despite the name Dvořák.’ He nevertheless emphasized how influential the book had been, maintaining that neither the central idea of monument preservation, nor the circumstances that had originally provoked this ‘explosive discharge of pent-up pressure’ had changed significantly since 1916. A new edition was only withheld in Austria because the book was allegedly ‘too bound up with the age in which it appeared.’³ But it is precisely this fact – that the *Catechism* is intimately bound up with its age – that makes it worthy of study now: not by any means as a justification for a specific approach to conservation, but rather as an historical document that provides a number of valuable insights into the prevalent climate of cultural conservatism at the end of the Habsburg empire.

It has been known for some time that Archduke Franz Ferdinand exerted a considerable influence on the Central Commission. He first became an honorary member in 1904 and was then appointed as its protector in 1910. Until recently this period has been left unexamined in the institutional histories of the Central Commission, but the results of Theodor Brückler's research at the Austrian War Archives have rectified this omission in admirable fashion, demonstrating the considerable extent of Franz Ferdinand's influence on the custodianship of Austrian cultural treasures.⁴ He was directly involved in the conception and editing of the *Catechism* in 1913 – even to the point, it seems, where Dvořák's sincere authorship has to be called into question. The *Catechism* was as much Franz Ferdinand's book as it was Dvořák's, and this alone is reason enough to re-examine it.

In addition, there remains a question mark over Dvořák's relative position within the broader spectrum of Viennese cultural life. A number of historiographical studies have

portrayed the Czech-born academic, rather misleadingly, as a cosmopolitan humanist and a champion of Modernism in the visual arts.⁵ And perhaps because of his affiliations with Oskar Kokoschka and Adolf Loos (which were tenuous), this over-simplified picture is all too readily accepted as fact. In reality Dvořák's position was somewhat more complex.⁶ He seems to have trodden a fine line between two diametrically opposed responses to modernity; a line somewhere between, on the one hand, the spiritualized avant-garde of artists such as Kokoschka, for whom he wrote a brief catalogue introduction, and, on the other, the pronounced cultural conservatism of Franz Ferdinand and his minions. Quite where Dvořák actually stood in respect to these extremes is open to question here, but since his writings on *Denkmalpflege* have been ignored by anglophone art historians up until now, an analysis of the *Catechism* will perhaps shed some light on this problem too.

This chapter first outlines the genesis of the *Catechism*, considering some of the factors that occasioned it and focussing in particular on Franz Ferdinand's role as its ghost editor. It will then turn to an analysis of the text and images of the *Catechism* itself for what these can tell us about Dvořák, Franz Ferdinand, and the increasingly politicized role that was ascribed to cultural heritage as the dual monarchy began to disintegrate. Although the *Catechism* was written well before the war, its mere tone and the fact of its publication in 1916 invite a reading in terms of what might be called militant conservation. This appellation certainly applies to Dvořák's writings on *Denkmalpflege* during and after the war, when historic monuments in the form of palaces and paintings were either destroyed, handed over to war veterans, sold in exchange for vital foodstuffs or simply taken by the victors. The second half of this chapter sets Dvořák's polemical responses to these events against the enlightened views of Karl Kraus, who responded to the selling of Habsburg heritage entirely differently. Just as Robert Musil could rhetorically and satirically weigh up ten thousand lives against a work of art in his literary masterpiece, so Kraus, in the face of the shocking poverty of post-war Vienna, had already declared his 'unshakeable belief that life is more important than a work of art.'⁷ In this much, these two great writers both stood diametrically opposed to the ideal claims of militant monument preservation.

Franz Ferdinand and the Genesis of the Conservation Catechism

In 1853, section fifteen of the statute of the recently founded Central Commission had stated the following:

Popular textbooks for priests, local councils, etc. are to be initiated by the Central Commission in order to ensure the preservation of the monuments under their

supervision and to enlighten those concerned as to the value of the artistic treasures in their domains. Universally accessible instructive essays are to be published periodically in order to awaken the artistic sensibilities of the population also.⁸

This, it has to be said, already sounds like a mandate for the *Catechism*, or something similar. And indeed, the task of raising the profile of historic monuments and promoting their preservation amongst the general public was by no means new when Dvořák took over the helm at the CC. For years this statutory requirement had been met by way of academic in-house journals, pamphlets and articles in the popular press – all part of a concerted effort to awaken or generate that ‘public interest’ which the Austrian monument law of 1923 would later take for granted. From 1907, these publications were supplemented by the multi-volume *Austrian Art Topography*, which Dvořák edited. But because the Central Commission’s battery of high-brow media was predominantly aimed at an academic readership, it was not having the desired effect. By 1913 it had become apparent that there was a need for a far more accessible single-volume work on the modern principles of preservation.

Besides the ‘continuous loss of historic works of art’ that Dvořák ascribes to various ills of the modern world, there were three interrelated institutional factors that occasioned the writing of the *Catechism*. They were, in short, legal, theoretical and personal. Firstly, the CC had been trying to get a monument protection law through the fractious Austrian parliamentary system since 1894. This had still not been achieved by 1913, nor was there much prospect of success in the near future. Hefty opposition to the bill came from both the Catholic Church, which stood to lose significant freedoms under such a law, and from government ministers who were concerned about the costs that such protection would inevitably entail.⁹ The next best substitute for the want of monument legislation, it was thought, was increased publicity and popular education.

Secondly, as we have seen, the theoretical premises of monument preservation had changed radically at the turn of the century. The German art historian Georg Dehio had summed up this paradigm shift in 1905 with the motto ‘conservation, not restoration’, and the same philosophy – against historicizing restorations and in favour of conserving the existing fabric of monuments – had gained ground in Austria thanks to the likes of Riegl, Tietze and Dvořák.¹⁰ Even so, by 1913 the modern conception of *Denkmalpflege* as conservation had still not trickled down to the uneducated masses, let alone the provincial clergy, who had for a long time been suffering under the nineteenth-century affliction of restorative neo-Gothicism. In many cases, authentic baroque altars were still being ripped out of rural churches at late as 1910, only to be replaced by what Dvořák described as sham-

Gothic factory products. Again, without the force of law behind it, the CC could only really hope to win people over to the new theory of conservation and thus prevent such acts of ‘vandalism’ by means of readily comprehensible populist propaganda.

The third and most important impetus for the *Catechism* was undoubtedly the change of personnel at the top of the CC. When Joseph Alexander Freiherr von Helfert died in March 1910 he was effectively replaced by Franz Ferdinand, upon whom the honorary title of *Protector der Zentral-Kommission* had already been bestowed by imperial decree on 22 January that year (fig. 4.1).¹¹

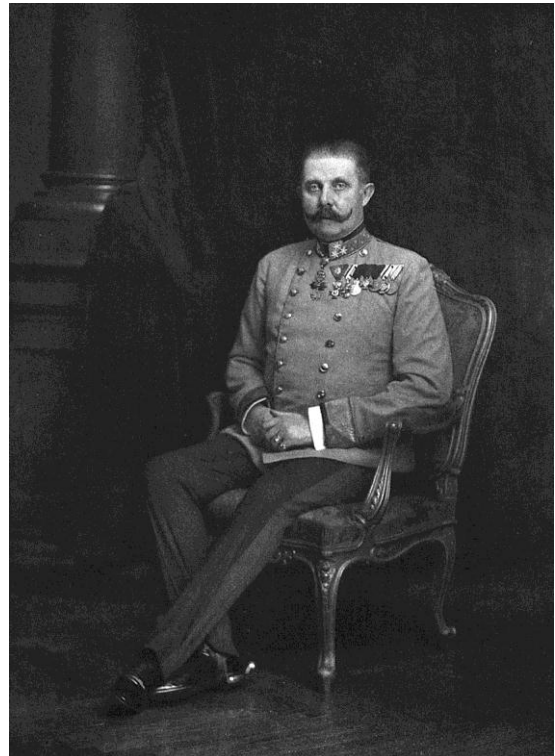


Figure 4.1. Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1914)

The new protector and heir apparent naturally had a vested interest in the Austrian cultural heritage he was poised to inherit. And by all accounts he was a tireless, if not downright meddlesome promoter of the CC agenda, as well as being an obsessive art collector. Thankfully he was also a champion of modern conservation theory and an outspoken opponent of restoration. To quote the obituary Dvořák penned in 1914, ‘Franz Ferdinand shared the radically conservative position of contemporary monument preservation’ (MD 24). And conversely, ‘One of the few people, if not the only person, whom he [Franz Ferdinand] accepted as an excellent expert, or at least respected as a competent antagonist, was the art historian, university lecturer and Conservator General at

the Central Commission, Max Dvořák.¹² Certain differences aside, the two men worked together in productive collaboration on behalf of the CC for over four years. They were of one mind as to the fundamental principles of modern conservation and also shared the view that protective legislation was necessary if the fatherland was to be prevented from going to the dogs.

This common ground and the close professional relationship between Dvořák and Franz Ferdinand is strikingly demonstrated by a couplet of polemical articles which were published on the pages of a major Catholic-conservative newspaper, *Das Vaterland*, in November 1911. Earlier that year, another new draft law for the protection of monuments had been put before the House of Lords, and one anonymous critic from within the Catholic Church had responded with a scathing commentary entitled 'Monument Protection and the Protection of the Church'.¹³ This article vehemently opposed the legal bill, defended restoration practices as liturgically necessary, and, with a generous dose of sensationalism, even went so far as to accuse legislators at the CC of communist tendencies, i.e., of wanting to expropriate church property on behalf of the state. When the article came to the attention of Franz Ferdinand he apparently read it 'with grave concern'.¹⁴ His immediate response was to have Dvořák write a refutation.

Dvořák, already virtually functioning as the archduke's mouthpiece in 1911, opened his counter-argument by listing the leading lights of the CC along with their incontestable Catholic-conservative pedigree. Baron Helfert: founder and president of the Leo-Gesellschaft. Count Latour: vice-president of the Rightist Party. Prince Liechtenstein: president of the Leo-Gesellschaft after Helfert.¹⁵ It was inconceivable that such pious men would want to damage the interests of the Catholic Church. 'And I am not giving away any secrets,' he continued, putting the imperial icing on the cake, 'when I mention the fact that all these efforts are not only endorsed but also fully supported by the Protector of the Central Commission, his Most Serene Highness the Archduke Franz Ferdinand' (MD 22:341).¹⁶ As one would expect, the archduke gladly gave Dvořák's article his blessing and it appeared in *Das Vaterland* three weeks after the original negative polemic.

This exchange is mentioned here not so much for the content of the arguments surrounding the legal bill, though these are interesting in themselves, nor to demonstrate the partisan character of the Central Commission, which it does rather neatly. For current purposes it can be taken as an early example of the way in which Dvořák's pronouncements on cultural heritage were subject to the filter of Franz Ferdinand's own personal views, something which also seems to have been the case with the *Catechism*.

The direct impetus for a guidebook or ‘catechism’ on the modern principles of monument preservation came down from Franz Ferdinand’s Military Chancellery at the Belvedere on 6 February 1913, as one of twelve instructions addressed to the state monument authorities.¹⁷ These instructions were communicated to conservationists from across the Austrian half of the monarchy at a Conference of Regional Conservators held in Vienna, and they sounded, to quote Walter Frodl, ‘more like regimental orders.’ The tenth commandment, the relevant one here, read as follows:

His Highness the Protector sees a principal means for the education of the relevant sections of the general public in a deftly applied indoctrination [...]. Vividly written articles with corresponding illustrations and examples of the correct and incorrect views, appropriate and inappropriate maintenance, are very much the order of the day here. Information is to be disseminated on art-market fraudulence and gross errors of taste [...]. The aims of the Central Commission will not be achieved without intensive propagandistic activity in the broadest sections of the general public.¹⁸

Two months after the conference, on 10 April 1913, Dvořák wrote to Colonel Bardolff, Franz Ferdinand’s aide-de-camp at the Military Chancellery, enclosing the manuscript of one chapter for a proposed *Conservation Catechism*. This, the second chapter, dealt with the general principles of monument preservation. The rest were yet to be written. And in accordance with the archduke’s explicit demand for visual propaganda, the book was to be richly illustrated with positive and negative examples. At this early stage Dvořák even planned to produce different editions for each of the Austrian crownlands with region-specific case studies, though ultimately nothing came of that idea.¹⁹

Just two days after having sent off his manuscript, Dvořák received the following telegram: ‘I have read your second chapter of the *Conservation Catechism* and am in full agreement with it. You deal with the material just as I would have done and I can only express my thorough appreciation. Colonel Bardolff will convey a few more thoughts on the matter to you on my behalf. Archduke Franz.’²⁰ After this resoundingly positive response, the letter from Bardolff must have come as something of a disappointment to Dvořák. The archduke, by way of this intermediary, now qualified his unqualified praise by insisting that the *Catechism* be kept short and snappy. Most importantly, it needed to be produced and published quickly, and would have to be an easy read for all concerned. Dvořák had suggested chapters on the history and organization of monument preservation, but these were to be omitted, and the two central chapters containing general principles and specific examples were to be shortened and merged, such that the whole book would really only need to consist of a single chapter. The history of monument preservation could perhaps be

interwoven with the practical advice contained in the conclusion, but only ‘insofar as the man on the street needs to know about it.’²¹

As instructed, Dvořák dutifully agreed to make the necessary changes and suggested re-submitting the manuscript once illustrations had been obtained. Assembling this visual material was evidently no small task, and involved writing to regional conservators and correspondents across the empire to request photographic evidence of good and bad restorations. Josef Garber, for instance, a conservator in Bozen (Bolzano) in the South Tyrol, reported the following to a colleague in August 1913:

Dvořák wrote to me today saying he’d like a photograph of the converted coppersmithery in Brixlegg as an example of the disfiguration of an old building. He clearly believes that Brixlegg is in my district [...]. If Dvořák hasn’t written to you himself, you’d be doing him a great service with photographs: examples and counter-examples of bad restorations, the spoliation of townscapes due to tasteless new buildings, etc. for a “conservation catechism” he wants to publish.’²²

Having thus assembled the necessary visual material from various sources and over a period of eight months, Dvořák submitted a complete manuscript with accompanying photographs to Bardolff in December 1913. Draft chapters had also been sent off for inspection in the intervening period, although these, according to the ever soldierly Bardolff, were deplorably ‘boring excursuses on the history of monument preservation and similarly boring excursuses on the organization of monument preservation.’ Bardolff, who tended to view the CC’s activities as an onerous burden on the state purse, never quite seems to have grasped the vital importance of cultural heritage for the empire.

Nevertheless, on 30 December 1913, Franz Ferdinand finally received some good news from his adjutant: before the year was out he would be able to present a new draft of the *Catechism*, which now ‘completely and utterly corresponds with His Royal Highness’ intentions.’ Beyond this, Bardolff proposed that the book be published as quickly as possible and that the CC itself was to ensure the widest possible distribution. Prior to the final print run, of course, proofs were to be shown to the archduke for his personal approval and imprimatur. Franz Ferdinand responded with the following remarks: ‘Outstanding. Yes, very good! Get this done as quickly as possible! Then hand it out *en masse*, e.g., to all the municipal councils, to town mayors, consistorials, etc.’²³

The heir apparent was clearly delighted with the new draft. In a letter of January 1914, Bardolff conveyed this glowing reaction to Dvořák: the latest version of the *Catechism* had met with the archduke’s thorough approval and he now wished to convey his ‘best and warmest thanks for having realized the initial impulse in such a splendid manner.’²⁴ He was most satisfied with the result, both with the easily comprehensible text and the many well-

chosen illustrations. Every state, autonomous and religious authority in Austria was to receive a copy of the book, which would therefore have to be translated into every language in the empire. The archduke even hoped that this work might mean ‘the beginning of a new era for monument preservation in Austria.’²⁵

His hopes were left hanging. Shortly after the abovementioned communication of January 1914, Bardolff received a letter from Dvořák expressing his gratitude for Franz Ferdinand’s ‘gracious acceptance and most merciful approval of the *Conservation Catechism*.’²⁶ He would endeavour to have it laid out and translated immediately. But by May 1914 the Military Chancellery was again compelled to enquire after the status of the book, which had still not materialized. The CC replied that the proofs were in print and would soon be delivered.²⁷ Thereafter the art files from the Military Chancellery of Franz Ferdinand contain no further mention of the *Catechism* and, on 28 June 1914, the driving force behind the project was shot in Sarajevo.

When war broke out in August, the Central Commission’s focus of attention naturally shifted away from publicity and toward the more pressing task of securing monuments in the eastern borderlands of the empire. Publication of the *Catechism* was temporarily put on hold. Quite why it was decided to publish the book in 1916, one can only speculate. After all, by that stage the physical patrimony of the empire had for some time been subjected to a destructive arsenal far more formidable than the pattern books and set squares of historicist restorators and modern town planners.

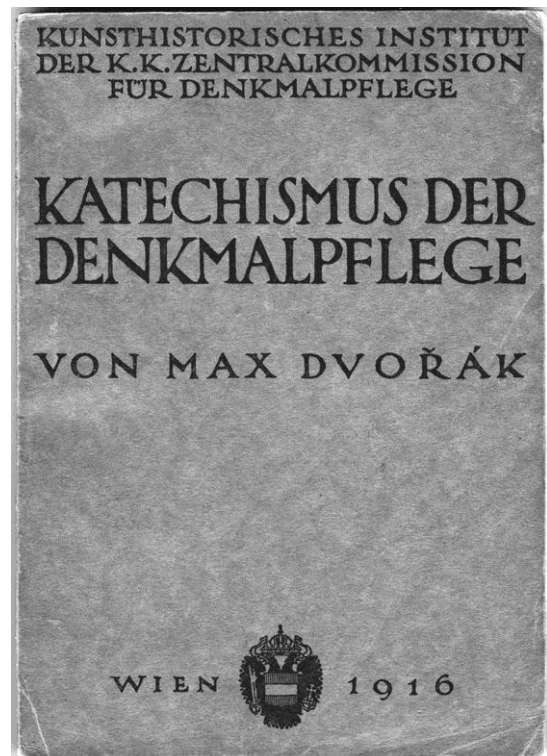


Figure 4.2. *The Conservation Catechism* (1916)

The Lesson of the Catechism

It is impossible to know whether Dvořák made any significant changes to the *Catechism* after Franz Ferdinand's assassination. He may, for instance, have removed parts that were written solely for the archduke's benefit, or added sections that would not have passed imperial muster. But one suspects that the manuscript was left unchanged.²⁸ In any case, when it appeared in 1916, it corresponded entirely to Franz Ferdinand's wishes (fig. 4.2).

The book is divided into two sections: a short text outlining the principles of modern *Denkmalpflege* with practical advice for their implementation, followed by a visual essay consisting of some 140 images, liberally captioned and laid out in the desired format of examples and counter-examples. A brief introduction neatly condenses the specific concerns and general tone of the whole. Dvořák opens with the question, 'What is *Denkmalpflege*?' – then proffers the following description of an anonymous town by way of an answer:

Anyone visiting the little town of N. thirty years ago would have derived no small amount of pleasure from the charming appearance of the beautiful old place. An age-old Gothic church formed the centre-point, with a Baroque tower and beautiful Baroque interior furnishings; festive and inviting and evoking a thousand memories [...] From the church one passed through a maze of little old houses, which made the church seem all the more imposing on the friendly town square, where one could also have admired the dignified seventeenth-century town hall with its pleasant onion dome. Impressively robust patrician houses closed off the whole: without false or superfluous decoration, and yet ornate; all endowed with arcaded walkways and

all of a limited height, deferring modestly to the overall appearance of the square, which, in its enclosed unity, and despite the differing dates of origin of the houses, would inevitably have evoked the sensation of artistic harmony in every artistically-minded onlooker and, in any sensitive person, feelings similar to those evoked by the trusted rooms of an old family house. The little town was surrounded by half-dilapidated fortifications overgrown with twiners, and a pleasant and varied promenade followed their route, which was interrupted only by four stately town gates, offering a most picturesque aspect (MD 27:380).²⁹

What jumps out immediately here is a reliance on Sittesque notions of artistic town planning: the labyrinthine streets, the enclosed setting of the church, the winding route of the promenade, and the picturesque quality of the townscape as a whole. But reading between the lines of this nostalgia-laden picture postcard, one also gets the sense that Dvořák's ideal town might be an analogy for a larger political entity. The way the diverse dwellings are described as 'deferring modestly' to the power structures at the centre (the church and town hall); the marked emphasis on the 'enclosed unity' and harmony of the various constituent elements of the whole; the wistful mention of an 'old family house', etc. – all these terms could well be interpreted as veiled or subconscious references to the monarchy itself. 'N.' here is to Habsburg Austria what Springfield is to America: a metonym of the empire, and it was not what it once was. Thirty years hence, the picture of N. had changed radically:

The old parish church has been 'restored'. The baroque onion dome has been taken down and replaced with a false neo-Gothic one, which fits in with the townscape like a scarecrow in a rose garden. The magnificent altar was thrown out on the pretext that it did not accord with the style of the church, and was replaced by crude, tasteless factory products which were allegedly Gothic, but actually devoid of style. [...] And when I asked the sacristan about the old vestments and goldsmiths' works, I could tell from his bashful mien that they had been flogged to some antiques dealer long ago. [...] And so it went on. The exquisite old town hall had been demolished; it had made way to a new building, which looked like a cross between a barracks and an exhibition hall. The good old patrician houses had to give way to abominable rental blocks and department stores, executed fraudulently, in cheap materials, and according to pattern books without a trace of any artistic sensibility. The town gates were demolished on the pretext that they hindered the – non-existent – traffic; the walls were torn down in order that the town might one day – perhaps in a hundred years – expand (MD 27:380–81).³⁰

Virtually all of Dvořák's discontents with the modern world are sewn together in this composite townscape: historicism and restoration, antiques dealers and the provincial clergy, factory products, traffic infrastructure and modern architecture. But there is no single pair of images that encapsulates the results of all these threats to historic monuments. The overall 'before and after' picture of N. has to be reconstructed from the given examples.

Dvořák pins his colours to the mast with a comparison of two townscapes illustrated under the sardonic subtitle, 'Notions of Progress and the Demands of the Present'. The exemplary first scene, showing the irregular form of the town square in Graz, has apparently retained its historic character, is therefore picturesque, and possesses intrinsic artistic value. The counter-example pictured in the second, with tramlines receding down Vienna's relentlessly straight Thaliastraße, 'is artistically worthless in and of itself, does not correspond to the current demands of town planning, and cannot be taken as an even halfway worthy substitute for old historic townscapes (MD 27: figs 23–24). Though neither Camillo Sitte nor Otto Wagner are invoked by name in the *Catechism*, this juxtaposition can be taken as a textbook illustration of their respective theories on town planning, and it is clear enough whom Dvořák sides with.³¹ The notion of progress embodied in the straight streets and rapid transit of Wagner's modern *Groszstadt* are not at all to his taste. Such streets are 'designed with nothing more than a ruler'.³²

For Dvořák, Franz Ferdinand and other like-minded cultural conservatives in Vienna, the requirements of modern traffic infrastructure represented a constant threat to the beauty of historic towns and cities. Dvořák had already tackled this issue elsewhere, notably with regard to Vienna and Split, whilst Franz Ferdinand dedicated his personal energies to saving historic Salzburg from the fate of similar modernization. As well as questioning the efficiency and expedience of broad, straight roads, a major concern for the Conservator General was the demolition of old town gates and fortifications for the sake of traffic. A number of these disappearing structures are immortalized in the plates of the *Catechism*. The Linz Gate, for instance, 'an outstanding example of seventeenth-century monumental architecture [...] was a valuable and irreplaceable part of the old artistic townscape of Salzburg.' Alas, 'besides the loss of a valuable architectural monument, the pointless demolition of the gate resulted in the artistic ruin of an entire city district' (MD 27: figs 37–38). Regardless of the rights and wrongs of tearing down picturesque city gates, it should be remarked here that this sort of hyperbole is a common rhetorical flaw of the *Catechism*. An excessive use of superlatives is another. The tone is more combative, more embattled than most of Dvořák's earlier writings (an 'explosive discharge' as Frodl put it), and one suspects the emphatic language was employed for Franz Ferdinand's benefit more than anything.

Another traffic-related pairing of example and counter-example, the parish church of St Michael at Heiligenstadt, evidences the same tendency to exaggerate or distort facts for the sake of argument. Moreover, the provenance of the photographs illustrated in this case provides clues as to the intellectual milieu from which the *Catechism* emerged, as well as the source of Dvořák's form of visual rhetoric.

The Heiligenstadt church, just to the north of Vienna, had had a long and torrid architectural history. Although its oldest parts only dated back to the fifteenth century, the church had originally been consecrated in the twelfth. It was twice razed by the Ottomans, in 1529 and 1683, but had risen from the ashes on both occasions. In 1723 it was given a comprehensive baroque makeover and a new high altar. Finally, in the age of historical consciousness, it was subjected to a novel form of vandalism. Presumably on the orders of its own custodian, the old church and its cemetery were as good as destroyed at the hands of neo-Gothic restorers.³³ Dvořák illustrates Heiligenstadt as another example of an insensitive street layout: the two images he juxtaposes imply that the charming old cemetery has been buried under a new road and curtailed by an intrusive retaining wall (MD 27: figs 43–44). But he also cites the church as an instance of ‘misconstrued restoration’. In this respect it was already something of a *cause célèbre* among conservationists in Vienna. The photographs of Heiligenstadt, like many others in the *Catechism*, were drawn from a number of other existing Austrian publications on *Denkmalpflege* and *Heimatschutz*. Figure 43, for instance, is to be found on the first pages of the inaugural issue of *Hohe Warte* (1904), a conservative modernist journal published by the Viennese critic Joseph August Lux.³⁴ Later on, the same photograph was reproduced in a plea for the preservation of *Das Wiener Stadtbild* (The Vienna Townscape, 1910), a pamphlet disseminated by the ‘Society for the Protection and Preservation of the Artistic Monuments of Vienna and Lower Austria’.³⁵ The following year Heiligenstadt crops up again in a book by Karl Giannoni entitled simply *Heimatschutz* (1911).³⁶ If one were inclined to follow it, there is a clear paper trail here leading back from the *Catechism* to Paul Schultze-Naumburg and his jingoistic rants such as the immensely popular pamphlet, *Die Entstellung unseres Landes* (The Disfiguration of Our Land, 1905).³⁷

Although the layout of the *Catechism* seems to have been inspired by the aesthetic preferences of pan-German conservatism and, in particular, Schultze-Naumburg’s dubious use of the comparative method, Germany nevertheless comes in for a degree of unarticulated criticism in Dvořák’s book. Three photographs of religious artworks are included under their own subtitle, epitomizing the ‘Dangers of the Antiques Trade’ for Austrian cultural heritage – namely two statues and an altarpiece which had been uprooted from Austria and displaced to Berlin, Darmstadt and Munich (MD 27: figs 18–20). The main burden of guilt for these losses, though, is not ascribed to German museums and collectors, but to unwitting or impious Austrian clergymen and, above all, to anonymous armies of unscrupulous antiques dealers: ‘Whole droves of agents criss-cross our country year in, year out, employing all sorts of tricks to achieve their ends [...] the plundering carried out by these dealers is

gradually turning artistically bounteous places and whole territories into artistically desolate wastelands' (MD 27:385).³⁸

A constant refrain in Dvořák's late oeuvre is the antagonism between artistic 'spirit' and the materialism of the modern world. The *Catechism* is no exception. In condemning the antiques trade it bemoans the degradation of religious art from an object of pious veneration to one of base speculation, from spiritual goods to material commodities. And whilst this view is perhaps laudable enough in itself, the historical explanation Dvořák provides for the phenomenon of the burgeoning art market is tinged with patriotic elitism: an increasing demand for historic artworks and the concomitant pillaging of Austrian churches are traced back to the economic ascendancy of a parvenu bourgeois class, who, lacking any tradition of culture, sought to purchase it with their new-found wealth. This argument is then generalized and extrapolated to the international level, where 'countries and territories (those such as America, but also several parts of Europe) that played either no part or a very limited part in the historic development of art want to procure a higher cultural significance for themselves through the acquisition of foreign artistic treasures' (MD 27:385).³⁹ These disparaging remarks on American and presumably British materialism betray an odd sense of cultural superiority as a consolation for economic inferiority. They are also a direct echo of Georg Dehio's Straßburg lecture, very much of their time, and can be read as part of Dvořák's contribution to the war of words that was being waged when the *Catechism* appeared; the conflict between central-European *Kultur* and western *Zivilization*. Within the specific field of cultural heritage they represent a clear regression from Alois Riegl's more conciliatory, internationalist position.

The vehemence of the criticism that Dvořák levelled at the antiques trade can partly be explained by the fact that it often resulted in the loss of Austrian heritage abroad – and was therefore one of Franz Ferdinand's gravest personal concerns.⁴⁰ But Dvořák certainly stood behind these words too, believing, as he did, that ecclesiastical artworks ideally had to be preserved in situ if they were to retain their full value as monuments.⁴¹ Most conservators today would agree with this last postulate. On certain specific issues, however, Dvořák's reproaches are less defensible. The *Catechism* provides illustrations of two churches which had supposedly been ruined by a newly developed roofing material called Eternit (fig. 4.3) – Klagenfurt Cathedral and the Holy Cross Church in Bohemian Leipa (Česká Lípa) (MD 27: figs 85, 107–110). This is yet another instance of his master's voice finding its way into the *Catechism*. In spite of the many advantages of this modern material – Eternit was light, strong, weatherproof and fireproof – conservators claimed that it lacked any aesthetic merit and could not be reconciled with existing historic townscapes. *Heimatschutz* groups

circulated unfounded rumours that the new material was highly inflammable, not to mention ugly, and when the Ministry of Education finally verified that Eternit was in fact fireproof, Franz Ferdinand, who stridently opposed its use on aesthetic grounds, had tried to prevent this information being made public.⁴² Unsurprisingly, where church roofs need replacing, the *Catechism* recommends that traditional materials are to be employed, whereas ‘unsuitable roofing materials such as Eternit are to be avoided’ (MD 27:404).⁴³



Figure 4.3. Advertisement for Eternit roofing in the *NFP* (1908)

Further examples could be enumerated at this stage, but I hope the central point has been sufficiently made already. The *Conservation Catechism* was an anti-modern diatribe that relinquished scientific objectivity in order to flatter the radically conservative views of its royal and imperial commissioner. Anything that might be worth salvaging from it as significant advances in conservation theory is irretrievably buried under an excess of rhetoric and, what is more, is undermined by a decidedly shaky justification for the whole enterprise of monument preservation.

As Dehio had proclaimed in 1905, ‘We do not conserve a monument because we think it is beautiful, but rather, because it is a part of our national existence.’⁴⁴ And this narrow nationalist view was promptly repudiated by Alois Riegl in Vienna, who, to his credit, was quite capable of finding value in monuments outwith the bounds of the empire he served.⁴⁵ But in the *Catechism*, Dvořák regressed from the internationalist stance of his mentor and rehabilitated Dehio’s politicized justification for *Denkmalpflege*, albeit with certain necessary modifications. His own rationale for the protection of Austrian cultural heritage draws heavily on notions of familial ties, ancestral legacies, and, above all, the presumed patriotism of his readership:

People who ride roughshod over the keepsakes of their parents and forefathers, and throw them on the rubbish pile, be they precious or humble, are coarse and callous. At the same time, though, they are enemies of their own families, for they destroy manifest witnesses to those sentiments which, in the context of family life, lend

human existence a higher spiritual content. But it is no different for anything that is capable of maintaining or awakening the memory of the historical past and thus a sense of belonging to a larger religious, political, or national community; to a church or a town; to a country or an empire. Works of art are [...] an ancestral legacy, the honouring of which is a moral responsibility and should come as second nature to everyone, like respect for private property [...]. Similarly, when town halls, town gates, and squares are lost, a rich source of public spirit and patriotism is lost along with them. Anyone who destroys such monuments is an enemy of his native town and of his fatherland (MD 27:383).⁴⁶

Of course, Dehio's nationalist rationale for the preservation of monuments could not have been transposed directly into the multinational Austrian situation – to have done so would have been to fan the rising flames of irredentism. Thus Dvořák diluted it down to the more ecumenical form of patriotism we find in the passage above, where he appeals primarily to the sub and supra-national levels of local and state patriotism; to *Vaterstadt* and *Vaterland*. Conversely, where restorations or architectural plans in the crownlands showed any signs of national sentiment, they were deemed as suspect and frowned upon by the Central Commission.

A number of buildings in the plates of the *Catechism* fall under this category. One candidate is the royal palace on the Wawel in Krakow, a subject Dvořák treated at length in the second of his 'Restation Questions' (MD 27, 9). The clearest case is that of the Powder Tower in Prague, which had undergone restoration between 1875 and 1896. The caption beneath Dvořák's counter-example describes the lamentable scene in 1913: 'The extensive restoration deprived the tower of much of its former historic and artistic value. As a result of the destruction of its annexes and the construction of an imposing new building in its immediate proximity, the Powder Tower completely lost its dominating position and now looks like an historicizing addition to the irreverently erected neighbouring building' (MD 27: fig. 67). Both structures were of considerable national significance for the embryonic Czechoslovak Republic. The restoration of the Powder Tower was carried out by the *Dombaumeister* of St Veit's, Josef Mocker, whose approach to history, according to one commentator, 'was tinged with national sentiment.'⁴⁷ The new ornamentation of the tower included heraldry and sculptures representing Bohemian worthies and national saints, whilst the new Municipal House (1903–12) next-door also featured a nationalistic decorative program (the proclamation of Czechoslovak independence would later be made from the Municipal House at the end of the First World War). Dvořák glosses over these political aspects of his dual counter-example, preferring instead to highlight the shortcomings of the historicizing restoration and the impudence of the adjacent, pavilion-like Secessionist structure. But his decidedly negative judgement seems to have been based on more than just

historical and aesthetic criteria. Dvořák rejected the specifically Czech incrustation of Mocker's Powder Tower on account of the challenge it posed to the already fractured political unity of the Habsburg state. It has to be seen as something of an irony of history that these two structures now enjoy iconic status as landmarks at the centre of Prague, and that the historicizing steeply pitched roof and pinnacles of the Powder Tower have come to characterize the skyline of the city.

Many of the specific conservation issues addressed by Dvořák in the *Conservation Catechism* were rendered largely irrelevant by the war, at least temporarily, and as such its publication in 1916 appears as something of an anachronism – unless its more general political motivations are taken into account. Since the foundation of the Central Commission in 1850, monument preservation in Austria had always stood in a more or less intimate relationship with the state.⁴⁸ From 1910 to 1914, the period of Dvořák's collaboration with Franz Ferdinand, this relationship became closer than ever – too close to allow the Central Commission to operate with any sort of impartiality. Its protector Franz Ferdinand, as heir to the artistic treasures of the empire, reputedly considered acts of vandalism done to this legacy as attacks on his own person, and, by extension, the state itself.⁴⁹ And in Max Dvořák this state found a conservative Habsburg patriot who was apparently willing and, precisely because of his Czech origins, often 'able to temper the centrifugal tendencies of those countries and to win them over to a close collaboration with the Central Commission and its principles.'⁵⁰ The result of their collaboration was a book that sought to justify the enterprise of monument preservation with appeals to outmoded concepts and forms of patriotism which, with the rise of national self-determination, no longer carried much weight. The publication of the *Catechism* in 1916 may thus be seen as the art-historical equivalent to the essay on Habsburg unity that Richard von Kralik would publish a year later: it was part of the broader cultural effort to bolster the embattled Austrian State Idea – with the sandbags of artistic patrimony.

Conservation at War

The unexampled destruction of the First World War both confirmed and radically challenged the perceived importance of monuments. It was confirmed in that significant national monuments were targeted as though the very incarnations of the enemy, and it was challenged insofar as the supposedly higher 'spiritual' values of European culture came out a clear second best in their conflict with the basic material necessities of survival and the requirements of military strategy. This threw the relative importance of monuments into

sharp relief. When weighed up against human lives, the balance inevitably fell in favour of the latter.

In theory at least, the Geneva Conventions of 1907, which had been ratified by all major belligerents, provided rules for the protection of cultural property in warfare. An annex to the convention, section II, article 27, stated the following:

In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not being used for military purposes. It is the duty of the besieged to indicate the presence of such buildings or places by distinctive and visible signs, which shall be notified to the enemy beforehand.⁵¹

In practice, though, this stipulation was rendered ineffective by the proviso it contained on ‘use for military purposes’. Church towers immediately became military targets when used for surveillance, and wherever historic buildings were used for cover or for quartering troops they naturally also invited bombardment. The German shelling of Rheims, for instance – an attack that was roundly condemned in allied propaganda⁵² – was justified in the Austrian press with the claim that the French had set up their artillery around the cathedral and were thus themselves responsible for drawing down fire upon it.⁵³ In a war situation the very material solidity of monuments – what Riegl might have called their use value – came strongly to the fore in contrast to any spiritual values they might have possessed, and conservationists in Europe were forced to come to terms with this hard fact.⁵⁴

By Dvořák’s own account, the CC was not prepared for war. When hostilities broke out in the summer of 1914, the Ministry of Education ordered emergency measures for the protection of monuments. In Galicia, Dalmatia, and on the Adriatic coast, movable monuments were pulled back to safety and immovable monuments were secured from bombardment wherever possible. ‘In the first few months [...] we still believed in the effectiveness of the Hague Convention,’ writes Dvořák, ‘But over the course of the first year of the war it became clear that the Hague regulations were not being respected on any side.’⁵⁵ This state of affairs was exacerbated by the fact that there were no restrictions in place for airborne bombardment. Monuments in Gorizia, Pola, and even Venice suffered accordingly – to the indignant outrage of the western powers, and the no doubt sincere regret of the Central Commission.

In August 1915, Dvořák attended a ‘Wartime Congress for Monument Preservation’ in Brussels to discuss these urgent spiritual matters with his German colleagues. Here, an official from the Austrian Ministry of Education reported on measures to combat the destructive force of the Russian war machine in Galicia and Poland: regional

conservationists had been granted freedom of movement to assess damage and make good damaged buildings before the onset of winter.⁵⁶ Similar powers had been given to conservators in the recently opened Italian theatre, where movables were secured and commanding officers provided with lists of buildings not to be used for billeting troops. These measures were warmly welcomed by the senior German conservationist for the occupied territories, Paul Clemen, who condemned Russian barbarism ('truly Asiatic pleasure in destruction') before proposing a special committee for the eastern front, where, according to Dvořák, Russian plundering was an especially acute problem. Thus an 'Ostmark' commission was formed and asked to present its resolutions after breakfast. As a result, letters were sent to the appropriate ministries in Austria and Germany on behalf of the congress calling for organized and collaborative monument protection in the occupied eastern territories.⁵⁷

But back in the hinterland, monuments were soon being destroyed left, right and centre by the Austrian military government itself, for the requisition of metals was expanded to include church bells and copper roofs as early as spring 1916. This confronted the CC with the unenviable dilemma of having to decide which monuments could be sacrificed to the war effort.⁵⁸ And indeed, by the end of the war, Germany was even starting to melt down its bronze statues, thus fulfilling Ferdinand Kürnberger's sardonic prophesy on the ultimate fate of monuments: 'Happy the nation that possesses a metallic arsenal of spiritual heroes rich enough to be recast into cannon!' (fig. 4.4).⁵⁹



Figure 4.4. Eduard Thony, *That used to be Goethe!* (1918)

If such regrettable losses could not be prevented, Dvořák and the CC compensated by way of altruistic efforts to protect monuments in occupied Italy, and this good work was duly reported in the press for its high propaganda value. One such report was unfortunate enough to come to the attention of Karl Kraus, who didn't miss the opportunity to satirize it in a note entitled 'All for Art':

'Military commanders on both sides have taken the most extensive measures for the protection of artistic monuments in the occupied areas of Italy. A special Art Commission -- Special advisors tour the occupied area -- no really valuable monuments anywhere suffered damage worth mentioning -- the churches are unscathed almost everywhere. The few exceptions were caused by accidental hits from aircraft and artillery. The damage is not significant. The Italians themselves removed valuable pictures from churches, museums, and private collections a long time ago; they were allegedly secured or in most cases taken to Florence for restoration -- The townscape as a whole is mostly unscathed. The exteriors of the many country houses and numerous palaces belonging to the Friulian nobility in Udine are untouched.'

Everything saved. But then, is destruction in enemy territory never intentional? And direct hits are always accidental? So who can vouch for the direction of a bomb?⁶⁰

Kraus' point, if it needs explicating at all, is that it seems somewhat irrelevant to quibble about art in times of war, when bombs are devastating human life. The passage he sends up

here, which no doubt stems from the Central Commission, bears comparison to Dvořák's own glowing account of wartime *Denkmalpflege* in Austria: a short essay entitled 'Austrian Measures for the Protection of Art'.⁶¹ This essay was included in a two volume work on *Kunstschutz im Kriege* (The Protection of Art During War), edited by Paul Clemen and published in 1919 in an effort to refute allied claims of German barbarity. Dvořák's contribution was written at roughly the same time as his 'Letter to Colleagues in Italy', to which we shall return. The two texts share a marked Italophobia.



Figure 4.5. 'Palace in Torre di Zuino, destroyed by Italians' (1919)

Dvořák's clear aim with his text on wartime *Denkmalpflege* was to prove Austrian goodwill toward Italian monuments beyond any reasonable doubt. He makes a point of reproducing numerous field communications and letters that demonstrate these Austrian concerns, as well as a high-minded set of instructions that had been issued to artistic attachés in occupied Italy. Ultimately, he concludes, 'These samples may suffice to illustrate the endeavours and intentions that permeated all those in Austria who were responsible for the protection of monuments, and with them all art-lovers and educated circles, throughout the war.'⁶² But this written apologia was also accompanied by a second, none too subtle visual argument. A number of evocative images, which go largely uncommented in the body of the text, show the war-torn ruins of buildings with the following captions: 'Palace in Torre di Zuino, destroyed by Italians,' 'Church in S. Polo, shelled by the Italians,' and again, 'Palace in Conegliano, destroyed by the Italians' (figs 4.5–4.6). All of these places are in Italy. The rhetoric here, could these pictures speak, would be something along the lines of: 'The barbaric Italians even destroy their *own* monuments!'⁶³

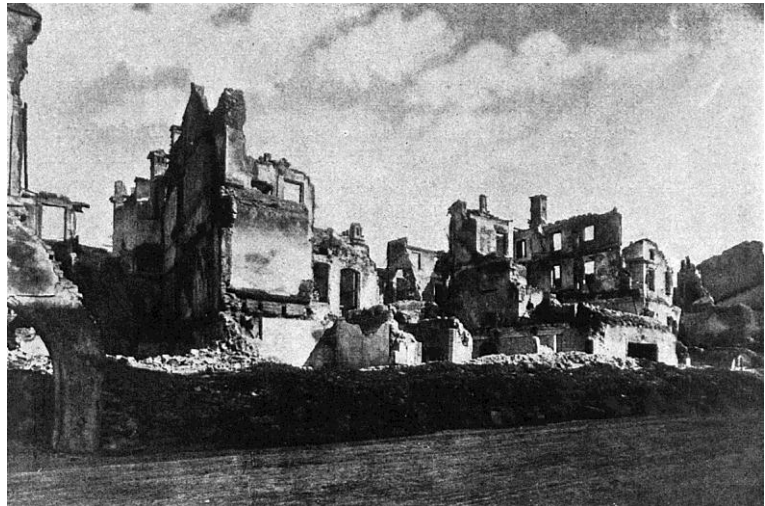


Figure 4.6. 'Palace in Conegliano, destroyed by the Italians' (1919)

Unfortunately for Dvořák, the weakness of this moralizing position was diminished further by events back in the imperial capital towards the end of the war. A worrying number of soldiers returning to Vienna from the front had been taking out their personal grievances on prominent public monuments. The Pallas Athena in front of the parliament building had been shot at, and it was with no small amount of satisfaction that Kraus, in the same issue of *Die Fackel* as that cited above, was able to reproduce this newspaper report of another crazed attack on a statue:

'A soldier who was clearly not in complete possession of his faculties drew considerable attention to himself on the Franzenring the day before yesterday. Having partly undressed, he climbed up the Liebenberg monument, and, crying "You dog! You Italian!", stabbed the portrait medallion of Liebenberg and the figure of the lion'

His characteristic response to this spate of iconoclasm was as follows:

If these lunatic soldiers would only come to their senses and avail themselves of a tour of the sights of Vienna, the whole campaign could be carried out in a methodical manner. What about the river gods on the Albrecht ramp? The Canon at the city park? And what of the Radetzky in front of the Ministry of War, is he not an enemy? In Germany, the whole thing's organized; they commandeer the monuments, when they're made of bronze, that is. The Viennese method has the advantage that the material is irrelevant. But so long as the matter is not taken up by the Ministry of War and is left to the initiative of a few stray soldiers, allegedly 'veterans' or even 'draft dodgers', there remains the danger that such ventures will come to nothing and that we'll never live to see the only decent result of this world war: the liberation of Vienna from its monuments.⁶⁴

These sentiments are obviously a far cry from the universal piety and reverence towards monuments that Dvořák had hoped to inculcate in the masses by means of publications such as the *Conservation Catechism*. And even if a few isolated soldiers and one brilliant satirist cannot be deemed as entirely representative of broad public opinion, the socialist government that took control of German-Austria after the war seems to have been closer to Kraus' mindset than Dvořák's. It took quite radical measures to alleviate post-war poverty, primarily the requisitioning of housing stock and the sale of Habsburg heritage. Dvořák strongly contested these policies in an address that condemned the emergency laws that had been passed empowering the government to commandeer palaces and other aristocratic properties for the sake of housing the poor and the wounded after 1918. The government's guiding principle here, to borrow Robert Musil's sentiment, seems to have been that ten thousand starving people are indeed more important than a work of art. For Dvořák and the other conservationists who met to discuss this and other post-war challenges to national heritage in 1920, though, one gets the distinct impression that the old upper-class seats of the empire were more important than the war invalids who had been sent to the front lines at the behest of those who had owned the palaces in the first place. Indeed, the lofty spiritual ideals that were always Dvořák's paramount concern were diametrically opposed to the practical humanitarian policies that were implemented by the new republican administration. This conflict is perhaps best illustrated with reference to the postwar *Kunstraub* (art theft) controversy, where no one was really in the right.

On 12 February 1919, the morning edition of the *NFP* carried an article entitled 'Hunger War for Artworks: An Italian Ultimatum to German-Austria'.⁶⁵ Though ill-informed and somewhat sensationalist, the anonymous journalist behind the article had somehow caught wind of a scandal that was set to unfold over the course of the following days; a scandal concerning cultural heritage that elicited a strong response from Dvořák.

Long before the ratification of the Treaty of St Germain in October 1919, the Royal Italian Armistice Commission in Vienna decided to take the as yet undecided question of war indemnities into its own hands by requisitioning a number of important Italian paintings, manuscripts and codices from various Austrian museums and cultural institutions. 'Italy has more to conquer before the peace,' as the *NFP* put it.⁶⁶ What particularly offended this journalist, though, was the manner in which the requisitions were being forced through under duress. Italy had for some time been delivering much needed foodstuffs to the starving population of Vienna in fulfilment of humanitarian aid treaty signed in Switzerland shortly after the armistice. Now, it seemed, the occupying Italians were demanding the repatriation of cultural treasures in exchange for these essential food supplies: 'They are threatening us

with the cessation of all food delivery trains.⁶⁷ It was injury enough that the defeated Austrians had been reduced to picking up the crumbs from under the victors' table; now they were to be subjected to the added insult of having to pay for the privilege with some of their most prized possessions. 'Acquiring artworks by threat of hunger, a measly quota of bread and flour in exchange for Carpaccio and Tintoretto: this glaring disparity still smacks of war.'⁶⁸



Figure 4.7. The *Kunstraub* controversy, Vienna (1919)

This initial report was at least half true, and the evening edition of the paper was able to furnish its readers with concrete details of the requisitions.⁶⁹ The head of the Bibliotheca Marciana in Venice, Professor Fogolari, accompanied by two art historians and a troop of carabinieri, had rolled up in transport vehicles at ten in the morning to lay their demands before the director of the former Imperial Picture Gallery (figs 4.7–4.8). The Italians had then set about their task, one team inventoring and removing paintings from the walls of the Kunsthistorisches Museum and from the storage depot in the new tract of the Hofburg, while another ordered manuscripts from the Imperial Library. Some of the works were carted off to the Italian embassy, some put directly on southbound trains. The Austrian curators duly lodged official protests, explicitly noting that they had only submitted to Italian demands under the threat of force. The director of the Imperial Library, Hofrat Dr. Donabaum, reported what he had been told on refusing to produce the manuscripts and codices: 'force would be used if the objects were not surrendered willingly. Soldiers with hand-grenades would then be called in.'⁷⁰

The following day, as requisition work continued, more extensive details emerged.⁷¹ The government of German-Austria had in fact known of the Italian claims as early as 5 February. The foreign ministry's official protest was now published, in which it was

argued that the Italian actions represented a serious violation of international law. The terms of the November Armistice and article fifty-six of the Hague Convention were cited in making this case, which was addressed to the ultimate arbitrators, President Wilson and the other Entente powers at the Paris Peace Congress.⁷² The serious concern of a possible halt to food supplies was also worriedly discussed. To one Viennese councillor who had personally signed the humanitarian aid agreement on behalf of the city, the previous day's report had seemed quite literally incredible. The *Reichspost*, providing relatively non-partisan coverage of the affair and taking a conciliatory approach, reproduced the official protest before attempting to clear up this foodstuff question with the categorical statement that there had been 'no threat of a blockade on deliveries' and that any claims to the contrary were spurious.⁷³ And whilst the *Reichspost* frowned upon the Italians' poor treatment of masterpieces in transit, it made a point of mentioning the quality and quantity of their food deliveries, as well as their promise of a fourth daily transalpine train that was soon to augment the existing three.

This was not enough to placate the rest of the Viennese press, however, and the controversy mounted over the course of the week, occasioning a number of denunciatory feuilletons.

The war is over? I beg your pardon, but the war goes on, perhaps in another form, but whilst we have laid down our weapons, the Italians – despite the armistice, the collapse of Austria, our complete defencelessness, and the impending peace congress – have not relinquished the use of military force. The Italians have waged war on our most distinguished cultural institutions and have threatened both the living and those who have been dead for centuries with hand-grenades.⁷⁴

Another author made similar claims, with similar indignation, throwing the common accusation of German barbarism back at the Italians and comparing their actions to those of a certain Corsican despot who had pillaged Venice, and indeed Europe, a century earlier.⁷⁵

But the Italians were also allowed to make their case, which was frankly a weak one, and, in an effort to quell the growing public suspicion that they were holding bread to ransom, the Armistice Commission's own official statement once again underlined Italian generosity in the chartering of a fourth supply train. 'The wish of General Segrè for accommodation in the practical implementation of the requisition of pictures thus had a certain justification, insofar as he was able invoke his accommodation in the treatment of the food question. There was no mention of a threat.'⁷⁶ That is, the Italians expected 'accommodation' with the requisitions, tit for tat, in return for 'accommodation' on the food question. On the basis of the above statement, it is quite clear that the Italian government was indeed using the food deliveries as diplomatic leverage in its over-hasty attempt to

retrieve lost cultural heritage.⁷⁷ As a recent Austrian study put it, ‘under the threat of violence or a throttling of the food supply into an already starving Austria’ Italy ‘simply took what it felt entitled to without even waiting out negotiations.’⁷⁸ Ministers had prevaricated in complying with Italian demands for as long as possible, but they were ultimately helpless under such pressure and could only hope for a just settlement of the issue in Paris. Indeed, it seems the provisional government of German-Austria was quite willing to sacrifice its Habsburg heritage for the sake of the immediate material needs of the population.

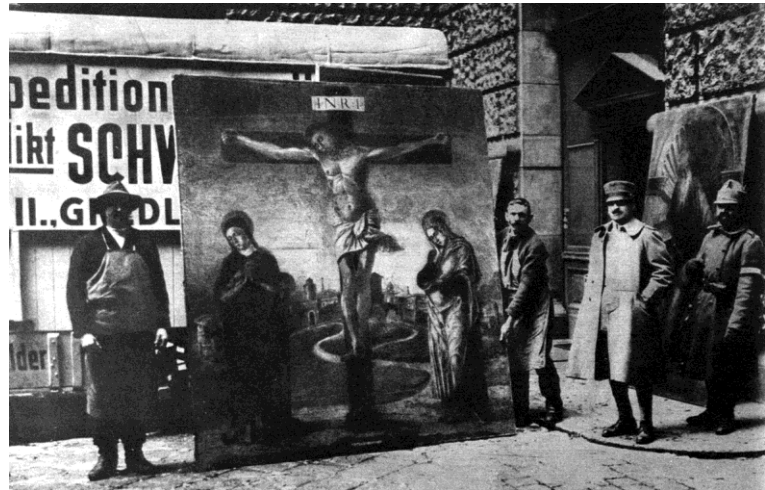


Figure 4.8. Italians requisitioning Italian cultural heritage (1919)

This was but one of a number of acute problems that beset the Austrian Monument Office after the First World War, problems that Dvořák was forced to address. Moreover, the case of the Italian picture requisitions epitomizes a conflict of interests that runs like a thread through all of his writings on *Denkmalpflege*: the conflict between material and spiritual values.⁷⁹ Or, in this instance: food and art. The newspaper reports, taken as a whole, conveniently enumerate these values and lend themselves nicely to tabulation. The uncanny recurrence of food-related terms in the art column here is admittedly not coincidental.

Food (material values)	Art (spiritual values)
24 000 tons of grain	Cima, <i>Madonna of the Orange Tree</i>
2 000 tons of fat	Carpaccio, <i>Christ Adored by Angels</i>
750 000 tins of condensed milk	Vivarini, <i>Saint Ambrosius with Other Saints</i>
	Estimated monetary value: 8–10 million crowns

Table 3. The *Kunstraub* controversy in foodstuffs and paintings (1919)⁸⁰

It was in the knowledge of this enforced exchange of basic necessities for things of eternal spiritual value that Dvořák wrote his extraordinary ‘Letter to Colleagues in Italy’ in 1919 (MD 29). It provided the polemical preface to a more sober legal argument which was put together by Hans Tietze for a pamphlet that was translated into English for consideration by delegates at the peace congress.⁸¹ Given the purpose this booklet was to serve, that is, to convince the Entente that Italy ought to return the Viennese/Italian pictures, the ferocity of Dvořák’s rhetoric was ill-advised; one might have counselled a more conciliatory line. Instead, he launched a verbal attack shot through with condescension and bitter animosity toward the Italian opportunists.

I want to tell to you in all openness why your actions were unjust, not only according to the law – about this there can be no doubt – but also no less from the standpoint of those unwritten laws that are proper to a loyal and noble attitude, as I would like to show, and which cultured nations hold up just as highly as the written ones (MD 29:457).⁸²

Already in this introductory sentence Dvořák implicitly accuses his academic counterparts in Italy – if not the whole Italian nation – of disloyalty, ignobility and a lack of culture. Of course, he had good reason to be slightly disappointed, for having declared its neutrality in August 1914 (thereby already contravening the terms of the Triple Alliance of 1883), Italy was soon persuaded to declare war on Austria-Hungary by Entente promises of territorial gains in the Adriatic.⁸³ But even bearing this betrayal in mind, one hardly expects such venom from the pen of an art historian. The sense of indignation on Dvořák’s part is then transposed into the art-historical context with a pointed note of condescension and an echo of the inflated journalistic idioms encountered above: ‘It is no exaggeration for me to assert that you have learnt and adopted much from us [...]. You were not just our scientific allies, but also our pupils, and now you throw hand grenades that will explode the doors to our museums and libraries’ (MD 29:459).⁸⁴ Elsewhere, Dvořák openly denigrates Italian art

scholarship as provincial in comparison to Austrian historiography, which, according to him, had contributed far more to the global understanding of Italian art. Nor were the other allied nations spared the reproaches: Britain and America had robbed Italy of far more valuable artistic treasures over the years than Austria. And if Italy saw fit to demand the return of its cultural heritage from Austria, why did it not also lay claim, for instance, to the Leonardo manuscripts in France? Finally, Dvořák brings his explosive rearguard action to a close with a weak claim to having won the moral victory. Austria might have lost the war, but Italy, in renouncing the spiritual bonds of art and science that once tied the two states together, had lost far a more important battle: ‘That this spirit has been lost to you, gentlemen, means not victory, but defeat’ (MD 29:460).⁸⁵

If one were to form an impression of Max Dvořák solely on the basis of the texts he published during and after the war it would necessarily be deficient. For these texts clearly only represent a small fraction of his output; they were heated responses to highly controversial issues, written at an extremely difficult moment in Austrian history. By the same token, though, if one were to assess his contribution to the theory and practice of monument preservation on the basis of the many laudatory obituaries, commemorative lectures, and biographical outlines that have been published – the majority of them from within institutions of which he himself was director – one would come away with just as distorted an image. The rather flattering received picture of Dvořák as a cosmopolitan, humanist art historian is in need of revision. As a conservationist at least, his unflagging concern for the ideal spiritual values of historic art, coupled with a pronounced anti-materialism culminated in a patriotically charged crusade that valued monuments over men and art over life.

In one of Dvořák’s final public pronouncements on *Denkmalpflege* at a lecture in Bregenz in 1920, he looked back on the war and seemed to lament for the destruction of monuments just as much as, and if not more than, the massive loss of human life it had caused.

Whole hecatombs of monuments were sacrificed to the war with neither pity nor regret, and wherever it set foot devastation and death soon dominated in the realm of historic art, such that the catastrophe of European civilization can also be conceived of as a catastrophe of monument preservation. It did not occur to anyone, even in their dreams, to pay even the slightest amount of attention to its claims and arguments. (MD 30:466)

Unlike Ferdinand Kärneberger, Dvořák did not see any sort of causal relationship between the war and the culture of monuments he so patriotically espoused. Instead, Dvořák was optimistic for the future. He saw the volcanic eruption of the Great War as the last triumph

of the technological age and the materialistic worldview, prophesying ‘the coming of a new world in which spiritual goods will be deemed more valuable than technological progress, commerce, and convenience’ (MD 30:466). It would be the task of *Denkmalpflege* to hasten its coming.

To counter the reactionary cultural messianism expressed in these words one could do no better than invoke the humane satirical spirit of Karl Kraus by way of another fine aphorism that encapsulates an ethically sound understanding of the relationship between life and art, mankind and its ‘spiritual property’. In the wake of the *Kunstraub* controversy in 1919, he imagined the not entirely hypothetical situation of a naked man freezing to death with nothing but a Rembrandt to hand. This posed the fundamental monument question. Should one take the canvas off its frame to clad the dying man? For Kraus it was no question at all. ‘*Denn der Geist steht zwar über dem Menschen, doch über dem, was der Geist erschaffen hat, steht der Mensch; und er kann ein Rembrandt sein.*’⁸⁶

Notes

Notes to the Introduction

¹ Max Dvořák and Bohumil Matějka, *Topographie der historischen und Kunstdenkmale der politische Bezirk Raudnitz. II. Raudnitzer Schloß*, Topographie der historischen und Kunstdenkmale im Königreich Böhmen von der Urzeit bis zum Anfange des XIX. Jahrhunderts, 27 (Prague: Archaeologische Kommission bei der böhmischen Franz-Josef-Akademie für Wissenschaften, Literatur und Kunst, 1910).

² Pavel Zatloukal, 'Kirchenbau und Denkmalpflege (1814–1914)', in *Böhmen im 19. Jahrhundert: Vom Klassizismus zur Moderne*, ed. by Ferdinand Seibt (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1995), pp. 143–44.

³ Johann von Neumarkt was a Bavarian palatine who earned the nickname *Hussitengeißel* (scourge of the Hussites) for his role in the wars that followed the execution of the Bohemian dissident Jan Hus in 1415. Max Dvořák, 'Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt', in *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 22 (1901), 35–127; reprinted in *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), pp. 74–207.

⁴ Max Dvořák, 'Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder Van Eyck', *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 24 (1903), 161–319.

⁵ This being Robert A. Kann's shorthand for 'groups with independent national political history', i.e., those which could lay claim to certain political privileges within the Habsburg state on account of their history. The have-nots in this respect were Slovenian, Rumanian, Ruthenian, Slovakian and Serbian. For a full discussion of these terms, see Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848–1918*, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950) I, 29–47.

⁶ On the mass political movements that emerged out of post-March liberalism in Austria see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 116–80.

⁷ Problematic because it led to the 'mass expulsion or extermination of minorities'. See Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 133.

⁸ Ján Bakoš, 'Max Dvořák – a Neglected Re-visionist', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 53 (2004), 68, esp. note 92.

⁹ Peter Breitling, 'The Origins and Development of a Conservation Philosophy in Austria', in *Planning for Conservation: Studies in History, Planning and the Environment*, ed. by Roger Kain (London: Mansell Publishing, 1981), p. 49, provides the following helpful definition: 'The term "conservation" as used in the English-speaking world does not exist in German. The collective noun for the recording, protection, and maintenance of historically valuable buildings is *Denkmalschutz* (protection of monuments), or *Denkmalpflege* (preservation of monuments).' Although the concept of historic preservation in the German-speaking countries goes back at least as far as Schinkel, the word *Denkmalpflege* is more recent. The earliest obvious instance is from 1885, when it was used by an architect from the Prussian Office of Public Works. The word first appears in the title of a book in 1897: Joseph Alexander Freiherr von Helfert, *Denkmalpflege: Öffentliche Obsorge für Gegenstände der Kunst und des Alterthums nach dem neuesten Stande der Gesetzgebung in den verschiedenen Culturstaaten* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1897).

¹⁰ Meyer Shapiro, 'The New Viennese School', *Art Bulletin*, 18 (1936), 258–66; Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), p. 323; for a more recent appraisal see Christopher S. Wood, ed., *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art-Historical Method in the 1930s* (New York: Zone Books, 2000).

¹¹ Max Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of German Scholarship in Germany's Crimes Against the Jewish People* (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1946), p. 84.

¹² Hans Sedlmayr, *Die demolierte Schönheit: Ein Aufruf zur Rettung der Altstadt Salzburgs* (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1965), pp. 14–21, 25, 28, 31, 35.

¹³ Karsten Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), p. 290.

¹⁴ Max Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte: Studien zur abendländischen Kunstentwicklung*, ed. by K. M. Swoboda and J. Wilde (Munich: Piper, 1924).

¹⁵ Mitchell Schwarzer, 'Cosmopolitan Difference in Max Dvořák's Art Historiography', *The Art Bulletin*, 74 (1992), 669–78.

¹⁶ Matthew Rampley, 'Max Dvořák: Art History and the Crisis of Modernity', *Art History*, 26 (2003), 214.

¹⁷ For basic biographical details see Theodor Brückler and Ulrike Nimeth, *Personenlexikon zur österreichischen Denkmalpflege (1850-1990)* (Vienna: Bundesdenkmalamt, 2001), pp. 54–55; and Karl M. Swoboda, 'Max Dvořák', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959), iv, 209–10. For obituaries see 'Kleine Chronik', *NFP*, 9 February 1921, p. 5; '† Kunsthistoriker Professor Max Dvořák', *NFP*, 9 February 1921, p. 5; Karl Lanckoronski, 'Max Dvořák', *NFP*, 11 February 1921, p. 7; 'Max Dvořák †', *Reichspost*, 9 February 1921, p. 6; J. Kohte, 'Max Dvořák †', *Die Denkmalpflege*, 23 (1922), 40; Fortunat Schubert-Soldern, 'Professor Dr. Max Dvořák', *Mitteilungen des Bundesdenkmalamtes*, 2–5 (1920), 91–93; and Campbell Dodgson, 'Max Dvorak', *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 38 (1921), 205. For more extensive commemorative and biographical essays see Josef Weingartner, *Ein Gedenkblatt zur Trauerfeier für Max Dvořák* (Vienna: Editionen Hölzel, 1921); Dagobert Frey, 'Max Dvořáks Stellung in der Kunstgeschichte', *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 15 (1921/22), 1–21; Karl M. Swoboda, 'Vortrag zum 30. Todestag von Max Dvořák, Gehalten an der Universität Wien', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 74–81; Otto Benesch, 'Max Dvořák (1874–1921)', in *Neue Österreichische Biographie ab 1815: Grosse Österreicher* (Vienna: Amalthea-Verlag, 1957), x, 189–98.

¹⁸ Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919–1934* (London: MIT Press, 1999). Cross-references to the appended translations will be made in this form throughout: Dvořák's initials plus the number of the text referred to in brackets.

¹⁹ Walter Frodl, 'Der Aufbruch zur modernen Denkmalpflege in Österreich', in *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs: 2. Teil 1880–1916, Glanz und Elend*, ed. by Harry Kühnel (Vienna: Amt der NÖ Landesregierung, 1987), pp. 231–37; idem, *Idee und Verwirklichung: Das Werden der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988); Ernst Bacher, ed., *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995); Theodor Brückler, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand als Denkmalpfleger: Die 'Kunstakten' der Militärkanzlei im österreichischen Staatsarchiv (Kriegsarchiv)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010); Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Gefährdetes Erbe: Österreichs Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege, 1918–1945 im Prisma der Zeitgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997).

²⁰ The standard introductory textbook in this field is Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999). The American preservation journal *Future Anterior* (2004–) provides convenient evidence of the German blind spot in western conservation studies: a scan of the contents shows almost no engagement with German and Austrian theories and debates either before or after Riegl. This is all the more remarkable given the advanced position Germany now occupies in theorizing the heritage industry. For an exception to this rule see Stefan Muthesius, 'The Origins of the German Conservation Movement', in *Planning for Conservation. Studies in History, Planning and the Environment*, ed. by Roger Kain (London: Mansell Publishing, 1981), pp. 37–48.

²¹ Alois Riegl, 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and its Origin', in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973–1984*, ed. by K. Michael Hays, trans. by K. Forster and D. Ghirardo (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. 621–51.

²² Wolfgang Kemp cited in Ernst Bacher, ed., *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), p. 9.

²³ Hugo Rokyta, 'Max Dvořák und seine Schule in den böhmischen Ländern', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 81–89.

²⁴ Jacob Burckhardt, *Reflections on History*, trans. by M. D. Mackie Hottinger (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1943), p. 26.

²⁵ Iain Boyd Whyte, 'Editorial', *Art in Translation*, 1 (2009), 185.

²⁶ Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen: Ein Beitrag zur Lösung modernster Fragen der Architektur und der monumentalen Plastik unter besonderer Beziehung auf Wien*, Camillo Sitte Gesamtausgabe vol. 3, ed. by Klaus Semsroth, Michael Mönninger, Christiane Crasemann Collins (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003).

²⁷ George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2006), p. 78.

²⁸ Lawrence Venuti, 'Adaption, Translation, Critique', *Journal of Visual Culture*, 6 (2007), p. 38.

²⁹ This restoration was planned by Friedrich von Schmidt, begun in 1887, and completed after Schmidt's death in 1891 by his Bohemian student Josef Mocker, cathedral architect to St Veit's in Prague. For a less damning view on Schmidt and Karlstein see Ernst Bacher, 'Restauration und Historismus: Friedrich von Schmidt und die Denkmalpflege', in *Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–1891): Ein Gotischer Rationalist* (Vienna: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1991), pp. 40–46. See also Joseph Alexander Freiherr von Helfert, 'Die Wiederherstellung der Burg Karls-Tein in Böhmen', *MZK*, 28 (1902), 1–17.

³⁰ Françoise Choay, *Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. by L. M. O'Connell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000); Michael Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität: Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* (Dresden: Thelem, 2008).

³¹ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 46.

³² Wojciech Bałus, *Krakau zwischen Traditionen und Wegen in die Moderne: Zur Geschichte der Architektur und der öffentlichen Grünanlagen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), pp. 31–32. 'Als ein Reliquiar historischer Denkwürdigkeiten, als Schatzkammer nationalen Erinnerungsgutes, als Pantheon oder Walhalla bezeichnet, spielte er eine entscheidende Rolle für die Entwicklung eines polnischen Nationalbewußtseins.'

³³ Dvořák's rejection of the Krakow plans was recognized as being too strict an application of the modern principles of conservation by J. Kohte, 'Max Dvořák †', *Die Denkmalpflege*, 23 (1922), 40.

³⁴ Memorandum, Akademische Angelegenheiten, Nachlaß Dvořák 12, IKUW, p. 2. 'Als Generalkonservator und Vorstand des kunsthistorischen Instituts der Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege, deren Vizepraesident er später wurde, hat er, wie ich mich während vieler Jahre überzeugen konnte, stets im deutschen Geiste gewirkt, nie irgendwelche nichtdeutsche Bestrebungen begünstigt oder gefördert, sondern ist im Gegenteil stets energisch gegen unberechtigte und sachlich unbegründete Forderungen auf dem Gebiete der Denkmalpflege in Böhmen, Galizien und anderen slawischen Gebieten Oesterreichs aufgetreten. Er mußte deshalb vielfach Angriffe und Anfeindungen über sich ergehen lassen. Ja im Jahre 1912 hatten polnische Abgeordnete eine umfassende Aktion beim Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht gegen ihn eingeleitet, und zwar nur deshalb, weil er die Mißstände auf dem Gebiete der Denkmalpflege in Galizien bekämpfte. [...] Politisch hat sich Professor Dworak, in dessen Hause die deutsche Sprache die alleinige Umgangssprache bildet, nie betätigt und hat seinen Kindern eine ausschließlich deutsch Erziehung angedeihen lassen.'

³⁵ Franz Palacky, *Österreichs Staatsidee* (Prague: Kober, 1866), p. 77.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹ Georg Gottfried Dehio, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers*, gehalten in der Aula der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg am 27. Januar 1905 (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1905), p. 16. 'In alle Schichten muß das Gefühl eindringen, daß das Volk, das viele und alte Denkmäler besitzt, ein vornehmes Volk ist.'

² Ferdinand Kürnberger, 'Das Denkmalsetzen in der Opposition' [1873] in *Literarische Hertzensachen, Reflexionen und Kritiken* (Vienna: Rosler, 1877), p. 375. 'Glückliches Volk, das dann so reiche Erz-Arsenal von Geistes-Heroen besitzt, die es in Kanonen umgießen kann!'

³ For a brief overview of this concept see Edward Timms, 'National Memory and the "Austrian Idea" from Metternich to Waldheim', *Modern Language Review*, 86 (1991), 898–910.

⁴ Franz Palacky, *Österreichs Staatsidee* (Prague: Kober, 1866), p. 23.

⁵ Only Karl Kraus and Arthur Schnitzler are exempted from the charges of patriotic effusions in Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 300.

⁶ Richard von Kralik, 'Die Entdeckungsgeschichte des Österreichischen Staatsgedankens', *Die Kultur: Jahrbuch für Wissenschaft, Literatur und Kunst*, 18 (1917), 101. Kralik's emphasis.

⁷ *Wettbewerb-Ausschreibungen der K. K. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien im Jahre 1915* (Vienna: Zentralvereinigung der Architekten der im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder, 1916), p. 55.

⁸ For Ohmann's designs for the *Völker- und Ruhmeshalle*, see 'Kriegsdenkmäler die beim Wettbewerb des K. K. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht durch Preise oder ehrende Anerkennung ausgezeichneten Entwürfe', *Der Architekt* (1916), 9th supplement, p. 11; *Das ungebaute Wien, 1800–2000: Projekte für die Metropole* (Vienna: Historisches Museum, 1999), pp. 222–25; or Richard Bösel and Selma Krasa, *Monumente: Wiener Denkmäler vom Klassizismus zur Secession* (Vienna: Kulturkreis Looshaus, 1994), pp. 87–94. For Wagner's plans for a victory church, which evolved into an armistice church over the course of the war, see Otto Antonio Graf, ed., *Otto Wagner: Das Werk des Architekten*, 2 vols (Vienna: Böhlau, 1985), II, pp. 773–75, 781–92.

⁹ K. K. Gewerbeförderungs-Amt, *Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmäler* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1915), p. 18. 'Denkmale sind das Symbol einer Idee. [...] Keine figürliche Darstellung kann annähernd etwas von dem Ewigen, Schweren geben, das sich in den Kämpfen um den Bestand eines Staates ausdrückt.'

¹⁰ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 270–74. The other two factors, according to this account, were universal primary education and public ceremonies.

¹¹ Rudolf von Eitelberger, 'Die Plastik Wiens in diesem Jahrhundert', in *Gesammelte Kunsthistorische Schriften*, 4 vols (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879–1884), I, pp. 104–44.

¹² Bösel and Krasa, *Monumente*, p. 14; Gerhardt Kapner, *Ringstrassendenkmäler*, Die Wiener Ringstrasse: Bild einer Epoche, die Erweiterung der inneren Stadt Wien unter Kaiser Franz Joseph, 9.1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973), p. 2. Kapner goes on to demonstrate that the erection of monuments in Vienna neatly reflects socio-political shifts of power; from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie (in 1848) and from the bourgeoisie to the working classes (around 1918). See also Julius v. Schlosser, 'Vom modernen Denkmalkultus', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg – Vorträge 1926–1927* (1930), 1–21.

¹³ Ferdinand Kürnberger, 'Ein Aphorismus zur Denkmal-Pest unserer Zeit' and 'Das Denkmalsetzen in der Opposition', in *Literarische Herzensachen: Reflexionen und Kritiken* (Vienna: Rosler, 1877), pp. 311–19, 338–74. We will return to Kraus' critique of monuments in Chapter 4; it should merely be noted here that he was no fan of Richard von Kralik.

¹⁴ Robert Musil, 'Denkmale', in *Gesammelte Werke 7: Kleine Prosa, Aphorismen, Autobiographisches*, ed. by Adolf Frisé (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rohwolt, 1981), pp. 506–9.

¹⁵ Werner Telesko, 'Der österreichische "Denkmalkult" im 19. Jahrhundert im Spannungsfeld von Zentrum und Peripherie', in *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes: Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. by Rudolf Jaworski and Peter Stachel (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007), pp. 154.

¹⁶ Kralik, 'Entdeckungsgeschichte', 113.

¹⁷ Frodl, *Idee*, p. 24.

¹⁸ Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 'Die Erhaltung aller Denkmäler und Altertümer unseres Landes betreffend', 17 August 1815. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. Hauptabteilung, Rep. 93 D, Nr. 46. In slightly abbreviated form this text is reprinted as 'Zur Geschichte der Denkmalspflege in Preußen', *Die Denkmalspflege*, 3 (1901), 6–7; and as 'Memorandum zur Denkmalspflege', in *Denkmalspflege: Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*, ed. by Norbert Huse (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1984), pp. 70–73.

¹⁹ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. by R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull (Chicago, London: Open Court Publishing, 1922). Schinkel almost certainly heard or knew of these lectures, which contain the kernel of future German nationalism. They are also worth mentioning in relation to Dvořák, for he referred to them in a lecture on Schinkel and seems to have been influenced by Fichte's ideas in his increasingly pro-German stance (MD 26).

- ²⁰ Schinkel, GSPK. 'auf welche Weise die Erhaltung öffentlicher Denkmäler bewirkt, das allgemeine Interesse an ihnen aufregt und ihr Einfluß auf die Volksbildung überhaupt befördert werden könne.'
- ²¹ Schinkel, GSPK. 'so verlieren diese Gegenstände durch die Veränderung ihres ursprünglichen Ortes einen großen Teil ihrer Bedeutung in der fremden Umgebung.'
- ²² Schinkel, GSPK. 'Es würde bei dieser Gelegenheit vielleicht manches halb verwüstete Gebäude von entschiedenem geschichtlichen oder Kunstwerte eine vollkommene Wiederherstellung im Geiste der alten Zeit wiederfinden dürfen.'
- ²³ Frodl, *Idee*, p. 52; Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970), pp. 54, 63 note 17. Lower Austria was particularly badly affected.
- ²⁴ Frodl, *Idee*, p. 30.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38. 'Es galt, das nach Kampf und Befreiung neu gewonnene Vaterland auch in seiner Vergangenheit genauer kennenzulernen, seine Geschichte und seine Kunst in einem "vaterländischen Geist" zu betrachten und durch Verbreitung dieser Kenntnisse der Allgemeinheit auch eine historische Stütze für ein vaterländisches Bewußtsein, für ein "nationales Selbstverständnis" zu gewähren.'
- ²⁶ Frodl, *Idee*, p. 37.
- ²⁷ Melly, cited in Frodl, *Idee*, p. 51. 'Das Bedürfnis, den reichen Schatz vaterländischer historischer Denkmäler, den Österreich besitzt, ohne sie größtenteils zu kennen, ohne ihn für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu nützen, ohne ihn zur Hebung und Stärkung des Vaterlandsgefühls zu erschließen, hat sich seit mehr als zwanzig Jahren in mannigfachen... bis jetzt erfolglosen, weil vereinzelt Versuchen geäußert.'
- ²⁸ Melly to Bach, 11 April 1850, cited in Frodl, *Idee*, p. 62. 'diese Zeugnisse ruhm- und kunstreicher nationaler Vergangenheit zur Ehre des Reiches, zur Bereicherung der Wissenschaft, zur Weckung und Erstarkung eines echten, weil auf solidem historischen Boden beruhenden Vaterlandsbewußtseins zu erhalten, zu schützen und die Kenntniß ihrer Bedeutung zu vermitteln.'
- ²⁹ Frodl takes issue with a number of Dvořák's inaccurate characterizations of the Central Commission's early activities. Frodl, *Idee*, pp. 69, 89–90, 94, 99. See also *idem*, 'Der Aufbruch zur modernen Denkmalpflege in Österreich', in *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josefs: 2. Teil 1880–1916, Glanz und Elend*, ed. by Harry Kühnel (Vienna: Amt der NÖ Landesregierung, 1987), pp. 236, where Dvořák is referred to as the *Seufzer*, or old whinge.
- ³⁰ Gerald Baldwin Brown, *The Care of Ancient Monuments: An Account of the Legislative and Other Measures Adopted in European Countries for Protecting Ancient Monuments and Objects and Scenes of Natural Beauty, and for Preserving the Aspect of Historical Cities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), p. 169.
- ³¹ Frodl, *Idee*, p. 57. 'Nationale Bewegungen haben dem Denkmalkultus stets mächtig Auftrieb gegeben, ja sogar, wie dies seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts der Fall war, wesentlich zu seiner Entstehung beigetragen. [...] Die Wissenschaft wird zur Erkundung und Verbreitung der daraus gewonnenen Kenntnisse aufgerufen, denn diese sollen der gesamten Bevölkerung zugänglich gemacht werden, um als Basis für das schon im Interesse der Erhaltung der Denkmäler nötige Kulturbewußtsein und zugleich für ein überall erwünschtes nationales Selbstverständnis zu dienen.'
- ³² A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy: 1809–1918* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 25.
- ³³ Rudolf Eitelberger, 'Die Kirche des heil. Ambrosius zu Mailand', in *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, ed. by Eitelberger and Gustav Heider, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1858–60), vol. II, p. 14: 'Die Mailänder siegten, und bildeten seit der Zeit den Heiligen mit grimmiger Geberde und der Geißel [...] in der Hand in reiner, künstlerischer Form ab. Später hat man den Heiligen sogar auf das Ross gesetzt, die Armee wie ein Rasender mit der Geißel vor sich treibend, und die Soldaten vor seinen Füßen stürzend.'
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16. 'Es kann gar keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass diese einheimisch-germanischen Elemente viele Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Kunst erklären. In allen frühromanischen Bauten aus diesen Gegenden bis tief hinein in Mittelitalien, Parma, Modena, Lucca u. s. f. treten phantastische Elemente, fremdartige Formen auf, die nichts zu tun haben mit den byzantinisch-maurischen im Osten und Süden Italiens und mit den geklärten ruhigeren Formen der späteren Zeiten des romanischen Styles. [...] so viel ist gewiss, das die Kirche S. Ambrogio vor der Zeit liegt, in der die italienische Nationalität mit Bewusstsein in die Kunst eingetreten ist.'
- ³⁵ Margaret Olin, 'The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 38 (1985), 177–98.

³⁶ Friedrich Dahm, ed., *Das Riesentor: Archaeologie, Bau- und Kunstgeschichte, Naturwissenschaften, Restaurierung, der Wiener Stephansdom*, 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), pp. 11–15.

³⁷ Melly, *Das Westportal des Domes zu Wien in seinen Bildwerken und ihrer Bemalung* (Vienna: n.p., 1850), cited in Frodl, *Idee*, p. 57. 'Es ist aber hohe Zeit, daß es anders werde. Und zwar ist dringend zu erstreben, ja das Gelingen nur dadurch verbürgt, daß der Staat selbst sich an der Förderung dessen beteilige, was für die Erhaltung unserer vaterländischen Denkmale, und was für die Kenntnisse ihres hohen Wertes und ihrer nationalen Bedeutung geschehen muß, wenn sie zum Ruhme des Landes fortbestehen, zur Hebung der vernachlässigten Vaterlandskunde und eben dadurch zur Belebung eines grundhäftigen Patriotismus dienen sollten.'

³⁸ Gustav Heider, 'Die Restauration des St. Stephans-Domes in Wien', *MZK*, 2 (1857), 1. 'In der grossartigsten Weise hat Frankreich diese Aufgabe aufgefasst. Es hat den Werth seines Besitzthumes an Kunstdenkmälen in seinem vollen Umfange erkannt, und beeilt sich, fasst möchte man sagen, mit fieberhafter Hast, sie dem Einflüsse der Zeit durch die umfassendsten Wiederherstellungen zu entziehen, und sie auf diese Weise der Nation zu erhalten.'

³⁹ Wilhelm Lübke, 'Das Restaurationsfieber', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22–23 December 1861, 5829–30, 5845–46.

⁴⁰ Heider, 'Restauration', 6.

⁴¹ Hans Tietze, *Wien* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1923), pp. 28, 30.

⁴² Moriz Thausing, 'Phylloxera Renovatrix', *NFP*, 26 April 1882, p. 1. 'Ich glaub' am End', ich wär ganz g'sund; hätt' ich nur keinen Doctor kommen lassen. [...] Erst haben sie mir das hübsche Renaissancegitter dort weggenommen und ein sogenanntes gothisches in reiner Lineal-Gothik hingesetzt, und jetzt wollen sie gar das ganze Portal romanisch herstellen.'

⁴³ Olin, 'Cult of Monuments', 190; *Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–1891): Ein Gotischer Rationalist* (Vienna: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1991), pp. 198–200.

⁴⁴ Alfred Roller, 'Memorandum der Vereinigung an Se. Exzellenz den Unterrichtsminister (das Riesentor von St. Stephan)', *Ver Sacrum*, 5 (1902), 49–50.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 50. 'Die Stelle, die zunächst berufen wäre, einem solchen barbarischen Vorhaben Einhalt zu tun, die Kommission zur Erhaltung der Baudenkmale, bietet ihrer ganzen Tätigkeit nach leider keine Gewähr für den Schutz dieses Kleinods gegen kunstfeindliche Absichten. Beweis dessen, daß seit geraumer Zeit alle Restaurierungsarbeiten, von denen sie ja Kenntnis haben muß, in Neuherstellungen ausarten.'

⁴⁶ Alexander Freiherr von Helfert, *Die Herstellung des Riesenthores von St. Stephan und die Wiener Secession* (Vienna: R. Brzezowsky & Söhne, 1902), p. 4.

⁴⁷ Marion Wohlleben, *Konservieren oder Restaurieren? Zur Diskussion über Aufgaben, Ziele und Probleme der Denkmalpflege um die Jahrhundertwende* (Zurich: Verlag der Fachvereine an den schweizerischen Hochschulen und Techniken, 1989), p. 38.

⁴⁸ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: George Allen, 1891); the relevant passages here are also reprinted in *John Ruskin, The Lamp of Beauty: Writings on Art*, ed. by Joan Evans (London: Phaidon Press Ltd. 1995), pp. 228–29; for the German, see John Ruskin, *Ausgewählte Werke in vollständiger Übersetzung Bd. 1. Die sieben Leuchter der Baukunst*, trans. by Wilhelm Schoelermann (Dresden: Eugen Diederichs-Verlag, 1900).

⁴⁹ Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, book 6, §II, p. 324.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, §III, pp. 327–28.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, §VI, p. 332.

⁵² *Ibid.*, §X, pp. 339–40.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, §XX, p. 358. Original emphasis.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, §XVIII, p. 353.

⁵⁵ 'Gilbert Scott's Urtheil über Restorationen von Profanbauten', *MZK*, 4 (1859), 276–79. The excerpts translated here are from Georg Gilbert Scott, *Remarks on secular and domestic Architecture, present and future* (London: John Murray, 1857).

⁵⁶ 'Personalnachrichten', *MZK*, n.s. 1 (1902), 5. Riegl became a member of the C.C. in January 1903, 'Personalstand', *MZK*, 2 (1903), iv. For Dvořák's obituary to Riegl: (MD 1).

⁵⁷ Alois Riegl, 'Das Riesenthor zu St. Stephan', *NFP*, 1 February 1902, p. 2. 'der sich ja von berufswegen die Erhaltung und nicht die Zerstörung des von altersher Ueberkommenen angelegen sein lassen muß.'

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 3. 'Besser ein roher gothischer Bogen des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, als ein feiner romanischer des zwanzigsten!'

⁵⁹ For Helfert's high praise of Riegl, see the letters he wrote to the Minister of Education in an attempt to procure for him the title of *Hofrat* (privy councillor) before he died of cancer: Ernst Bacher, ed., *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 44–48.

⁶⁰ Wohlleben, *Konservieren oder Restaurieren?*, pp. 9–10; on Clemen see Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

⁶¹ Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 18.

⁶² In chronological order: Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Vienna and Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1903); Entwurf einer gesetzlichen Organisation der Denkmalpflege in Österreich (Vienna: K. K. Zentral-Kommission, 1903); Alois Riegl, 'Der moderne Denkmalkultus – sein Wesen und seine Entstehung', in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by K. M. Swoboda (Augsburg, Vienna: Filser, 1929); idem, 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin', *Oppositions*, 25 (1982), 20–51; and reprinted in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from A Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture 1973–1984* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. 621–651. All quotations in English here are from the latter unless otherwise indicated. A new translation of the entire text would perhaps be a worthwhile undertaking.

⁶³ Herta Kuben, 'Max Dvorák als Denkmalpfleger in der Nachfolge Alois Riegls. Ein Beitrag über Inhalt, Aufgaben, Ziele und Probleme österreichischer Denkmalforschung und Denkmalpflege am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts' (unpublished Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 1993), p. 39.

⁶⁴ Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 23.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 24, note 25.

⁶⁶ Dehio, *Denkmalschutz*, p. 12; Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 102; for the Greek law and von Klenze's restoration of the Acropolis, see Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Athens: The Ancient Heritage and the Historic Cityscape in a Modern Metropolis*, The Archaeological Society at Athens Library, 140 (Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens, 1994), pp. 203–46 and appendices A4–A9, pp. 417–22.

⁶⁷ Wohlleben, *Konservieren oder Restaurieren?*, p. 13.

⁶⁸ Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 51.

⁶⁹ Riegl, 'Modern Cult of Monuments', p. 621.

⁷⁰ George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2006), p. 146.

⁷¹ Riegl, 'Modern Cult of Monuments', p. 623. Translation modified. Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 59. 'aber im ersten Falle wird uns der Erinnerungswerte von anderen (den einstigen Urhebern) oktroiert, im letzteren wird er durch uns selbst bestimmt.'

⁷² Riegl, 'Modern Cult of Monuments', p. 623.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 626. Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 62. 'das historische Interesse konnte zunächst nicht anders als in der halbegoistischen Form des patriotisch-nationalen Interesses platzgreifen.'

⁷⁴ Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 101.

⁷⁵ Riegl, 'Modern Cult of Monuments', p. 624. Translation modified. See Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 60.

⁷⁶ Walter Benjamin, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2010), §II, p. 13. 'An diesem einmaligen Dasein aber und an nichts sonst vollzog sich die Geschichte, der es im Laufe seines Bestehens unterworfen gewesen ist.' Zohn's translation of this sentence, incidentally, confuses subject and object: 'This unique existence of the work of art determined the history to which it was subject throughout the time of its existence.' Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, trans. by H. Zorn (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 214.

⁷⁷ Riegl, 'Modern Cult of Monuments', p. 632.

⁷⁸ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2005), p. 136.

⁷⁹ Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, book 6, §XIX, p. 356.

⁸⁰ Riegl, 'Modern Cult of Monuments', p. 632. Translation modified. See Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, pp. 71–72.

⁸¹ Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 117.

⁸² ‘533. Bundesgesetz vom 25. September 1923, betreffend Beschränkungen in der Verfügung über Gegenstände von geschichtlicher, künstlerische oder kultureller Bedeutung (Denkmalschutzgesetz)’, *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich* (1923), 1725.

⁸³ Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, p. 103–04. ‘Während das Gefühl des Stolzes des Österreichers überhaupt, oder des Böhmen, Steirers, Kärntners usw. oder des Deutschen, Tschechen, Polen usw. auf die Denkmale im Besitze des Staates oder eines Landes oder einer Nationalität noch immer auf die Isolierung gegenüber Anderen, sei es den Ausländern oder den Angehörigen anderer Kronländer oder Nationalitäten beruht hatte, basiert das Gefühl des Alterwertes auf der Zusammengehörigkeit mit der ganzen Welt.’

⁸⁴ Georg Gottfried Dehio, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers, gehalten in der Aula der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg am 27. Januar 1905 (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1905); reprinted as ‘Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege’, in idem, *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze* (Munich, Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1914), pp. 261–82.

⁸⁵ Dehio, *Denkmalschutz*, p. 4.

⁸⁶ Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, 6 vols (1919–26), cited in Hans Gerhard Evers, *Tod, Macht und Raum als Bereiche der Architektur* (Munich: Neuer Filser-Verlag, 1939), p. 287.

⁸⁷ These texts are conveniently compiled in Georg Dehio and Alois Riegl, *Konservieren, nicht Restaurieren: Streitschriften zur Denkmalpflege um 1900*, Bauwelt Fundamente, 80 (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1988).

⁸⁸ Dehio, *Denkmalschutz*, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Dehio, ‘Was wird aus dem Heidelberger Schloß werden?’, in *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze* (Munich, Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1914), p. 253. ‘Wir sollen unsere Ehre darin suchen, die Schätze der Vergangenheit möglichst unverkürzt der Zukunft zu überliefern, nicht, ihnen den Stempel irgendeiner heutigen, dem Irrtum unterworfenen Deutung aufzudrücken.’

⁹⁰ Dehio, *Denkmalschutz*, p. 8. ‘Die Denkmalpflege des 19. Jahrhunderts kennt grundsätzlich solche Unterscheidungen nicht. Ihr letzter Beweggrund ist die Achtung vor der historischen Existenz also solcher. Wir konservieren ein Denkmal nicht, weil wir es für schön halten, sondern weil es ein Stück unseres nationalen Daseins ist. [...] Ästhetische und selbst kunsthistorische Urteile schwanken, hier ist ein unveränderliches Wertkennzeichen gefunden.’

⁹¹ Alois Riegl, ‘Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege’, *MZK*, 4 (1905), 85–104; reprinted in Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?*, pp. 219–33.

⁹² Dehio, *Denkmalschutz*, p. 10. ‘Die Franzosen haben aber ihre Rothschilds besser erzogen, als wir die unsrigen. Der Jamnitzerpokal ging alsbald als Geschenk in Besitz des Louvremuseums über und dort müssen wir Deutsche ihn nun aufsuchen.’

⁹³ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, ‘On German Architecture’, in *Goethe on Art*, ed. and trans. by John Gage (London: Scholar Press, 1980), pp. 103–12.

⁹⁴ Dehio, *Denkmalschutz*, p. 10. ‘Eine Hauptrolle spielt hierbei der mit wundergleicher Findigkeit begabte Antiquitätenhandel: Er ist vergleichbar den Staub-Aufsaugemaschinen, mit denen neuestens unsere Wohnungen gereinigt werden: So dringt er in die verborgensten Winkel ein und befreit sie von ihrem Kunstbesitz.’

⁹⁵ Dehio, *Denkmalschutz*, p. 11. ‘Die angelsächsische Rasse ist diejenige, die am wenigsten Kunst geschaffen hat: Jetzt erweist sie den ärmeren aber geistreicheren Völkern die Ehre einer Ausplünderung, die, seitdem Amerika mittut, für den Kunstbestand des historischen Europas eine schwere Gefahr bedeutet.’

⁹⁶ Herta Kuben, ‘Max Dvořák als Denkmalpfleger in der Nachfolge Alois Riegls. Ein Beitrag über Inhalt, Aufgaben, Ziele und Probleme österreichischer Denkmalforschung und Denkmalpflege am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts’ (unpublished Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 1993), p. 5.

⁹⁷ Max Dvořák, Sommersemester 1906, Denkmalpflege, Nachlaß Dvořák 1, Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien; idem, Sommersemester, 1910 Denkmalpflege, Nachlaß Dvořák 3, Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien.

⁹⁸ Max Dvořák, SS 1906, NL Dvořák 1, IKUW, p. 17.

⁹⁹ Ernst Bacher, ‘“Restauratio” und Historismus: Friedrich von Schmidt und die Denkmalpflege’, in *Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–1891): Ein Gotischer Rationalist* (Vienna: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1991), pp. 40–46.

¹⁰⁰ Alois Riegl, ‘Die Stimmung als Inhalt der modernen Kunst’, *Die Graphischen Künste*, 22 (1899), 47–56; idem, ‘Das Denkmalschutzgesetz’, *NFP*, 27 February 1905, pp. 6–8.

¹⁰¹ Max Dvořák, SS 1910, NL Dvořák 3, IKUW, p. 51.

¹⁰² Max Dvořák, SS 1906, NL Dvořák 1, IKUW, p. 41. 'Dagegen finden dieselben Leute an einer alten [Strasse,] sagen wir in Rothenburg, aber auch bei uns wo es sich um minder berühmte Fälle handelt das größte gefallen. Denken wir uns alle die Häuser einzeln, so wurden sie uns höchst gleichgültig sein. Sie wirken nur in ihrer Gesamtheit. Und denken sie sich sie alle neu angestrichen, geht der ganze Reiz verloren. Oder denken sich auch nur jedes zweite Haus angestrichen. Es sind also nicht die Altersspuren an sich, sondern der einheitliche Prospekt.'

¹⁰³ Achim Hubel, *Denkmalpflege: Geschichte, Themen, Aufgaben: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: P. Reclam, 2006) 89–93.

¹⁰⁴ Dehio, *Denkmalschutz*, p. 14. 'Endlich soll außer dem Denkmal selbst auch seine Umgebung geschützt werden. Die Aufnahme dieser Bestimmung ist besonders dankbar zu begrüßen. Man kann Bauwerke nicht isolieren, sie sind nicht Museumsstücke. Es kann ein Denkmal auch indirekt zerstört werden: durch Mißklänge in seiner Umgebung. Ein modernes Warenhaus auf den Marktplatz einer alten Stadt gestellt, oder ein grell aufdringliches Reklameschild auf einem alten Hause genügt, dies trauliche und charaktervolle Bild in ein abstoßendes zu verwandeln. Für Forderungen der Gesundheitspolizei haben wir ein offenes Ohr bekommen; daß es auch eine Hygiene für unsere seelische Hälfte geben sollte, hat man nicht wissen wollen.'

¹⁰⁵ Although the standard bibliography of Dvořák's writings includes 'The Museum Building on the Karlsplatz' (1910, MD 15), his authorship is uncertain, since the text in question was originally published anonymously. He did, however, put his name to the introduction to the same society's second pamphlet (MD 16). *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), p. 377.

¹⁰⁶ Peter Haiko, *Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum: Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1988).

¹⁰⁷ Joseph August Lux, *Otto Wagner* (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1914), pp. 12, 161. 'Wien ist sentimental geworden und liebt sein ewig Gestriges.' The case of Otto Wagner was the 'ruhmvolle Tragödie eines unseren größten Künstler.'

¹⁰⁸ Haiko, *Otto Wagner*, p. 135.

¹⁰⁹ Karl Holey, 'Grundlagen für die Ausgestaltung des Karlsplatzes in Wien: Eine städtebauliche Studie', *MZK*, 15 (1916), 66.

¹¹⁰ Karl Kraus, 'Die demolierte Literatur', in *Frühe Schriften II: 1897–1900*, ed. by J. J. Braakenburg (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1979), p. 277. 'Wien wird jetzt zur Grosstadt demolirt.' This text of 1897 takes the demolition of a certain writers' café as its point of departure and proceeds to tear into the contemporary Viennese literary scene, ridiculing the over-sentimentality of the notion of *Stimmung* in particular.

¹¹¹ Haiko, *Otto Wagner*, p. 128.

¹¹² Max Dvořák, SS 1906, NL Dvořák 1, IKUW, pp. 39–40. 'Da ist um so verständlicher, daß bei Leuten, die ein künstlerisches Empfinden haben, die Sehnsucht nach einer anderen Gestaltung der Dinge, nach einer Gestaltung der Dinge bei der die Umgebung in der wir zu leben haben nicht nur durch die Liniennetzregulierungspläne, und den auf den größten Profit hinarbeitenden Zinskasernenstil bestimmt werden, in der es auch andere Gesichtspunkte gibt, als die der möglichen technischen und ökonomische Ausnutzung des Ortes und des Materials, bei der nicht nur Bau- [illegible] und Ingenieure zu entscheiden gehabt haben, sondern auch Leute, die Herz und Sinn für durch Liebe zur Sache, Fantasie und künstlerische Tradition geleitetes Schaffen besessen haben. Ich will nicht behaupten, daß es all das unserer modernen Baukunst ganz mangeln würde, aber es ist den Anstürme des banalen Utilitarismus gegenüber verschwindend klein.'

¹¹³ Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students in this Field of Art*, trans. by H. F. Mallgrave, *Texts & Documents* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988), p. 73.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹ Motto of the Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde (1819) and its publications, the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (1826–).

² Friedrich Künzel and Barbara Götze, *Verzeichnis des schriftlichen Nachlasses von Wilhelm von Bode* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1995).

³ Dvořák to Bode, Vienna, 12 July 1904, Nachlaß Bode 1579, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.

⁴ Dvořák to Bode, Vienna, 8 October 1919, NL Bode 1579, ZASMB.

⁵ 'Personalien', *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, 55 (1920), 310, 826; 'Max Dvorak †', *Reichspost*, 9 February 1921, p. 6.

⁶ Georg Biermann (1880–1949) of the Klinkhardt und Biermann publishing house edited *Die Deutsche Kunst*, *Cicerone* and the *Monatschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*. From Dvořák's perspective these publications lacked rigour: 'I would be more than happy to write a text against Biermann and consorts. This company is discrediting us abroad and, what's perhaps worse still, has become a focal point for all the failures and second-rate art historians.' Dvořák to Bode, Vienna, 12 February 1914, NL Bode 1579, ZASMB. See also Bode, *Mein Leben*, 2 vols (Berlin: Reckendorf, 1930), I, 399–400, II, 353.

⁷ Bode, 'Sollen die deutschen Kunsthistoriker sich zu einer Fachgenossenschaft zusammenschließen?', *Kunstchronik*, 28 (1917), 337–41.

⁸ Dvořák to Bode, Vienna, 20 May 1917, NL Bode 1579, ZASMB.

⁹ Dvořák, 'Sollen die deutschen Kunsthistoriker sich zu einer Fachgenossenschaft zusammenschließen?', *Kunstchronik*, 28 (1917), 369–71.

¹⁰ Werner Hofmann, 'Bode und Schlosser', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 38 (1996), supplement, 177; Stephan Waetzold, 'Wilhelm von Bode – Bauherr?' in Angelika Wesenberg (ed.), *Wilhelm von Bode als Zeitgenosse der Kunst* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1995), p. 56.

¹¹ In this regard, see Dvořák's public defence of Bode in the wake of the 'Flora' controversy: 'Geheimrat Bode und die Leonardo da Vinci Büste', *NFP*, 24 November 1909, pp. 8–9. Dvořák puts the dubious provenance of the forged bust aside, arguing instead that it is absurd 'to pile invective on a man who has done art scholarship such great service. By creating in Berlin, virtually out of nothing, the most instructive museum in the world, he has achieved something one would barely have thought possible. The benefits that art history and our knowledge and research of monuments have derived from this can hardly be overlooked.'

¹² This ball-park figure is based on a present-day salary of around €16 000 and the average salary of a German proletarian in 1913, which, according to Ashok V. Desai, *Real wages in Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 112, was about 1 000 marks. The figure of six million marks was a conservative estimate that excluded intellectual labour: 'According to book-market estimates, the production costs of each of these works [...] will come to an average of 15 000 M; at around 40 folio volumes the costs would thus come to around 600 000 M. But since these publications will only have covered around ten percent of Germany's artistic monuments, the enormous total sum for the publication costs alone is to be estimated at around six million marks.' Bode, *Denkschrift betreffend den Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft und die Denkmäler der Deutschen Kunst* (Berlin: n.p., 1914), p. 7.

¹³ Alfred Kubin, *Die andere Seite – ein Phantastischer Roman* (Munich: Edition Spangenberg, 1975), p. 162.

¹⁴ Dvořák, 'Notiz: Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst', *KJZK*, 2 (1908), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 95–98; idem, 'Notiz: Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst', *KJZK*, 3 (1909), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 173; idem, *Die Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst. Vortrag, gehalten an dem zu Ehren des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft veranstalteten Festabend der Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde in Wien* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1913); for the standard bibliography, see idem, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, edited by K. M. Swoboda and J. Wilde (Munich: Piper, 1929), pp. 371–81.

¹⁵ Hans Tietze, 'Max Dvořák †', *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, 56 (1921), 443.

¹⁶ Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979), pp. 33–35.

¹⁷ Dvořák, 'Über den Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft. Vortrag, gehalten vor Historikern, 1909', Versch. Vorträge u. Rezensionen, Nachlaß Dvořák 12, Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien.

¹⁸ Vienna (1873), 447. See below, note 26, for abbreviated forms of all subsequent congresses.

¹⁹ Ibid., 493. In this much, the congress was well ahead of the more general shift towards modern conservation practice that began to assert itself within the relevant Austrian and German conservation institutions after 1900. Dvořák would have supported the proposition wholeheartedly and may well have been aware of it.

²⁰ Ibid., 497–502, 522–25.

²¹ Ibid., 502.

²² Ibid., 500.

²³ This idea was by no means new to the German publishing industry. A recent, if completely unrelated book provides the following helpful definition: 'The subscription system was introduced to the German book market in the seventeenth century in order to facilitate the publication of books which, on account of their specialist content, their artistic layout or their proposed size, would otherwise be difficult to sell. It also serves – for instance, in the case of artists' prints, engravings, multi-volume encyclopaedias or scholarly literature – to ascertain an appropriate print run and to cover production costs.' Marcel Illetschko and Michaela Hirsch (eds), *Alfred Kubin / Reinhard Piper, Briefwechsel 1907-1953* (Munich: Piper Verlag GmbH, 2010), p. 626.

²⁴ Its committee was exclusively German. See 'Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft für photographische Publikationen', *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, 5 (1894), 297–300; and August Schmarsow's report to the third congress of art history, Cologne (1894), p. 32. An annual folio of photographic reproductions was published under the name of this society from 1895 (with 18 heliogravures) to 1905, when it seems to have folded.

²⁵ Nuremberg (1893), p. 54.

²⁶ Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution*, p. 35. This fact was already recognized by contemporaries, see H.W.S., 'Art in Germany', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 12 (1907), 116–18.

²⁷ 'Others' in 1907, for instance, included three Germans living in Italy. Thus the eighth International Congress of Art History at Darmstadt was a 96% 'German' affair. And whilst attendance clearly depended on location more than anything, German representation at non-German locations remained disproportionately high. Bode attended only in 1907. Dvořák was present at Munich and subsequently served on the executive committee for Rome, the first genuinely international congress of art history. The figures here are drawn from the printed reports of the congress, which will henceforth be referred to by city and year:

– Vienna (1873): 'Erster kunstwissenschaftlicher Congress in Wien, 1. bis 4. September 1873', *Mittheilungen des K. K. Oesterreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, 8 (1873), 445–46;

– Nuremberg (1893): *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses zu Nürnberg, 25. – 27. September 1893* (n.d.);

– Cologne (1894): *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses zu Köln, 1. – 3. Oktober 1894* (n.d.);

– Budapest (1896): *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses zu Budapest, 1. – 3. Oktober 1896* (n.d.);

– Amsterdam (1898): *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Amsterdam, 29. September bis – 1. Oktober 1898* (Nuremberg: 1899);

– Lübeck (1900): *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Lübeck, 16. bis 19. September 1900* (Nuremberg: n.d.);

– Innsbruck (1902): *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Innsbruck, 9. – 12. September 1902* (Berlin: n.d.);

– Darmstadt (1907): *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des VIII. Internationalen Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Darmstadt, 23. – 26. September 1907* (Leipzig: n.p., 1908);

– Munich (1909): *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des IX. Internationalen Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in München, 16. – 21. September 1909* (Leipzig: n.p., 1911);

– Rome (1912): *Decimo congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte* (Rome: n.p., 1912).

²⁸ Darmstadt (1907), p. 4.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 16. The conference met at the recently completed Kaiser Friedrich Museum on Museum Island, probably in the summer of 1907.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 26.

³¹ Bode, *Satzungen des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, Eingetragener Verein* (Berlin: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei von Gustav Schade, 1908), §1.

³² Darmstadt (1907), p. 19. For the Zeppelin crash, see the leading article in the morning edition of the *NFP*, 6 August 1908, p. 1. Happily no one was seriously injured and the spectacular incident was portrayed as nothing more than a temporary hiccup in the onward march of science and mankind's mastery of (air) space. The DVfK and the *Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Luftschiffahrt*, it seems to me, have more in common than Althoff's model of popular financing.

³³ Darmstadt (1907), p. 19.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 21–24.

‘Oechelhäuser: Wir müssen uns darüber klar werden: Hat unser Kongreß als internationaler Kongreß noch neben dem neugegründeten Verein eine Existenzberechtigung, denn der Verein ist ja bereits in seinen Vorbereitungen unter einem provisorischen Vorstande so weit gediehen, daß er bald eine Tatsache sein wird, der wir mit Freuden gegenübertreten. [...]

Dehio: Ich bin entschieden derselben Ansicht wie Professor Oechelhäuser. Es ist unmöglich, die einzelnen Fragen zu erörtern, bevor wir wissen, ob wir ein deutsch-nationaler oder ein internationaler Kongreß sein werden. Die Diskussion wird absolut anders ausfallen müssen, je nach dem Standpunkt. Es ist dringend notwendig, daß wir uns entscheiden, ob wir einen deutschen Kongreß oder einen internationalen Kongreß bilden.

v. Seidlitz: *Ist denn der Antrag gestellt worden, den internationalen Kongreß aufzugeben?*

Zurufe: *Nein.*

v. Seidlitz: *Dann würden wir doch nur weiter zu beraten haben über das Weiterbestehen der internationalen Kongresse.*

Dehio: Nach der Fassung des Punktes 10 in der Drucksache konnte es als zweifelhaft angesehen werden. Jedenfalls ist der Begriff eines internationalen Kongresses in dieser Versammlung doch nicht verkörpert. Es ist ja möglich, daß wir Gäste aus fremden Ländern bei uns sehen...

Zuruf: Nicht Gäste, sondern Mitglieder.

Dehio: Dann bitte ich um Verzeihung, wenn ich falsch orientiert bin. [...]

Strzygowski: *An dem internationalen Charakter unseres Kongresses können wir nicht rütteln. Bis zum Innsbrucker Kongreß war der Charakter schwankend, seitdem aber sind wir definitiv international, und wenn wir es noch nicht wären, müßten wir es jetzt werden.*

³⁵ This promise was dashed by the First World War, as academics on all sides consciously employed artistic heritage as ammunition in the war of words. The first post-war congress met at Paris in 1921. It is perhaps worth noting here that the *Kunstgeschichtliche Kongresse* are not mentioned at all in the official history of the Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art (est. 1930). See Thierry Dufrêne, 'A Short History of CIHA', 2007, <http://www.esteticas.unam.mx/CIHA/about.html>, retrieved 30 June 2011.

³⁶ For the introspective nationalist turn considered in this paragraph see Günter Bandmann, 'Die Gründung des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft im Lichte der Gegenwart', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 13 (1959), 5; and for a less searching history of the DVfK from roughly the same temporal perspective see 'Fünfzig Jahre Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft e.V.', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 12 (1958), 1–12.

³⁷ One wildly misguided attempt to compensate for the Italian bias of German art history was the outlandish thesis that the masters of the Italian Renaissance had in fact been Germans – a claim that was taken seriously in some quarters: 'In his anthropological study on *The Germans and the Renaissance in Italy*, Ludwig Woltmann has provided convincing evidence that ninety per cent of the Italian genius has to be completely or predominantly ascribed to the German race.' Joseph August Lux, 'Die Baukunst der Germanen, von Albrecht Haupt', *Hohe Warte*, 4 (1907/08), 372.

³⁸ Bode, 'Der deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft', *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, 23 November 1907, pp. 1–6.

³⁹ Bode, *Mein Leben*, I, 338–39.

⁴⁰ Bode initially envisaged central government funding for the project, but this plan was dropped in favour of a reliance on public interest, at least whilst the project got underway. Before long, support from individual states was forthcoming and in 1914 the DVfK sought to obtain major subsidies from the Prussian parliament. See Bode, 'Monumenta Artis Germaniae, Die Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst in Bild und Wort, herausgegeben im Auftrage des Deutschen Reichs vom Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft', draft typescript dated 1905, NL Bode 353, ZASMB, p. 3; and Bode, *Denkschrift* (1914).

⁴¹ For an overview of the German monument inventories from Schinkel onwards see Paul Ortwin Rave, 'Anfänge und Wege der deutschen Inventarisierung', *Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalspflege*, 11 (1953), 73–90.

⁴² Bode, 'Monumenta Artis Germaniae' (1905), NL Bode 353, ZASMB, p. 1.

⁴³ Like the MAG, the MGH started out under the aegis of a small, poorly funded society: Karl von Stein's *Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* (est. 1819). State funding was obtained in 1834 after the success of the first publications (from 1826), and the MGH was incorporated by the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1874. M. D. Knowles, 'Presidential Address: Great Historical

Enterprises III. The Monumenta Germaniae Historica', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1960), 129–50; Bandmann, 'Gründung', p. 12.

⁴⁴ Bode, 'Monumenta Artis Germaniae' (1905), NL Bode 353, ZASMB, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴⁶ Gustav Heider and Rudolf Eitelberger (eds), *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1858–60). Particularly interesting here is Eitelberger's art historiography in the wake of Austria's loss of Lombardy (1859) to the nascent Italian nation. In his history of 'Die Kirche des heil. Ambrosius zu Mailand', II, 1–34, he effectively lays claim to the ceded territory by citing the supposedly Germanic origins of its monuments.

⁴⁷ K. K. Central-Commission, *Kunst-Topographie des Herzogthums Kärnten* (Vienna: Kubasta & Voigt, 1889), esp. Helfert's foreword, p. v.

⁴⁸ *Topographie der historischen und kunst-Denkmale im Königreich Böhmen von der Urzeit bis zum Anfange des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 51 vols (Prague: Archaeologische Kommission bei der böhmischen Franz-Josef-Akademie für Wissenschaften, Literatur und Kunst, 1897–1934).

⁴⁹ Dvořák, 'Topographie der historischen und Kunstdenkmale im Königreiche Böhmen', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 23 (1902), 371; *Topographie der historischen und kunst-Denkmale im Königreich Böhmen von der Urzeit bis zum Anfange des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 51 vols (Prague: Archaeologische Kommission bei der böhmischen Franz-Josef-Akademie für Wissenschaften, Literatur und Kunst, 1897–1934), xxvii: Max Dvořák & Bohumil Matějka, *Der politische Bezirk Raudnitz. Teil II. Raudnitzer Schloss* (1910).

⁵⁰ Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 'Memorandum zur Denkmalpflege' in Norbert Huse (ed.), *Denkmalpflege: Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1984), p. 70.

⁵¹ For the secondary literature see Herta Kuben, 'Max Dvořák als Denkmalpfleger in der Nachfolge Alois Riegls. Ein Beitrag über Inhalt, Aufgaben, Ziele und Probleme österreichischer Denkmalforschung und Denkmalpflege am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts' (unpublished Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 1993), pp. 41–58; Eva Frodl-Kraft, 'Die Österreichische Kunsttopographie: Betrachtungen *sub specie fundatoris*', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 114–30; Géza Hajós, 'Riegls Gedankengut in Dvořáks Einleitung zur Österreichischen Kunsttopographie', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 138–43.

⁵² Paul Clemen to Dvořák, Bonn, 28.07.1908, Monumenta artis Germaniae, NL Dvořák 15, IKUW; Paul Clemen, 'Der Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft und seine Veröffentlichungen', *NFP*, 27 October 1919, p. 2.

⁵³ At first his reviews were highly critical, principally of Tietze's text and the lack of architectural drawings. See Georg Dehio, 'Österreichische Kunsttopographie' and 'Berichtigung?', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 32–34 (1909–1911), 192–97, 293–94, 276–77, 470–71; idem, *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, 5 vols (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1905–12).

⁵⁴ Dvořák, 'Über den Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft', NL Dvořák 12, IKUW, p. 12.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 12–13.

⁵⁶ For the best published source on the Frankfurt assembly see 'Der Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft', *Kunstchronik*, 19 (1908), 330–32. Dvořák further developed his theoretical approach to art history in an essay 'Über die dringendsten methodischen Erfordernisse der Erziehung zur kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung', *Die Geisteswissenschaften*, 1 (1914), 932–36, 958–61.

⁵⁷ Bode, *Mein Leben*, I, 339–40.

⁵⁸ Dvořák, 'Über den Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft', NL Dvořák 12, IKUW, pp. 19–20.

⁵⁹ Bode, *Satzungen*, §1.

⁶⁰ Adolph Goldschmidt, 'Monumenta artis Germaniae. Plan für die Veröffentlichung', typescript, 1908, Monumenta artis Germaniae, NL Dvořák 15, IKUW.

⁶¹ Georg Dehio, 'Monumenta artis Germaniae. Grundsätze und Organisationsplan', typescript, 1908, Monumenta artis Germaniae, NL Dvořák 15, IKUW.

⁶² 'Der Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft', *Kunstchronik*, 19 (1908), 330.

⁶³ Dehio, 'Monumenta artis Germaniae', NL Dvořák 15, IKUW, p. 2.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 2–3.

⁶⁵ This being the only letter from Bode preserved among Dvořák's papers at the University of Vienna. Bode to Dvořák, Berlin, 20 June 1908, Monumenta artis Germaniae, NL Dvořák 15, IKUW.

⁶⁶ Dvořák to Bode, Vienna, 28 June 1908, NL Bode 1579, ZASMB.

⁶⁷ Dvořák, 'Promemoria über die Organization und das Arbeitsprogramm der Monumenta artis Germaniae', typescript, June 1908, NL Bode 354, ZASMB; the same can be found under Monumenta artis Germaniae, NL Dvořák 15, IKUW.

⁶⁸ Dvořák to Bode, Raudnitz, 1 August 1908, NL Bode 1579, ZASMB.

⁶⁹ Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft e. V., *Programm der 'Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst'* (Berlin: n.d.); see also NL Bode 350, ZASMB.

⁷⁰ 'Vorschläge von K. Koetschau', NL Bode 354, ZASMB; Rainer Kahsnitz, 'Der Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft im Nationalsozialismus. Versuch einer Spurenlese', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 62 (2008), 91–93.

⁷¹ Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 81.

⁷² Of members reistered in 1908, 25% were resident in Berlin and 4.4% in Vienna. After Dvořák's lectures in 1909 and 1913 the corresponding figures are Berlin 23% and Vienna 5.8%. See Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, *Eingetragener Verein, I. Mitglieder-Verzeichnis, Abgeschlossen am 30. September 1908* (Berlin: n.p., 1908); idem, *II. Mitglieder-Verzeichnis, Abgeschlossen im Oktober 1913* (Berlin: n.p., 1913).

⁷³ Dvořák to Bode, Vienna, 22 January 1913; Weissenbach bei Gloggnitz, 1 February 1913; Vienna, 18 March 1913, NL Bode 1579, ZASMB; Bode, *Denkschrift* (1914), p. 4; Betty Kurth, *Die deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters*, 3 vols (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1926).

⁷⁴ Dvořák to Bode, Vienna, 18 March 1913, NL Bode 1579, ZASMB.

⁷⁵ 'Max Dvořák', *Dictionary of Art Historians*,

<<http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/dvorakm.htm>> [accessed 30 June 2011].

⁷⁶ Julius v. Schlosser and Hans Hahnloser, 'Die Wiener Schule Der Kunstgeschichte. Rückblick Auf Ein Säkulum Deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts Für Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungs-Band 13 (1934), 195.

⁷⁷ Dvořák, 'Von Manes zu Švabinský', *Die Graphischen Künste*, 27 (1904), 30.

⁷⁸ Dvořák, 'Oesterreichische Staatsgalerie', *NFP*, 10 February 1912, pp. 1–2.

⁷⁹ William M. Johnson, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848–1938* (London: University of California Press, 1983), p. 71; Hugo Rokyta, 'Max Dvořák und seine Schule in den böhmischen Ländern', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 86–87.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹ Alois Hauser, *Spalato und die römischen Monumente Dalmatiens* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1883), p. 26. 'Von diesen kann man, so widerspruchsvoll es klingen mag, sagen, dass die Geschichte ihrer Erhaltung auch zugleich die ihrer Zerstörung ist.'

² Hermann Bahr, *Dalmatinische Reise* (Berlin: Fischer, 1909), p. 103. 'Manchmal aber bewaffnet sich der strebsame Mensch der Verwaltung noch mit einem Ästheteten, der findet, daß es auch schad wäre, den malerischen Reiz des Verfalls zu zerstören. Denken Sie sich hier Amerikanerinnen und Berliner, die ganze Stimmung wäre weg! Wie malerisch aber ist das Elend!'

³ Edward Timms, Karl Kraus, *Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 32.

⁴ Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern – The World of Yesterday*, Bibliothek Bayerische Rück, Versicherung in der Literatur, 25 (Munich: Bibliothek Bayerische Rück, n.d.), p. 474.

⁵ The articles that are not cited elsewhere here were: 'Museen und Bibliotheken ("Museen und Bibliotheken unter Verwaltungstechnischem Standpunkte" von Wilhelm Freiherrn von Weckbecker, Wien, 1910)', *NFP*, 9 February 1911, pp. 1–2; 'Oesterreichische Staatsgalerie', *NFP*, 10 February 1912, pp. 1–2; and 'Die Aufgaben der Österreichischen Staatsgalerie', *NFP*, 18 June 1915, pp. 1–4.

⁶ Franz Wickhoff, 'Max Dvorak', *NFP*, 16 September 1905, pp. 21–22.

⁷ Dvořák, 'Denkmalpflege und Kunst', *NFP*, 15 September 1910, pp. 1–3.

⁸ The languages used in Dalmatia were Italian and Croatian, with the latter replacing the former as the predominant administrative language after 1908, though all official correspondence with central government agencies was in German. See Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848–1918*, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), II, 309.

⁹ Frane Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Split*, trans. by C. Lucerna (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1929), pp. 33, 164. Achim Hubel, 'Positionen von städtebaulicher Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz: Der Umgang mit dem Ensemble 1900–1975' in Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, *Jahrestagung 2005: Gemeinsame Wurzeln – Getrennte Wege? Über*

den Schutz von gebauter Umwelt, Natur und Heimat seit 1900. 73. Tag für Denkmalpflege: Verbundprojekte – Stiftungen zum Schutz von Gebauter Umwelt, Natur und Heimat, 2. Juli 2005. Dokumentation (Münster: Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, 2007), pp. 178–79.

¹⁰ Matthew Rampley, 'The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1873', *Art History*, 34 (2011), 65.

¹¹ Rudolf Eitelberger, *Gesammelte Kunsthistorische Schriften*, 4 vols (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879–1884), I: *Kunst und Künstler Wiens der neueren Zeit*, pp. xi–xii. 'Sie haben viel dazu beigetragen, mich in meinen Grundsätzen politischer und vaterländischer Gesinnung zu befestigen und allen meinen literarischen, mit Fragen der bildenden Kunst zusammenhängenden Publicationen einen vorwiegend österreichischen Character zu geben. [...] so habe ich doch unter allen Verhältnissen und in allen Fragen jenen Gesichtspunkt nie aus dem Auge verloren, meinem Vaterlande zu nützen, dem ich mit allen Fibern meines Geistes förderlich zu sein bemüht war.'

¹² Rudolf Eitelberger, 'Die Unterbauten des Diocletianischen Kaiserpalastes in Spalato', *MZK*, 1 (1856), p. 137.

¹³ The restoration of the aqueduct took place in conjunction with the construction of a new railway station as a collaborative effort on the part of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Trade and Industry. It was carried out between 1878 and 1880. See *MZK*, 4 (1878), ix; *MZK*, 6 (1880), xi, lxxxvii; and *MZK*, 7 (1881), xiii; Eitelberger, *Gesammelte Kunsthistorische Schriften*, 4 vols (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879–1884), IV: *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Nona, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa*, p. vi.

¹⁴ Eitelberger, 'Unterbauten', 135. 'Der Diocletianische Kaiserpalast gehört nicht Spalato, nicht Dalmatien, er gehört der ganzen gebildeten Welt an. Alle Fragen, die bei der Restauration desselben in Betrachtung kommen, müssen von einem über das Localinteresse erhabenen Standpunkte aus geschehen. Würden bei der Restauration dieses Monumentes die gewöhnlichen Localinteressen den Ausschlag geben, so würde dieses Denkmal in einer Reihe von wenigen Jahrzehenden durch Anbauten und Veränderungen aller Art so umgestaltet werden, dass wohl verhältnissmässig nur wenige Spuren davon sichtbar sein würden. Der gegenwärtige Zustand des Palastes zeigt deutlich genug, wohin es führt, wenn eben diese Localinteressen ausschliesslich berücksichtigt werden.'

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Eitelberger, 'Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa', *Jahrbuch Der K. K. Central-Commission*, 5 (1861), 129–312; republished as idem, *Gesammelte Kunsthistorische Schriften*, 4 vols (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879–1884), IV: *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Nona, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa*. All subsequent references to this work are from the 1884 edition.

¹⁷ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 1 and 248; Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London: published for the author, 1764).

¹⁸ Eitelberger, 'Unterbauten', 135.

¹⁹ Adam, *Ruins*, p. 25, notes that Palladio had recorded the same innovation, i.e. columns with superimposed arches, at the Baths of Diocletian in Rome. Hauser, *Spalato*, p. 23; and idem, 'Die Kunst in Dalmatien', *Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Revue*, 2, no. 9 (1886), 58; A. J. Brothers, 'Diocletian's Palace at Split', *Greece & Rome*, 19 (1972), 180–81.

²⁰ Adam, *Ruins*, plate XXIII.

²¹ Hauser, *Spalato*, p. 11.

²² 'Es handelt sich hier um folgendes: In die Ruinen des Palastes wurde bekanntlich eine mittelalterliche Stadt eingebaut. Das Mausoleum Diokletians wurde der Madonna geweiht und zur Kirche der Bischöfe von Spalato umgestaltet. Zwischen den Trümmern des Palastes entstanden, von der großen Palastmauer umgeben, neue Gebäude, Straßen und Plätze und nach und nach entwickelte sich auf dem Ruinenfelde eine Stadt, die einzig in ihrer Art ist, eine Stadt, in der sich die gewaltigen Überreste der römischen Denkmale mit einer mittelalterlichen Stadtanlage und mit dem, was das Kunstschaffen vieler Jahrhunderte hervorgebracht hat, zu architektonischen Veduten verknüpfen, welche die kühnsten Phantasien Piranesis überbieten und welchen sich an malerischer Wirkung nicht gar vieles in Österreich an die Seite stellen läßt.'

²³ Hauser, *Spalato*, p. 31.

²⁴ By 'English' here Eitelberger means 'British'. The Austrians rarely made any linguistic distinction between the two concepts, just as, conversely, Austria-Hungary tends to be referred to simply as 'Austria' for the sake of convenience. Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), p. v.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 1.

- ²⁶ R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable & Co., 1911).
- ²⁷ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 4.
- ²⁸ Kann, *Multinational Empire*, I, 242–45. Seton-Watson, *Southern Slav Question*, p. 26, recounts the charming anecdote according to which, when the Habsburg Emperor Franz I visited Dalmatia in 1818 he was enormously impressed by the superb public roads and buildings. When he was informed that the French were responsible he could only concede that it was ‘*Wirklich Schade, dass sie nicht länger geblieben sein.*’
- ²⁹ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 25–26. Here Eitelberger also touches on an issue that would resurface around the time of the Bosnian Crisis of 1908: the right to bear arms. This right he saw as promoting the warlike virtues of the Dalmatian people, who had provided the Venetian Republic with some of its most loyal and resilient soldiers. This right to bear arms was abrogated across the empire for a period after the Revolution and was again denied to Dalmatians from around 1900, when all weapons, including ‘historic’ shot guns and ‘antique’ sabres, were routinely confiscated and occasionally flogged by the corrupt authorities. See Bahr, *Dalmatinische Reise*, pp. 155–62.
- ³⁰ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 19. ‘Die österreichische Regierung, welche Dalmatien besitzt, hat umgekehrt keine andere Wahl, als die, ihre politische Bestrebungen ununterbrochen auf Eventualitäten zu richten, welche die Einverleibung von Bosnien und Herzegowina mögliche machen, und andererseits in Dalmatien selbst so zu regieren, dass die benachbarten Bosniaken von selbst geneigt werden, einmal unter der Herrschaft Oesterreichs zu stehen.’ Similarly imperialistic sentiments from the same well-meaning perspective are to be found in Bahr, *Dalmatinische Reise*, p. 123.
- ³¹ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 22.
- ³² Josip Smolaka, ‘The Condition of Dalmatia’ in Seton-Watson, *Southern Slav Question*, p. 409, according to whom ninety-nine per cent of Dalmatia’s rural population were still illiterate in 1910. The situation will hardly have been better in the 1880s.
- ³³ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 249; idem, ‘Unterbauten’, 135.
- ³⁴ See *MZK*, 2 (1876), ix; *MZK*, 3 (1877), viii–ix; *MZK*, 4 (1878), clvii.
- ³⁵ A convent on the east side of the Arch of Titus was removed by French restorators during Napoleon’s sojourn in Rome (1809–14). Andrić seems to have taken these methods on board. Dvořák did not approve. Hence the Carl Justi epigraph to his Split polemic (MD 10). For the Arch of Titus see Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), pp. 83–84.
- ³⁶ Theodor Brückler and Ulrike Nimeth, *Personenlexikon zur Österreichischen Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: BDA, 2001), p. 10; Saur Allgemeine Künstlerlexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker (Munich: Saur, 1992), III, 670; Walter Frodl, *Idee und Verwirklichung: Das Werden der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988), pp. 104, 138.
- ³⁷ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 249.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 267.
- ³⁹ Julius v. Schlosser and Hans Hahnloser, ‘Die Wiener Schule Der Kunstgeschichte. Rückblick Auf Ein Säkulum Deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich’, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungs-Band 13 (1934), 158 [14].
- ⁴⁰ Brückler and Nimeth, *Personenlexikon*, p. 101; Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart (Leipzig: Seemann, 1923), XVI, 140.
- ⁴¹ Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students in this Field of Art*, trans. by H. F. Mallgrave, Texts & Documents (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988).
- ⁴² Alois Hauser, *Styl-Lehre der Architektonischen Formen des Alterthums* (Vienna: Hödler, 1877). Hauser’s textbooks do not seem to have run to a third edition. An important predecessor to this work was Eduard von Sacken’s *Katechismus der Baustyl oder Lehre der architektonischen Stylarten von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Leipzig: n.p., 1861), which was also distributed among CC functionaries and achieved a rather more impressive eighteenth edition in 1927.
- ⁴³ *MZK*, 2 (1876), cxlii. ‘*Bloßlegung des Domes in Spalato.*’ See also Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 259, footnote; and Hauser, *Spalato*, p. 52.
- ⁴⁴ *MZK*, 2 (1876), cxlii.
- ⁴⁵ *MZK*, 7 (1881), xiii; Hauser, *Spalato*, p. 47.

⁴⁶ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 250.

⁴⁷ Alois Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2000).

⁴⁸ Hauser, *Spalato*, p. 45.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32. ‘Hat sich aber der Beschauer an dem malerischen Gesamteindrucke sattgesehen, dann wird er sich davon überzeugen können, dass der Hauptwerth seiner Bilder der Grösse und Macht der erhaltenen römischen Bauten zu danken ist. Diese sehen hier mit gerechtem Stolze auf die vielen Zu- und Neubauten zu ihren Füßen herab, denn sie sind technisch von musterhafter Ausführung, und während die Schmarotzerbauten schon heute theilweise baufällig sind und alle möglichen Gebrechen zeigen, stehen die römischen Reste unbeweglich da, als wären sie gestern erst beendet worden.’ Obviously, these words are from the 1876 lecture and were written before the restoration work had revealed the flaws in the Roman remains. Where Hauser mentions the decrepit accretions here he is referring primarily to the campanile.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26. ‘Von diesen kann man, so widerspruchsvoll es klingen mag, sagen, dass die Geschichte ihrer Erhaltung auch zugleich die ihrer Zerstörung ist.’

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵² Presumably S. Barbara and S. Rocco. The latter is still standing. *MZK*, 23 (1897), 59.

⁵³ *MZK*, 24 (1898), 243–44. Recent generations have begged to differ. Walter Frodl, *Idee und Verwirklichung*, p. 160, understated the point when he remarked that ‘the work ought to have been carried out more tactfully.’

⁵⁴ A million crowns were spent on the campanile alone. Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast*, p. 156.

⁵⁵ These budget details were published in the *MZK* and were usually for the following year. ‘Central Commission’ here covers the costs of running the head office in Vienna. *MZK*, 13 (1887), xxxii; *MZK*, 14 (1888), 277; *MZK*, 16 (1890), 66; *MZK*, 16 (1890), 269; *MZK*, 17 (1891), 189; *MZK*, 18 (1892), 248; *MZK*, 22 (1896), 61; *MZK*, 24 (1898), 73.

⁵⁶ Eitelberger, IV: *Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens* (1884), 258; Hauser, *Spalato*, p. 44.

⁵⁷ ‘Protokoll aufgenommen am 17. Oktober 1904 im Bureau des Leiters der Bezirkshauptmannschaft Spalato anlässlich der Konstituierung der mit Erlaß des Ministeriums f. K. u. U. vom 24. September 1904 Z. 15-419 eingesetzten Kommission zur Erhaltung, Pflege und Erforschung des Diocletianischen Palastes in Spalato’, *MZK*, 3 (1904), 411.

⁵⁸ ‘Die Denkmalpflege im Staatsvoranschlage für das Jahr 1909’, *MZK*, 8 (1909), 4–8. Any serviceable comparison with the figures for the 1890s is virtually impossible here for a number of reasons: the lack of clarity in the *MZK* budget report of 1909; the change of currency from florins to crowns; and the massive increase in the Central Commission’s administrative costs due to the production costs of the *Österreichische Kunsttopographie* (1907–), amongst others. However, planned expenditure on the three monuments taken as representative in Table 2 are listed: while the CC was promised 120 411 crowns to cover its bureaucracy and publications, the Stephansdom was assigned 10 000 crowns, Prague Cathedral 50 000 crowns and Diocletian’s Palace 25 000 crowns for conservation work. In real terms, the latter amount was roughly equivalent to a small plot of land just outside the palace walls.

⁵⁹ Josip Smoljaka, ‘The Condition of Dalmatia’, pp. 406–16.

⁶⁰ Wilhelm Kubitschek, ‘Dalmatien’, *MZK*, n.s. 1 (1902), 15–16. This ‘assassination attempt’ appears to have been a dispute between the authorities and a private landowner in Split; presumably a dispute over architectural plans affecting the palace. Which authorities and what land is not stated, but the case went to the district courts. Thus the lack of clarity as to the ownership of the palace had become a serious legal problem.

⁶¹ Wilhelm Kubitschek, ‘Zum Schutze des Palazzo di Diocleziano’, *MZK*, n.s. 1 (1902), 26.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 25. ‘Es ist ein Ehrenpflicht Österreichs, dieses Denkmal vor weiterer Zerstörung zu schützen.’

⁶⁴ *MZK*, n.s. 1 (1902), 86.

⁶⁵ Frane/Franz Bulić studied theology in Zadar and was ordained as a priest in 1869. Having studied philology and archaeology in Vienna (1869–73 and 1877–9, under Otto Benndorf), he became a teacher then headmaster at the gymnasium in Split. He was also the most devoted native student of Roman Salona and as such became director of the archaeological museum in Split. He served the CC from 1880 and was appointed conservator for Split in 1883. Brückler and Nimeth, *Personenlexikon*, p. 36; Theodor Brückler, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand als Denkmalpfleger: Die ‘Kunstakten’ der Militärkanzlei im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv (Kriegsarchiv)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 65, 558–59.

⁶⁶ Bahr, *Dalmatinische Reise*, p. 118. ‘Aber auf unsere Regierung ist er noch viel schlechter zu sprechen als Smodlaka. Sie versteht nämlich auch vom Palast des Diokletian nichts. Er erzählte mir, wie er, vor Jahren schon, als er eben zum Konservator ernannt worden war, sich feierlich ins Amt begab, um dort den Palast des Diokletian als Staatseigentum anzumelden, wodurch er ihn vor barbarischen Eingriffen zu sichern glaubte. Statt nun aber dafür, wie er fest erwartete, belobt zu werden, was denken Sie, was geschah? Er steht auf und faßt mich an, er kann es noch heute nicht glauben. Was denken Sie? Das errät niemand! Was denken Sie, was geschah? Ich hätte einen Orden verdient, aber ich bekam eine Nase. Eine Nase! Und er reibt sich seine, als ob es jene wäre. Statt mir zu danken, daß ich das einzige Mittel fand, den Palast zu schützen! Aber in Finanzministerium meinte man, daß es Geld kosten könnte. Und davon wollen sie nichts wissen in Wien. Wenn ich nach Wien komme, heißt’s immer: Sehr schön, sehr gut, aber wir haben kein Geld! Und wieder springt der alte Herr auf, nimmt mich an den Schultern und wiederholt, mit seiner schweren zornigen Stimme, ratlos: Kein Geld, für den Palast des Diokletian kein Geld!’ There is also a brief mention of this altercation in Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast*, p. 172–73.

⁶⁷ ‘Sitzung vom 30. April 1903 (Festsitzung aus Anlaß des 40jährigen Jubiläums der Ernennung Seiner Exzellenz Freiherrn von Helfert zum Präsidenten der Z. K.)’, *MZK*, 2 (1903), 148; *50 Jahre Denkmalpflege: Festschrift der Zentralkommission anlässlich ihres fünfzigjährigen Wirkens* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1903). The latter contains a draft legal bill for the protection of the Palace of Diocletian (pp. 93–94). This bill would have acknowledged the palace as state property, forbidden any changes to abutting buildings (besides consolidation work), and would have given the state rights of prior purchase. For the controversies surrounding Helfert’s takeover of the CC in 1863 see Frodl, *Idee und Verwirklichung*, pp. 176–79.

⁶⁸ Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Vienna: Verlag W. Braumüller, 1903); idem, ‘The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and its Origin’, in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973–1984*, ed. by K. Michael Hays, trans. by K. Forster and D. Ghirardo (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. 621–51.

⁶⁹ ‘Protokoll aufgenommen am 17. Oktober 1904 im Bureau des Leiters der Bezirkshauptmannschaft Spalato anlässlich der Konstituierung der mit Erlaß des Ministeriums f. K. u. U. vom 24. September 1904 Z. 15-419 eingesetzten Kommission zur Erhaltung, Pflege und Erforschung des Diocletianischen Palastes in Spalato’, *MZK*, 3 (1904), 409.

⁷⁰ This flurry of activity was noted with interest in Edinburgh, where the Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art reported that fourteen experts had surveyed the Diocletian’s Palace in 1903 and that a protective legal bill had been drafted. Gerald Baldwin Brown, *The Care of Ancient Monuments: An Account of the Legislative and Other Measures Adopted in European Countries for Protecting Ancient Monuments and Objects and Scenes of Natural Beauty, and for Preserving the Aspect of Historical Cities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), p. 169.

⁷¹ Wilhelm Kubitschek, ‘Zum Schutze’, 25.

⁷² Alois Riegl, ‘Bericht über eine im Auftrage des Präsidiums der k. k. Zentral-Kommission zur Wahrung der Interessen der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Denkmale innerhalb des ehemaligen Diocletianischen Palastes zu Spalato durchgeführte Untersuchung’, *MZK*, 2 (1903), 333–41; reprinted in *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege*, ed. by Ernst Bacher (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 173–81.

⁷³ Ibid., 333. My emphasis. ‘Die Kommission, welche im April 1903 in Angelegenheit des Diocletianischen Palastes zu Spalato zusammentrat, hatte vornehmlich die Aufgabe zu erfüllen, die zur Erhaltung der Reste des Palastes in ihrem derzeitigen Bestande zweckdienlichsten Maßnahmen festzustellen.’

⁷⁴ Ibid., 334. ‘Eine Freilegung der antiken Teile des Palastes bedeutet nun [...] nichts anderes als die Beseitigung der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Zu- und Umbauten im Palastbezirke.’

⁷⁵ Ibid., 336–37. ‘Das Episkopium ist ein niederer Bau aus der beginnenden Barockzeit, dessen regelmäßig geschichtete Steinquadern an den Fugen sorgfältig geglättet sind. Die Fensteröffnungen der Straßenseite erheben weder durch ihr Verhältnis zur Wand noch durch ihre Detailbehandlung Anspruch auf künstlerische Würdigung. Nur die Portalumrahmung mit ihren bossierten Quadern und dem inschriftgeschmückten Gesimse darüber zieht das Auge auf sich; wer durch das Portal in den Flur eintritt und denselben durchschreitend den Hof betritt, gewahrt hier über der Durchgangsöffnung ein Fenster mit Balustrade und seitlichen Konsolen. Das Episkopium besitzt hienach zweifellos einen bestimmten kunstgeschichtlichen Wert, der nur durch den Umstand verringert wird, daß sich in

Spalato noch mehrfache Zeugnisse der gleichen Stilrichtung, jedoch von reicherer Ausführung vorfinden. Ohne Einschränkung entfaltet sich der ansehnliche Alterswert des Gebäudes, der hauptsächlich in der sympathischen Färbung der alten bräunlichgelben Steinquadern beruht, aber auch in den anspruchslosen Verhältnissen, die fast noch an die mittelalterliche Weise erinnern, eine Stütze findet. Auch als eine wesentliche Komponente des für Alt-Spalato so charakteristischen engen Straßenbildes genießt das Episkopium einen Alterswert.'

⁷⁶ Ibid., 337. 'Es empfiehlt sich daher, alle für und gegen seine Abtragung sprechenden Argumente sorgfältig zu prüfen, bevor man sich entschließt, an das Gebäude die zerstörende Hand zu legen.'

⁷⁷ Protokoll', *MZK*, 3 (1904), 417.

⁷⁸ Riegl, 'Bericht', 337. '[Es dürfte] sich bei stückweiser Betrachtung aus der Nähe vorteilhafter im malerischen Sinne präsentieren als bei einem freien umfassenden Überblick aus einiger Entfernung.'

⁷⁹ Ibid., 338. 'Jedenfalls ist der Anblick des Peripteros, wie er jetzt vom baumbesetzten Hofe des Episkopiums aus genossen werden kann, ein so reizender, daß man alle künstlerischen Folgen wohl erwägen sollte, bevor man sich hier zu radikalen Änderungen entschließt.'

⁸⁰ *MZK*, 3 (1904), 301–02.

⁸¹ 'Protokoll', *MZK*, 3 (1904), 409.

⁸² In 1883 Boito had called for the clear identification of all restoration work by way of inscriptions, plaques, the use of different materials and photographic documentation. Camillo Boito, 'Restoration in Architecture: First Dialogue', *Future Anterior*, 6 (2009), 76.

⁸³ 'Protokoll', *MZK*, 3 (1904), 414. 'Die Palastkommission erklärt, daß sie Freilegungen im modernen Sinne des Wortes, welche schädigende Eingriffe bedeuten, unbedingt ablehnt und lediglich am Dom und Baptisterium die Vornahme von Arbeiten ins Auge faßt, welche die wissenschaftliche Erforschung dieser Gebäude fördern und ihre ursprüngliche Erscheinung ohne Beeinträchtigung anderer wichtiger Interessen wiederherstellen.'

⁸⁴ Ibid., 416. 'Professor Riegl erklärt, daß die Demolierung eines mindestens in das XVII. Jh., wahrscheinlich aber noch viel weiter zurückreichenden bischöflichen Palastes eine vom Standpunkte der öffentlichen Denkmalpflege so schwerwiegende und weittragende Angelegenheit bedeutet, daß dieselbe keineswegs lediglich nach Rücksichten der lokalen Bequemlichkeit gelöst werden dürfe, sondern daß dabei vor allem auch die Rücksichten auf den historischen und den Alterswert des Gebäudes und auf seine Stellung im Palastbezirke als Ganzem auf das sorgfältigste erwogen und berücksichtigt werden müssen.

Konservator Mons. Bulić bemerkt folgendes: Mit Bezugnahme auf den [...] Wunsch betreffend die Abtragung des alten, ehemaligen Episkopiums, in Anbetracht der Umstände, daß dieses Gebäude erst im Jahre 1677 auf den Fundamenten des älteren, vom Feuer zerstörten Episkopiums gebaut, schon vor 80 Jahren als unbewohnbar von den Spalätiner Bischöfen verlassen und erst voreinigten Jahren zu Geschäftelokalitäten adaptiert wurde, in der Erwägung, daß es vom historischen und kunsthistorischen Standpunkte keinen Wert hat, weil das Haupttor, das einzige bemerkenswerte Stück am Gebäude, nichts Besonderes bietet, in Anbetracht der von mir und meinen Vorgängern seit 30 Jahren gestellten Vorschläge auf Abtragung, welcher Standpunkt vom Unterrichtsministerium und von der Z. K. immer gebilligt wurde, in Anbetracht des Umstandes, daß in den Mauern und in den Fundamenten dieses Gebäudes antike Überreste der Arkaden zwischen Ost- und Westtor des Palastes zu finden wären, und mit Rücksicht auf den für den Staat vorteilhaften Antrag der Gemeinde Spalato betreffend die Niederlegung des ganzen Hauses unterstütze ich den Antrag auf absolute, rasche Abtragung des alten Episkopiums.'

⁸⁵ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy: 1809–1918* (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

⁸⁶ Instead of a new cathedral within the palace walls, Riegl suggested the market square just outside them to the east and was willing to accept the demolition of the Dominican church there for the sake of the cathedral if necessary. *MZK*, 4 (1905), 12.

⁸⁷ Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast*, p. 171.

⁸⁸ Bahr, *Dalmatinische Reise*, pp. 111–12.

⁸⁹ Brückler and Nimeth, *Personenlexikon*, p. 36; Brückler, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand*, p. 65.

⁹⁰ Seton-Watson lists Bulić as one of a number of character witnesses for Frano Supilo, a highly respected Serbo-Croat coalition politician and former newspaper editor whom the Austrian government tried to discredit with trumped-up charges of bribery. In the Friedjung case, the credibility of the Austrian state, judiciary and one of its most prominent historians were seriously damaged after the Foreign Ministry had attempted to use forged documents as a pretext for war against Serbia in 1909. For these trials see Seton-Watson, *Southern Slav Question*, pp. 209–302, esp. p. 299, note 424.

⁹¹ The Yugoslav Committee first assembled in Rome, then moved to Paris and finally settled in London in 1915, where it lobbied for the recognition of the future Yugoslav state. For an artist's perspective on these events, see Maria Meštrović, *Ivan Meštrović: The Making of a Master* (London: Stacey International, 2008), esp. chapter 8, 'The Yugoslav Committee', pp. 82–107.

⁹² *MZK*, 4 (1905), 186. 'In Übereinstimmung mit der von ihrem Generalkonservator II. Sektion bei den Sitzungen der Palastkommission von Spalato vertretenen Anschauung und auf Grund der vom Konservator Bulić vorgelegten Photographien beschließt die Z.K., sich auf das entschiedenste für die Erhaltung des alten Episkopiums in Spalato auszusprechen, da es sich hier um einen Bau von geschichtlichem und kunstgeschichtlichem Werte handelt, gegen dessen Bestand keine zwingende Gründe vorliegen, und der ein wesentliches Glied in dem ganzen Charakterbilde des jetzigen Palastviertels bildet, über dessen Wahrung die Z. K. zu wachen hat.'

⁹³ *MZK*, 4 (1905), 410–11.

⁹⁴ This happened on a number of occasions. In 1910 the municipality was offered the only remaining privately owned part of the *porta aurea* by the Dominican hospice quartered there. The Palace Commission turned the offer down and merely encouraged the nuns to sell to a reputable buyer. Similarly, properties on the east wall and above the entablature in the peristyle were not bought up when the opportunities arose. *MZK*, 9 (1910), 382, 384, 389.

⁹⁵ Dvořák, 'Die Restaurierung des Buvinatores am Dome in Spalato', *MZK*, 7 (1908), 347–53.

⁹⁶ 'Der diokletianische Palast in Spalato', *MZK*, 8 (1909), 534.

⁹⁷ 'Der diokletianische Palast in Spalato', *MZK*, 9 (1910), 386.

⁹⁸ 'Bericht über die Jahresversammlung des österr. archäologischen Institutes 1908', *MZK*, 7 (1908), 169.

⁹⁹ 'Der diokletianische Palast in Spalato', *MZK*, 8 (1909), 534; Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁰ 'Der diokletianische Palast in Spalato', *MZK*, 12 (1913), 32.

¹⁰¹ Dvořák, 'Der Diokletianische Palast in Spalato', *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, 31 (1919–20), 901. 'Die neue von der jugoslawischen Regierung eingesetzte Palastkommission in Spalato hat die Freilegung des sog. Mausoleums Diokletians, der jetzigen Domkirche, beschlossen. Zu diesem Zwecke sollen die angrenzenden Gebäude und darunter auch das alte Episcopium, ein ehrwürdiger Renaissancebau, niedergelegt werden. Damit wurde eine neue Entscheidung in einer Frage getroffen, die vor fünfzehn Jahren lebhaft die damalige österreichische Palastkommission beschäftigte. Damals war die Zerstörungsabsicht immerhin noch verständlich, da der Freilegungswahn noch nicht ganz überwunden war, und schon damals siegten Vernunft und künstlerischer Sinn über das unheilvolle Projekt. Heute es wieder abzunehmen und durchführen zu wollen, ist wahrlich ein Anachronismus, um so beklagenswerter, als es sich um eines der bedeutendsten Denkmäler der Adriagebiete handelt, dessen Wirkung durch die Freilegung die größte Einbuße erleiden würde. Es liegt mir ganz ferne, mich in Angelegenheiten der Denkmalpflege Dalmatiens zu mischen, doch aus alter Liebe zu den Kunstschatzen des Landes möchte ich in diesem Falle, wo es sich um ein Bauwerk handelt, an dem die ganze gebildete Welt interessiert ist, doch nicht die Warnung unterlassen, man möge sich doch zweimal und dreimal die Ausführung eines Beschlusses überlegen, der zu nie wiedergutzumachenden Verwüstungen und Verlusten führen würde.'

¹⁰² Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame of Paris*, trans. by J. Sturrock (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983), book III, chapter 1, p. 123. He continues: 'Which I would gladly translate as "Time is blind, man is stupid".'

Notes to Chapter 4

¹ Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. H. Arendt, trans. H. Zorn (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 248.

² Robert Musil, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rohwolt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006), book II, chapter 89, p. 402. 'Dann stellte jemand Streitbar und wirkungsvoll die Frage, was man denn nun eigentlich glaube: ob zehntausend hungernde Menschen wichtiger seien oder ein Kunstwerk?'

³ Walter Frodl, 'Max Dvořáks Katechismus der Denkmalpflege', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 90. 'Wir hatten, trotz seines gewichtigen Inhaltes, trotz des Buchtitels, der so viel verheißt, trotz des Namens Dvořák, dazu nicht den Mut. Dabei haben sich weder die Idee der Denkmalpflege noch einige von der Umständen geändert, die seinerzeit Dvořáks Reaktion herausforderten. Zu sehr ist die Schrift an die

Zeit gebunden, in der sie entstanden ist.' An Italian translation had appeared a few years earlier as Max Dvořák, 'Catechismo per la tutela dei monumenti', trans. M. Bacci, *Paragone*, 22 (1971), 30–63; for the Czech translation see idem, *Katechismus památkové péče*, (Prague: Národní památkový ústav, 2004).

⁴ Theodor Brückler, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand als Denkmalpfleger: die 'Kunstakten' der Militärkanzlei im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv (Kriegsarchiv)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010); see my review in *Umění*, 58 (2010), 169–72. Brückler's introductory essay makes no mention of the *Katechismus*. The institutional histories of the CC are: Walter Frodl, *Idee und Verwirklichung: Das Werden der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988); Ernst Bacher, ed., *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995); Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Gefährdetes Erbe: Österreichs Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege, 1918–1945 im Prisma der Zeitgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997).

⁵ Mitchell Schwarzer, 'Cosmopolitan Difference in Max Dvořák's Art Historiography', *The Art Bulletin*, 74 (1992), 669–78; Hans Aurenhammer, 'Max Dvořák' in Ulrich Pfisterer (ed.), *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte 1. Von Winckelmann bis Warburg* (Munich: Beck, 2007), pp. 214–26, who is at pains to present Dvořák as a progressive and is forced to enlist the modernist credentials of Hans Tietze in order to do so (pp. 218–19).

⁶ Matthew Rampley, 'Max Dvořák: Art History and the Crisis of Modernity', *Art History*, 26 (2003), 214–37. Though Dvořák would occasionally draw parallels between historic and modern art in his university lectures, he actually published very little on contemporary art. The association with Kokoschka, for instance, is based on a short introductory text written just before his death in 1921, where the spiritual qualities of Kokoschka's Expressionism are championed as the antithesis of Monet's materialistic Impressionism. See Oskar Kokoschka, *Das Konzert: Variationen über ein Thema. Hommage à Kamilla Swoboda*, (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1988), pp. 29–32.

⁷ Karl Kraus, 'Brot und Lüge', *Die Fackel*, 21 (1919), 5.

⁸ Reprinted in *50 Jahre Denkmalpflege: Festschrift der Zentralkommission anlässlich ihres fünfzigjährigen Wirkens*, (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1903), p. 85. 'Populäre Anleitungen für Pfarrer, Gemeinden etc., um die Erhaltung der unter ihrer Aufsicht stehenden Denkmale zu sichern und die Betreffenden über den Werth der in ihrem Bereiche befindlichen Kunstschätze aufzuklären, sind von der Central-Commission anzuregen und zeitweise gemeinfaßliche Belehrungen durch schriftliche Aufsätze zu veranlassen, um den Kunstsinn auch unter der Bevölkerung zu wecken.'

⁹ The Austrian monument protection law was finally passed in 1923. For a comprehensive outline of legislative efforts at the CC up to 1918, see Theodor Brückler, 'Vom Konsilium zum Imperium: Die Vorgeschichte der österreichischen Denkmalschutzgesetzgebung', *ÖZKD*, 45 (1991), 160–73. For early comparative studies of European monument legislation see Gerald Baldwin Brown, 'Recent Monument Legislation and the Care of Artistic Treasures', *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation*, 12 (1912), 266–79; and idem, *The Care of Ancient Monuments. An account of the legislative and other measures adopted in European countries for protecting ancient monuments and objects and scenes of natural beauty, and for preserving the aspect of historical cities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905).

¹⁰ Georg Dehio, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers, gehalten in der Aula der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg am 27. Januar 1905* (Strassburg: Heitz und Mündel, 1905), p. 17.

¹¹ For a concise version of Helfert's conception of *Denkmalpflege*, see his polemical contribution to the controversy over the restoration of the Great Portal at the Stephandom, Alexander von Helfert, *Die Herstellung des Riesenthores von St. Stephan und die Wiener Secession* (Vienna: 1902), in which he opposed the Ruskinian, conservationist stance of the Secession. See also Alfred Roller, 'Memorandum der Vereinigung an Se. Exzellenz den Unterrichtsminister (Das Riesentor von St. Stephan)', *Ver Sacrum*, 5 (1902), 49–56.

¹² Theodor Brückler, 'Quellen zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege', *ÖZKD*, 62 (2008), 115. 'Einer der Wenigen, wenn nicht der Einzige, den er als exzellenten Experten akzeptierte, zumindest aber als kompetenten Widerpart achtete, war der Kunsthistoriker, Universitätslehrer und Generalkonservator der Zentralkommission Max Dvořák.' See also Robert Hoffmann, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand und der Fortschritt: Altstadtterhaltung und bürgerlicher Modernisierungswille in Salzburg* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), pp. 9, 54–55. 'Dvořák und Franz Ferdinand waren in den Jahren vor 1914 die maßgeblichen Persönlichkeiten innerhalb der österreichischen Denkmalpflege.'

¹³ 'Denkmalschutz und Kirchenschutz', *Das Vaterland*, 5 November 1911, *Morgenblatt*, pp. 1–3.

¹⁴ Brückler, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand*, p. 257.

¹⁵ The *Leo-Gesellschaft* (est. 1892) was an Austrian society promoting Catholic work in the socio-political, academic and cultural spheres. In the 1910s its members numbered around seventeen hundred and included, besides Helfert and Liechtenstein, prominent conservatives such as Cardinal Friedrich Gustav Piffel, Heinrich Swoboda, Ignaz Seipel, Richard von Kralik, Karl Holey and Ludwig von Pastor.

¹⁶ 'Und ich verrate kein Geheimnis, wenn ich darauf hinweise, daß alle diese Bestrebungen von dem hohen Protektor der Zentralkommission, dem durchlauchtigsten Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand, nicht nur gebilligt, sondern auf das entschiedenste unterstützt werden.'

¹⁷ Catechetics were still lingering in the Viennese air well into 1913 after the Leo-Gesellschaft's theological conference on the theme in September 1912. See Friedrich Schindler, 'Die Leo-Gesellschaft im Jahre 1912', *Die Kultur*, 14 (1913), pp. i–x; Brückler, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 346–47. Franz Ferdinand's instructions to the *Konferenz der Landeskonservatoren* are summarized, but not clearly ascribed; they are wrongly marked as having been addressed to the Military Chancellery. Given the language and content of the instructions, though, it seems likely that Franz Ferdinand dictated them directly to his adjutant, Colonel Carl Freiherr von Bardolff.

¹⁸ Frodl, *Dvořák's Katechismus*, p. 98, citing the minutes of the Conference of Regional Conservators. 'Der höchste Protektor sieht ein Hauptmittel der Erziehung der in Betracht kommenden Öffentlichkeit in einer geschickt betriebenen Belehrung [...]. Anschaulich geschriebene Artikel mit entsprechenden Abbildungen und Beispielen über die richtige und unrichtige Auffassung, entsprechende und nichtentsprechende Erhaltung sind hier sehr am Platze. Verbreitung über Betrügereien im Kunsthandel, krasse Verirrungen im Geschmack [...]. Ohne intensiv betriebene propagandistische Tätigkeit in der breitesten Öffentlichkeit lassen sich die Ziele der Zentralkommission nicht erreichen.'

¹⁹ Brückler, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand*, p. 349.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 348. 'Ich habe Ihr II. Kapitel des „Katechismus der Denkmalpflege“ gelesen und bin mit demselben vollkommen einverstanden. Der Stoff ist ganz in meinem Sinne behandelt und spreche Ich Ihnen Meine vollste Anerkennung aus. Oberst Bardolff wird Ihnen in Meinen Aufträge in der Angelegenheit noch einige Eröffnungen machen. Erzherzog Franz.'

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 348–49.

²² Josef Weingartner, *Im Dienste der Musen: Briefwechsel mit Josef Garber mit einer Einleitenden Biographie* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1978), pp. 126–27. 'Heute schrieb mir Dvořák, er möchte gern eine Photograph des umgebauten Kupferschmiedhauses in Brixlegg als Beispiel einer Verschandelung eines alten Baues. Er glaubt wohl, daß Brixlegg in meinem Bezirk liege [...]. Wenn Dir Dvořák nicht selber geschrieben – Du würdest ihm einen großen Dienst tun mit Photographien. Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel von schlechten Restaurierungen, Schädigungen von Dorfbildern durch geschmacklose Neubauten etc. für einen Katechismus der Denkmalpflege, den er herausgeben will.' If Dvořák did receive pictures of this coppersmithery, they did not make the final cut.

²³ Brückler, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand*, p. 350. 'Ausgezeichnet. Ja, sehr gut! Mit Beschleunigung alles ausführen! Dann in Massen ausgeben, z.B. allen Gemeinderäten in Städten, Bürgermeistern, Konsistorien etc.'

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 350. 'Für die in so glänzender Weise gelöste Anregung Sr. Kaiserlichen Hoheit Höchstseinen wärmsten und besten Dank.'

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 350. 'FF ist sowohl über den "leicht fasslichen textuellen Teil als auch über die sorgsamst und so glücklich fürgewählten zahlreichen Illustrationen" sehr zufrieden und wünscht, dass das Werk "für die österreichische Denkmalpflege den Beginn einer neuen Ära" bedeuten möge.'

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 544. 'Dvořák dankt in einem Schreiben an Bardolff "tief bewegt ... für die gnädige Aufnahme und so huldreiche Genehmigung des Katechismus der Denkmalpflege" durch FF.'

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

²⁸ When listing the threats posed to historic monuments, Dvořák remarks that 'widespread ravages against witnesses to the past no longer persist – something which was once quite common during wars and revolutions' (MD 27). This anachronism would seem to suggest that the manuscript was not revised after July 1914.

²⁹ 'Wer das Städtchen N. vor dreißig Jahren besuchte, konnte sich nicht wenig an dem anmutigen Bilde des alten schönen Ortes erfreuen. Den Mittelpunkt bildete die altersgraue gotische Pfarrkirche mit ihrem barocken Turm und einer schönen barocken Inneneinrichtung, feierlich und einladend und tausendfach mit Erinnerungen verknüpft. [...] Von der Kirche kam man durch ein Gewirr von alten

kleinen Häuschen, die die hohe Kirche um so imposanter erscheinen ließen, auf den freundlichen Stadtplatz, wo man das ehrwürdige Rathaus aus dem XVII. Jh. mit einem gemütlichen Zwiebelturm bewundern konnte. Breitspurige solide Bürgerhäuser ohne falsche und überflüssige Verzierungen und doch schmuck, alle mit Laubergängen versehen und in der Höhe beschränkt, schlossen sich daran, bescheiden dem Gesamtbilde des Platzes sich unterordnend, das in seiner geschlossenen Einheit trotz der verschiedenen Entstehungszeit der Häuser in jedem kunstsinnigen Beschauer die Empfindung einer künstlerischen Harmonie und in jedem empfindsamen Menschen überhaupt ähnliche Gefühle, wie die trauten Räume eines alten Familienhauses, hervorrufen mußte. Umgeben war das Städtchen von halbverfallenen, mit Schlingpflanzen bewachsenen Befestigungsmauern, an denen eine bequeme und abwechslungsreiche Promenade hinführte und die von vier stattlichen Stadttoren unterbrochen einen höchst malerischen Anblick boten.³⁰

³⁰ 'Die alte Pfarrkirche wurde "restauriert". Man hat den barocken Turm abgetragen und ihn durch einen neuen falschgotischen ersetzt, der in das Stadtbild wie eine Vogelscheuche in einen Rosengarten paßt. Die prächtigen Altäre wurden unter dem Vorwande, daß sie mit dem Stil der Kirche nicht übereinstimmen, hinausgeworfen und durch plumpe, geschmacklose, angeblich gotische, doch in der Wirklichkeit stilllose Fabrikware ersetzt. [...] und als ich den Sakristan nach den alten Meßgewändern und Goldschmiedearbeiten frug, bedeutete mir seine verlegene Miene, daß sie längst an irgendeinen Antiquitätenhändler verschachert seien. [...] Und so ging's weiter. Das köstliche alte Rathaus wurde demoliert, hat einem Neubau Platz gemacht, der ein Mittelding zwischen Kaserne und Ausstellungsbude darstellt. Die trauten Bürgerhäuser mußten abscheulichen, schwindelhaft aus billigem Material und nach Vorlagebüchern ohne geringste Spur einer künstlerischen Empfindung ausgeführten Miets- und Warenhäusern weichen. Die Stadttore wurden unter dem Vorwande, daß sie den – nicht bestehenden – Verkehr hindern, abgetragen, die Stadtmauern niedergerissen, damit sich die Stadt einmal vielleicht in hundert Jahren – erweitern könne.'

³¹ George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2006); Otto Wagner, 'The Development of a Great City', *Architectural Record*, 31 (1912), 485–500, reprinted in *Oppositions*, 17 (1979), 103–16.

³² 'einfach mit dem Lineal entworfene Straßen.' There is another subtle reference to Wagner, and modern architecture in general, where Dvořák describes new housing blocks as 'abstoßenden Mißgeburten der Baukunst' (repulsive monstrosities of building art, p. 182). This is the only occasion where Dvořák employs the signal term *Baukunst*. The word had become virtually synonymous with modern architecture: Wagner used it in this sense as early as 1911, and later published the fourth edition of his *Moderne Architektur* under the new title, *Die Baukunst unserer Zeit*. See Mallgrave's introduction to Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988), p. 45.

³³ Richard Jordan and the brothers Schömer were responsible for the interior and the architecture (1894–97). Bundesdenkmalamt, *Dehio-Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs. Wien, X. bis XIX. und XXI. Bis XXIII. Bezirk* (Vienna: Schroll, 1996), p. 526.

³⁴ Joseph August Lux, 'Verschönerungsverein und Heimatschutz', *Hohe Warte*, 1 (1904/05), 9–11. The *Hohe Warte* can take at least partial debit for having introduced Schultze-Naumburg's ideas to Vienna. For Lux and the 'Catholic Modernist' movement see Mark Jarzombek, 'Joseph August Lux: Werkbund Promoter, Historian of a Lost Modernity', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 63 (2004), 202–19.

³⁵ Hans Tietze, *Das Wiener Stadtbild*, vol. 4 in the series Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs (Vienna: Fromme, 1910), p. 37.

³⁶ Karl Giannoni, *Heimatschutz*, vol. 6 in the series Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs (Vienna: Gerlach & Weidling, 1911), figs 5–6. Though it won no awards for catchy nomenclature, the regional preservation society that produced these pamphlets promoted the ideas of the *Heimatschutz* movement and the agenda of the CC from 1910 onwards. As such, it was an important point of contact between popular and state-run conservation initiatives.

³⁷ Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Die Entstellung unseres Landes*, Flugschriften des Bundes Heimatschutz 2 (Halle: n.p., 1905). The second edition of this booklet was actively disseminated in Austria in 1908. The possible influence of Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten* (Munich: Callwey, 1901–) has been noted by Hans Aurenhammer, 'Max Dvořák und die moderne Architektur. Bemerkungen zum Vortrag Die letzte Renaissance (1912)', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 50 (1997), 26.

³⁸ ‘Ganze Scharen von Agenten durchziehen bei uns jahrein, jahraus das Land und wenden die verschiedensten Tricks an, um ihr Ziel zu erreichen.’ ‘kunistreiche Orte und ganze Länder werden [...] durch Händler geplündert und verwandeln sich allmählich künstlerisch in trostlose Wüsten.’

³⁹ ‘Länder und Gebiete, die, wie Amerika oder auch einzelne Teile Europas, an der alten Kunstentwicklung keinen oder geringeren Anteil hatten, wollen sich durch Erwerb fremder, anderswo entstandener Kunstschatze eine höhere kulturelle Bedeutung verschaffen.’

⁴⁰ Brückler, Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand, pp. 28–35; Hoffmann, Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand, p. 52.

⁴¹ Much the same sentiments are expressed in Dvořák’s lecture to the Lower Austrian Society for *Denkmalpflege* and *Heimatschutz* in March 1914 (MD 25). A Freudian might find a death-wish directed toward Franz Ferdinand in the opening paragraph here.

⁴² Brückler, Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand, p. 60.

⁴³ ‘Ungünstig wirkendes Bedachungsmaterial jedoch, wie Eternit, ist zu vermeiden.’

⁴⁴ Dehio, Denkmalschutz, p. 9. ‘Wir konservieren ein Denkmal nicht, weil wir es für schön halten, sondern weil es ein Stück unseres nationalen Daseins ist.’

⁴⁵ Alois Riegl, ‘Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege’, *MZK*, 4 (1905), 85–104. For this debate see also Michael S. Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität: zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* (Berlin: Thelem, 2008), pp. 59–65.

⁴⁶ ‘Menschen, die Andenken an ihre Eltern und Voreltern, mögen sie kostbar oder bescheiden sein, mit den Füßen treten und auf den Kehrthaußen werfen, sind roh und gefühllos, zugleich aber Feinde ihrer Familie, weil sie sinnfällige Zeugnisse von Empfindungen vernichten, auf denen all das beruht, was im Rahmen des Familienlebens dem menschlichen Dasein einen höheren seelischen Inhalt verleiht. Nicht anders ist es aber mit allem, was in den großen religiösen, staatlichen oder nationalen Gemeinschaften, in der Kirche und in einer Stadt, in einem Land und in einem Reich geeignet ist, die Erinnerung an die historische Vergangenheit und Zusammengehörigkeit zu erhalten oder wachzurufen. Das sind in erster Linie Werke der Kunst, der sichtbare Ausdruck dessen, was im Gefühlsleben und in der Phantasie die Gegenwart mit der Vergangenheit verknüpft, und ein Ahnenvermächtnis, das zu ehren eine moralische Pflicht ist, die jedem in Fleisch und Blut übergehen soll, wie die Achtung vor fremdem Eigentum. [...] Und ähnlich gehen mit alten Rathäusern, Stadttoren, Plätzen reiche Quellen des Gemeinnsinnes und der Vaterlandsliebe zugrunde, und wer solche Denkmäler vernichtet, ist ein Feind seiner Vaterstadt und seines Vaterlandes.’

⁴⁷ József Sisa, ‘Neo-Gothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and His School’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 61 (2002), 180.

⁴⁸ Margaret Olin, ‘The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria’, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 38 (1985), 177–98.

⁴⁹ Hoffmann, Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand, p. 59.

⁵⁰ Theodor Brückler and Ulrike Nimeth, *Personenlexikon zur Österreichischen Denkmalpflege (1850–1990)*, (Vienna: Bundesdenkmalamt, 2001), p. 54.

⁵¹ ‘Convention (IV) with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land’, in Dietrich Schindler & Jiri Toman (eds), *The Laws of Armed Conflicts: A Collection of Conventions, Resolutions and Other Documents* (Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2004), p. 74; Annex to the Convention, Section II: Hostilities, Chapter 1, Article 27. In the case of bombardment by naval forces, these signs were to ‘consist of large, stiff rectangular panels divided diagonally in two coloured triangular portions, the upper portion black, the lower portion white.’ A very modern form of heraldry, comparable perhaps to a Sol le Witt. If such signs were used at all, they were probably ignored.

⁵² Edmund Gosse, ‘The Desecration of French Monuments’, *The Edinburgh Review*, 222 (1915), 330–50.

⁵³ ‘Die Beschädigung der Kathedrale von Reims’, *Reichspost*, 23 September 1914, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Cornelius Gurlitt, ‘Der Krieg und die Denkmalpflege’, *Stenographischer Bericht: Tagung für Denkmalpflege*, 3 (1915), Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege, 59–65.

⁵⁵ Max Dvořák, ‘Einrichtungen des Kunstschutzes in Österreich’, in *Kunstschutz im Kriege: Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Massnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung*, ed. by Paul Clemen, 2 vols (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1919), II, 2–3. ‘In den ersten Kriegsmonaten glaubten wir noch an die Wirksamkeit der Vereinbarungen der Haager Konvention. [...] Der Verlauf des ersten Kriegsjahres hat uns allerdings belehrt, daß die Haager Bestimmungen von keiner Seite respektiert wurden [...]’

⁵⁶ *Stenographischer Bericht: Tagung für Denkmalpflege*, 3 (1915) Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege, 54–56.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 106.

⁵⁸ Dvořák, 'Einrichtungen des Kunstschutzes', p. 2; Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Gefährdetes Erbe: Österreichs Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege, 1918-1945 im Prisma der Zeitgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1997) p. 3.

⁵⁹ A statue of Kaiser Wilhelm I in Heidelberg was melted down in 1918, though this was an exceptional case. For German monument requisitions see Meinhold Lurz, *Kriegerdenkmäler in Deutschland*, 3 vols (Heidelberg: Esprint Drückerei und Verlag, 1985), III, 49–52. Ferdinand Kürnberger, 'Das Denkmalsetzen in der Opposition' [1873] in *Literarische Hertzensachen, Reflexionen und Kritiken* (Vienna: Rosler, 1877), p. 375. 'Glückliches Volk, das dann so reiche Erz-Arsenal von Geistes-Heroen besitzt, die es in Kanonen umgießen kann!' Kürnberger (1821–1879) is deserving of further study. He was a major influence on Karl Kraus, and provided Wittgenstein with the epigraph to the *Tractatus*.

⁶⁰ Karl Kraus, 'Alles für die Kunst', *Die Fackel*, 20 (1918), 74. 'Zum Schutze der Kunstdenkmäler in den besetzten italienischen Gebieten haben die beiderseitigen Heeresleitungen die weitestgehenden Maßnahmen getroffen. eine eigene Kunstkommission – – Besondere Referenten bereisen das besetzte Gebiet – – die wirklich wertvollen Denkmäler im allgemeinen nirgends nennenswerten Schaden gelitten – – Namentlich sind die Kirchen fast überall unversehrt. Einige wenige Ausnahmen sind durch Zufallstreffer der Artillerie oder der Flieger verursacht worden. Bedeutend ist der Schaden nicht. Wertvolle Bilder aus Kirchen, Museen und aus Privatbesitz waren schon seit langer Zeit von den Italienern selbst entfernt worden; angeblich sind sie geborgen oder meist nach Florenz zur Restaurierung gebracht worden – – Das Stadtbild als Ganzes ist meist unversehrt geblieben. Die zahlreichen Paläste des friaulischen Adels in Udine und die vielen Landschlösser sind äußerlich unberührt. | Alles gerettet. Aber Zerstörungen im Feindesland geschehen doch nie mit Absicht? Und Treffer sind doch immer Zufallstreffer? Wer kann denn für die Richtung einer Bombe garantieren?'

⁶¹ Dvořák, 'Einrichtungen des Kunstschutzes in Österreich' in Paul Clemen (ed.), *Kunstschutz im Kriege: Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Massnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung*, 2 vols (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1919), II. The first volume, on Germany, was translated into English in time for consideration at the peace congress.

⁶² Dvořák, 'Einrichtungen des Kunstschutzes', p. 9.

⁶³ Ibid. Dvořák formulated it slightly differently: 'Während der italienischen Offensive und Defensive diesseits und jenseits der Grenze Unersetzliches zum Opfer fiel – es sei nur auf Duino oder auf Conegliano hingewiesen –, wurde beim österreichischen Vormarsch in Italien kein wichtiges Bauwerk zerstört [...].'

⁶⁴ Karl Kraus, 'Einzelunternehmungen', *Die Fackel*, 20 (1918), 73–74. 'Ein Soldat, der offenbar nicht im Vollbesitze seiner Vernunft war, erregte vorgestern auf dem Franzensring beträchtliches Aufsehen. Er erkletterte, nachdem er sich teilweise entkleidet hatte, das Liebenberg- Denkmal und stach mit dem Rufe: "Du Hund! Du Italiener!" mit dem Messer gegen das Porträtmedaillon Liebenbergs und gegen die Figur des Löwen [...] Wenn die irrsinnigen Soldaten Raison annehmen und sich eines Führers durch die Sehenswürdigkeiten Wiens bedienen wollten, könnte die Aktion planvoll zu Ende geführt werden. Was ist denn mit den Flußgöttern an der Albrechtsrampe? Mit dem Canon vor dem Stadtpark? Na, und der Radetzky vor dem Kriegsministerium, ist der vielleicht kein Feind? In Deutschland wird die Sache organisiert, die Denkmäler werden einfach eingezogen, das heißt, wenn sie aus Bronze sind. Die Wiener Methode hat den Vorteil, daß das Material keine Rolle spielt. Aber solange das Unternehmen nicht vom Kriegsministerium in die Hand genommen wird, sondern der Initiative einzelner herumziehender Soldaten, vermutlich "Heimkehrer" oder am Ende gar "Tachinierer", überlassen bleibt, besteht die Gefahr, daß solche Vorstöße ohne Entwicklung bleiben und daß wir das einzige anständige Ergebnis des Weltkriegs, die Befreiung Wiens von seinen Denkmälern, nicht erleben werden.' For the earlier attack see Karl Kraus, 'Unsere Pallas Athene!', *Die Fackel*, 20 (1918), 152.

⁶⁵ 'Hungerkrieg für Kunstwerke: Ein Italienisches Ultimatum an Deutschösterreich', *NFP*, 12 February 1919, *Morgenblatt*, pp. 2–3.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 2. 'Italien will vor dem Frieden etwas erobern.'

⁶⁷ Ibid. 'Man droht uns mit der Einstellung aller Lebensmittelzüge.'

⁶⁸ Ibid. 'Eine Hungerdrohung, um Kunstwerke zu erlangen, die armselige Brot- und Mehlsquote als Gegengabe für Carpaccio und Tintoretto, dieser schreiender Mißklang gehört noch zum Kriege.'

⁶⁹ *NFP*, 12 February 1919, *Abendblatt*, pp. 2–3.

⁷⁰ NFP, 13 February 1919, Morgenblatt, p. 10. '[...] wenn die Objekte nicht gutwillig herausgegeben werden, sollten Gewalt angewendet werden würde. Es würden dann Soldaten mit Handgranaten kommen.'

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 8–10 and NFP, 13 February 1919, Abendblatt, p. 2; *Reichspost*, 13 February 1919, p. 6. The latter lists (inaccurately) a number of the paintings removed from the Venetian section of the Kunsthistorisches Museum: Cima da Conegliano's *Madonna of the Orange Tree* (now in Venice); Carpaccio's *Christ with Symbols of the Passion* (sic); numerous works by Buonfiglio (sic, Bonifazio); two works by (or from workshop of) Veronese; Bellini's *Baptism of Christ*; and Vivarini's *Saint Ambrosius with Other Saints*. For the official inventory of works taken, see Hans Tietze, *Die Entführung von Wiener Kunstwerken nach Italien: Eine Darlegung unseres Rechtsstandpunktes* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1919) 41–57.

⁷² *Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague IV)*, 18 October 1907, Article 56: 'The property of municipalities, that of institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, even when State property, shall be treated as private property. All seizure of, destruction or wilful damage done to institutions of this character, historic monuments, works of art and science, is forbidden, and should be made the subject of legal proceedings.'

⁷³ 'Die Italienische Besitzergreifung von Wiener Kunstschatzen', *Reichspost*, 13 February 1919, p. 6. 'Keine Drohung mit der Lebensmittelsperre.'

⁷⁴ Richard Hoisel, 'Italien bei uns', *Fremden-Blatt*, 13 February 1919, p. 1. 'Der Krieg ist zu Ende? Bitte um Verzeihung, der Krieg dauert fort, vielleicht in anderer Form, aber während wir unsere Waffen niedergelegt haben, verzichten die Italiener trotz des Waffenstillstandes, des Zerfalls Oesterreichs, unserer vollständigen Wehrlosigkeit und des bevorstehenden Friedenskongresses nicht auf die Anwendung militärischer Gewalt. [...] Die Italiener führten gegen unsere vornehmsten Kulturinstitute Krieg und drohten einen Handgranatenangriff auf Lebende und seit Jahrhunderten Tote an [...].'

⁷⁵ 'Entführung heimischer Kunstwerke', NFP, 16 February 1919, pp. 1–3. See also 'Italiens Bilderraub', *Wiener Bilder*, 23 February 1919, pp. 6–7.

⁷⁶ 'Lebensmittelzufuhr und Bilderbeschlagnahme', NFP, 15 February 1919, Abendblatt, p. 3. 'Der Wunsch des Generals Segrè nach Entgegenkommen bei der praktischen Durchführung der Bilderbeschlagnahme hatte also eine gewisse Berechtigung, insoferne er sich auf sein Entgegenkommen bei der Behandlung der Lebensmittelfrage berief. Von einer Drohung war keine Rede.' General Segrè was head of the Italian Armistice Commission.

⁷⁷ Hans Tietze, Austrian Commissar of State Collections and conservator at the CC, recognized as much, citing the same passage in his *Entführung von Wiener Kunstwerke*, p. 12. '[Die italienische Mission] hat eine solche ideelle Verbindung zwischen Lebensmitteln und Kulturwerten unzweifelhaft hergestellt.'

⁷⁸ Frodl-Kraft, *Gefährdetes Erbe*, p. 23. 'Die unmittelbare Bedrohung aber kam vor allem von Italien, das Verhandlungen erst gar nicht abwartete, sondern sich das, worauf es Anspruch zu haben glaubte, unter Androhung von Gewalt bzw. einer Drosselung der Lebensmittelzufuhr in das verhungernde Österreich gleich selbst holte.'

⁷⁹ This opposition is also a principal concern of Dvořák's art history. See *Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Art*, trans. R. J. Klawiter (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967).

⁸⁰ *Reichspost*, 13 February 1919, p. 6; NFP, 16 February 1919, p. 1.

⁸¹ Translated as *The Abduction of Austrian Works of Art to Italy. An Explanation of Our Legal Claims Preceded by a Public Letter to his Italian Fellow Students by Dr. Max Dvořák* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1919). I have not been able to access this edition.

⁸² 'Und ich will Euch mit aller Offenheit sagen, warum Eure Handlung ein Unrecht war, nicht nur der Rechtslage nach, woran nicht gezweifelt werden kann, sondern nicht minder, wie ich darlegen möchte, vom Standpunkte jener ungeschriebenen Gesetze einer loyalen und vornehmen Gesinnung, die bei gebildeten Völkern ebenso hoch zu halten sind wie die geschriebenen.'

⁸³ Italy, having declared its neutrality in August 1914, thereby already contravening the terms of the Triple Alliance (1883), went on to declare war on Austria-Hungary in 1915. Arthur J. May, *The Passing of the Hapsburg Monarchy: 1914–1918*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), I, 79.

⁸⁴ 'Es ist nicht Überhebung, wenn ich behaupte, daß Ihr viel von uns gelernt und übernommen habt [...] Wissenschaftlich seid Ihr nicht nur unsere Bundesgenossen, sondern auch unsere Schüler

gewesen und nun setzt Ihr Handgranaten in Bewegung, die die Türen unserer Museen und Bibliotheken sprengen sollen.'

⁸⁵ 'Euch, meine Herren, ist dieser Geist verloren gegangen und das bedeutet nicht Sieg, sondern Niederlage.' The correspondent of the NFP had expressed similar sentiments: 'Die Schlacht, die Professor Fogolari hier gewonnen hat, ist kein Sieg, um den wir Italien beneiden.' NFP, 12 February 1919, Morgenblatt, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Karl Kraus, 'Brot und Lüge', *Die Fackel*, 21 (1919), 3. 'For though the spirit stands above man, man stands above every creation of the spirit – even if it be a Rembrandt.'

Bibliography

A note on the *KJZK*: the *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Zentral-Kommission* (Central Commission Art History Annual) first appeared as the *Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* (5 vols, 1856–61) and was edited by Gustav Heider. It was revived by Alexander Freiherr von Helfert in 1903 as the *Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentral-Kommission*, becoming the *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentral-Kommission* in 1907. Dvořák edited it from this time until his death in 1921. When Dagobert Frey and Hans Tietze took over it became the *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1922), and finally the present *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1923–).

A note on the *MZK*: the *Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentral-Kommission* (Reports of the Central Commission) went through a number of titles, spelling variants, series numberings and editors over the years (see below). In the present work, all references to this journal for the period 1856–1918, when it became the *Mitteilungen des Staatsdenkmalamtes*, are made without any indication of these minutiae, with the exception of the year 1902, when two differently numbered volumes were published. The later volume from that year is referred to throughout as ‘*MZK*, n.s. 1 (1902)’. Where no title is given for the particular article or item cited, it should be assumed that that item is a shorter notice such as a report from one of the various Austrian crownlands. The present-day descendant of the *Mittheilungen* is published quarterly by the Federal Monument Office (*Bundesdenkmalamt*) in Vienna as the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* (1952–).

1856–74: *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, eds, K. Weiss (1856–63), A. Ritter v. Perger (1864–67), K. Lind (1868–)

1875–1902 (n.s.): *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale*, ed., K. Lind (1875–1902)

1902 (n.s.): *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale*, eds, W. Kubitschek (1902–), A. Riegl (1902–)

1903–11: *Mittheilungen der K. K. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale*, eds, W. Kubitschek (1902–06), A. Riegl (1902–05), M. Dvořák (1905–06), A. F. v. Helfert (1907–08), M. Bauer (1909–)

1912–18: *Mittheilungen der K. K. Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*, eds, M. Bauer (1912–13); W. Zalusiecki (1914); F. v. Schubert-Soldern (1914–)

Works Cited

- ‘† Kunsthistoriker Professor Max Dvorak’, *NFP*, 9 February 1921, p. 5
50 Jahre Denkmalpflege: Festschrift der Zentralkommission anlässlich ihres fünfzigjährigen Wirkens (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1903)
 ‘533. Bundesgesetz vom 25. September 1923, betreffend Beschränkungen in der Verfügung über Gegenstände von geschichtlicher, künstlerische oder kultureller Bedeutung (Denkmalschutzgesetz)’, *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich* (1923), 1725–27

- Adam, Robert, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London: published for the author, 1764)
- Aurenhammer, Hans H., 'Max Dvořák (1874–1921)', in *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte 1. Von Winckelmann bis Warburg*, ed. by Ulrich Fisterer, 2 vols (Munich: Beck, 2007), 1, 214–26
- 'Max Dvořák und die moderne Architektur: Bemerkungen zum Vortrag "Die letzte Renaissance" (1912)', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 50 (1997), 23–39, 325–30
- Bacher, Ernst, ed., *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995)
- Bahr, Hermann, *Dalmatinische Reise* (Berlin: Fischer, 1909)
- Bakoš, Ján, 'Max Dvořák – a Neglected Re-visionist', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 53 (2004), 55–71
- Bałus, Wojciech, *Krakau zwischen Traditionen und Wegen in die Moderne: Zur Geschichte der Architektur und der öffentlichen Grünanlagen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003)
- Bandmann, Günter, 'Die Gründung des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft im Lichte der Gegenwart', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 13 (1959), 1–14
- Benesch, Otto, 'Max Dvořák (1874–1921)', in *Grosse Österreicher*, ed. by Heinrich Studer (Vienna: Amalthea Verlag, 1957), x, 189–98
- Benjamin, Walter, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2010)
- *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, trans. by H. Zorn (London: Pimlico, 1999)
- Blau, Eve, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919–1934* (London: MIT Press, 1999)
- Bode, Wilhelm, *Denkschrift betreffend den Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft und die Denkmäler der Deutschen Kunst* (Berlin: n.p., 1914)
- 'Der Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft', *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, 23 November 1907, pp. 1–6
- *Mein Leben*, 2 vols (Berlin: Reckendorf, 1930)
- *Satzungen des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, eingetragener Verein* (Berlin: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei von Gustav Schade, 1908)
- 'Sollen die deutschen Kunsthistoriker sich zu einer Fachgenossenschaft zusammenschließen?', *Kunstchronik*, 28 (1917), 337–41
- Boito, Camillo, 'Restoration in Architecture: First Dialogue', *Future Anterior*, 6 (2009), 69–83
- Bösel, Richard, and Selma Krasa, *Monumente: Wiener Denkmäler vom Klassizismus zur Secession* (Vienna: Kulturkreis Looshaus, 1994)
- Breitling, Peter, 'The Origins and Development of a Conservation Philosophy in Austria', in *Planning for Conservation: Studies in History, Planning and the Environment*, ed. by Roger Kain (London: Mansell Publishing, 1981), pp. 49–61
- Brothers, A. J., 'Diocletian's Palace at Split', *Greece & Rome*, 19 (1972), 175–86
- Brown, Gerald Baldwin, 'Recent Monument Legislation and the Care of Artistic Treasures', *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation*, 12 (1912), 266–79
- *The Care of Ancient Monuments: An Account of the Legislative and Other Measures Adopted in European Countries for Protecting Ancient Monuments and Objects and Scenes of Natural Beauty, and for Preserving the Aspect of Historical Cities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905)
- Brückler, Theodor, 'Quellen zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege', *ÖZKD*, 62 (2008), 114–18
- *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand als Denkmalpfleger: Die 'Kunstakten' der Militärkanzlei im österreichischen Staatsarchiv (Kriegsarchiv)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010)
- 'Vom Konsilium zum Imperium: Die Vorgeschichte der österreichischen Denkmalschutzgesetzgebung', *ÖZKD*, 45 (1991), 160–73

- Brückler, Theodor, and Ulrike Nimeth, eds, *Personenlexikon zur österreichischen Denkmalpflege (1850–1990)* (Vienna: Bundesdenkmalamt, 2001)
- Bulić, Frane, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Split*, trans. by C. Lucerna (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatsk, 1929)
- Bundesdenkmalamt, *Dehio-Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs. Wien, X. bis XIX. und XXI. Bis XXIII. Bezirk* (Vienna: Schroll, 1996)
- Burckhardt, Jacob, *Reflections on History*, trans. by M. D. Mackie Hottinger (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1943)
- Choay, Françoise, *Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. by L. M. O'Connell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Clemen, Paul, 'Der Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft und seine Veröffentlichungen', *NFP*, 27 October 1919, pp. 1–4
- Collins, George R., and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2006)
- Dahm, Friedrich, ed., *Das Riesentor: Archaeologie, Bau- und Kunstgeschichte, Naturwissenschaften, Restaurierung, der Wiener Stephansdom, I* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008)
- Decimo congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte* (Rome: n.p., 1912)
- Dehio, Georg, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers, gehalten in der Aula der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg am 27. Januar 1905* (Strasbourg: Heitz und Mündel, 1905)
- *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, 5 vols (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1905–12)
- *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze* (Munich, Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1914)
- Dehio, Georg, and Alois Riegl, *Konservieren, nicht Restaurieren: Streitschriften zur Denkmalpflege um 1900*, *Bauwelt Fundamente*, 80 (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1988)
- 'Denkmalschutz und Kirchenschutz', *Das Vaterland*, 5 November 1911, *Morgenblatt*, pp. 1–3
- Desai, Ashok V., *Real wages in Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968)
- Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft e. V., *I. Mitglieder-Verzeichnis, Abgeschlossen am 30. September 1908* (Berlin: n.p., 1908)
- *II. Mitglieder-Verzeichnis, Abgeschlossen im Oktober 1913* (Berlin: n.p., 1913)
- *Programm der 'Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst'* (Berlin: n.p., 1912)
- Dilly, Heinrich, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979)
- Dodgson, Campbell, 'Max Dvorak', *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 38 (1921), 205
- Dufrêne, Thierry, 'A Short History of CIHA' (2007)
<<http://www.esteticas.unam.mx/CIHA/about.html>> [accessed 30 June 2011]
- Dvořák, Max, 'Alois Riegl', *MZK*, 3 (1905), 255–76; and 'Alois Riegl', in *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), pp. 279–98.
- 'Die Aufgaben der Österreichischen Staatsgalerie', *NFP*, 18 June 1915, pp. 1–4
- 'Die Balkanisierung Wiens', *Wiener Mittag*, 13 December 1920, pp. 3–4
- 'Ein Brief an die italienischen Fachgenossen' in Hans Tietze, *Die Entführung von Wiener Kunstwerken nach Italien: Eine Darlegung unseres Rechtsstandpunktes* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1919), pp. 3–9
- 'Catechismo per la tutela dei monumenti', *Paragone*, trans. by M. Bacci, 22 (1971), 30–63
- *Die Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst. Vortrag, gehalten an dem zu Ehren des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft veranstalteten Festabend der Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde in Wien* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1913)

- ‘Denkmalkultus und Kunstentwicklung’, *KJZK*, 4 (1910), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 1–32; reprinted in *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), pp. 250–70
- ‘Denkmalpflege (Vortrag, gehalten am Denkmalpflegetag in Bregenz im Jahr 1920)’, *Mitteilungen des Bundesdenkmalamtes*, 2–5 (1920), 93–97
- ‘Denkmalpflege und Kunst’, *NFP*, 15 September 1910, pp. 1–3
- ‘Denkmalschutz und Kirchenschutz’, *Das Vaterland*, 26 November 1911, Morgenblatt, pp. 1–3
- ‘Denkmalschutzgesetz’, *NFP*, 26 November 1910, Abendblatt, p. 4
- ‘Ein Denkmalzerstörungsgesetz’, *KJZK*, 3 (1909), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 173–75
- ‘Deutsche Kunsttopographien I’, *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, 3 (1906), 59–65
- ‘Der Diokletianische Palast in Spalato’, *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, 31 (1919), 901
- ‘Duino’, *MZK*, 15 (1916), 53–58
- ‘Einleitung’, in *Die Denkmale des politischen Bezirkes Krems in Niederösterreich, Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, 1 (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1907), pp. xiii–xxii; reprinted as ‘Einleitung zum ersten Band der Österreichischen Kunsttopographie’, *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 105–14
- ‘Einrichtungen des Kunstschutzes in Österreich’, in *Kunstschutz im Kriege: Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Massnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung*, ed. by Paul Clemen, 2 vols (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1919), II, 1–10
- ‘Entwicklung und Ziele der Denkmalpflege in Österreich’, *Gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz*, 1 (1911), 64–74
- ‘Erhaltung und Verwendung ehemals fürstlicher Schlösser und Gärten in Bezug auf Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz’, *Gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz*, 3 (1920), 156–61
- ‘Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand’, *MZK*, 13 (1914), 157–59
- ‘Francesco Borromini als Restaurator’, *KJZK*, 1 (1907), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 89–98; reprinted in *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), pp. 271–78
- ‘Geheimrat Bode und die Leonardo-da-Vinci-Büste’, *NFP*, 21 December 1909, pp. 8–9
- *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by K. M. Swoboda and J. Wilde (Munich: Piper, 1929)
- *Geschichte der italienischen Kunst im Zeitalter der Renaissance: Akademische Vorlesungen*, ed. by K. M. Swoboda and J. Wilde, 2 vols (Munich: Piper, 1927)
- *The History of Art as the History of Ideas*, trans. by John Hardy (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984)
- *Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Art*, trans. by Randolph J. Klawiter (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967)
- ‘Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt’, in *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 22 (1901), 35–127; reprinted in *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), pp. 74–207
- ‘Die Karlsplatzfrage’, *NFP*, 21 December 1909, pp. 1–3
- *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Julius Bard Verlag, 1916)
- *Katechismus Památkové Péče* (Prague: Národní památkový ústav, 2004)
- *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte: Studien zur abendländischen Kunstentwicklung*, ed. by K. M. Swoboda and J. Wilde (Munich: Piper, 1924)
- ‘Die letzte Renaissance’, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 50 (1997), 9–21

- ‘Monumente Deperdita: 1. Finis Vindobonae’, *KJZK*, 5 (1911), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 188–89
- ‘Museen und Bibliotheken (“Museen und Bibliotheken unter verwaltungstechnischem Standpunkte” von Wilhlem Freiherrn von Weckbecker, Wien 1910)’, *NFP*, 9 February 1911, pp. 1–2
- *Der Museumsbau auf dem Karlsplatz. Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs, I* (Vienna, Leipzig: k. u. k. Hof-Buchdruckerei und Hof-Verlags-Buchhandlung Carl Fromme, 1910)
- ‘Notiz: Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst’, *KJZK*, 2 (1908), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 95–98
- ‘Notiz: Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst’, *KJZK*, 3 (1909), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 173
- ‘Notiz: Topographie der historischen und Kunstdenkmale im Königreich Böhmen’, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 23 (1902), 371
- ‘Notiz: Unter dem Leuchter pflegt es Finster zu sein’, *KJZK*, 3 (1909), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 109–10
- ‘Notizen: Die Verbauung des Karlsplatzes in Wien’, *KJZK*, 1 (1907), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 146–88
- ‘Notizen: Wiener Verkehrsrücksichten’, *KJZK*, 2 (1908), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 137–40
- ‘Oesterreichische Staatsgalerie’, *NFP*, 10 February 1912, pp. 1–2
- ‘Oskar Kokoschka: Variationen Über Ein Thema’, in *Das Konzert: Variationen über ein Thema. Hommage à Kamilla Swoboda* (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1988), pp. 29–32
- ‘Österreichisches Denkmalschutzgesetz’, *KJZK*, 4 (1910), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 161–64
- ‘Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder Van Eyck’, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 24 (1903), 161–319
- ‘Die Restaurierung des Buvinatores am Dome in Spalato’, *MZK*, 7 (1908), 347–53
- ‘Restaurierungsfragen: I. Die Prager Königsburg’, *KJZK*, 2 (1908), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 1–8
- ‘Restaurierungsfragen: II. Das Königsschloss am Wavel’, *KJZK*, 2 (1908), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 105–12
- ‘Restaurierungsfragen: III. Spalato’, *KJZK*, 3 (1909), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 117–42
- ‘Sammler, Museen und Denkmalpflege’, *MZK*, 14 (1915), 17–24
- ‘Sitzungsprotokoll: Der Diokletianische Palast in Spalato’, *MZK*, 8 (1909), 520–38
- ‘Sitzungsprotokoll: Der Diokletianische Palast in Spalato’, *MZK*, 12 (1913), 25–32
- ‘Verbauung des Ausblickes auf das Emmauskloster in Prag’, *MZK*, 9 (1910), 190–93
- ‘Von Manes zu Švabinský’, *Die Graphischen Künste*, 27 (1904), 29–52
- ‘Vorwort’, in *Zur Rettung Alt-Wiens*, Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs, 2 (Vienna: K. u. K. Hofbuchdruckerei Carl Fromme, 1910), pp. 3–7
- Dvořák, Max, and Bohumil Matějka, *Topographie der historischen und Kunstdenkmale. Der politische Bezirk Raudnitz. II. Raudnitzer Schloß*, Topographie der historischen und Kunstdenkmale im Königreich Böhmen von der Urzeit bis zum Anfange des XIX. Jahrhunderts, 27 (Prague: Archaeologische Kommission bei der böhmischen Franz-Josef-Akademie für Wissenschaften, Literatur und Kunst, 1910)
- Eitelberger, Rudolf, *Gesammelte Kunsthistorische Schriften*, 4 vols (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879–84)
- ‘Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa’, *Jahrbuch der K. K. Central-Commission*, 5 (1861), 129–312

- ‘Die Unterbauten des Diocletianischen Kaiserpalastes in Spalato’, *MZK*, 1 (1856), 135–37
- ‘Erster kunstwissenschaftlicher Congress in Wien, 1. bis 4. September 1873’, *Mittheilungen des K. K. Oesterreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, 8 (1873), 455 ff.
- Evers, Hans Gerhard, *Tod, Macht und Raum als Bereiche der Architektur* (Munich: Neuer Filser-Verlag, 1939)
- Falser, Michael, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität: Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* (Dresden: Thelem, 2008)
- Frey, Dagobert, ‘Max Dvořáks Stellung in der Kunstgeschichte’, *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1 (1922), 1–21
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. by R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull (Chicago, London: Open Court Publishing, 1922)
- Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–1891): *Ein Gotischer Rationalist* (Vienna: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1991)
- Frodl, Walter, ‘Der Aufbruch zur modernen Denkmalpflege in Österreich’, in *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josefs: 2. Teil 1880–1916, Glanz und Elend*, ed. by Harry Kühnel (Vienna: Amt der NÖ Landesregierung, 1987), pp. 231–37
- *Idee und Verwirklichung: Das Werden der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988)
- ‘Max Dvořáks “Katechismus der Denkmalpflege”’, *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 90–105
- Frodl-Kraft, Eva, *Gefährdetes Erbe: Österreichs Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege, 1918–1945 im Prisma der Zeitgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997)
- ‘Die Österreichische Kunsttopographie: Betrachtungen *sub specie fundatoris*’, *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 114–30
- ‘Fünfzig Jahre Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft e.V.’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 12 (1958), 1–12
- Giannoni, Karl, *Heimatschutz*, Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs, 6 (Vienna: Gerlach & Weidling, 1911)
- Glendinning, Miles, ‘The Conservation Movement: A Cult of the Modern Age’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2003), 359–76
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, ‘On German Architecture’, in *Goethe on Art*, ed. and trans. by John Gage (London: Scholar Press, 1980), pp. 103–12.
- *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2005)
- Gosse, Edmund, ‘The Desecration of French Monuments’, *The Edinburgh Review*, 222 (1915), 330–50
- Graf, Otto Antonia, *Otto Wagner: Das Werk des Architekten*, 2 vols (Vienna: Böhlau, 1985)
- Gurlitt, Cornelius, ‘Der Krieg und die Denkmalpflege’, *Gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz (Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege)*, 2 (1915), 59–65
- Haiko, Peter, *Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum: Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1988)
- Hajós, Géza, ‘Riegls Gedankengut in Dvořáks Einleitung zur Österreichischen Kunsttopographie’, *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 138–143
- Harries, Karsten, *The Ethical Function of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998)
- Hauser, Alois, ‘Die Kunst in Dalmatien’, *Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Revue*, 2, no. 9 (1886), 52–60
- *Spalato und die römischen Monumente Dalmatiens* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1883)
- *Styl-Lehre der Architektonischen Formen des Alterthums* (Vienna: Hödler, 1877)
- Heider, Gustav, and Rudolf Eitelberger, eds, *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1858–60)
- Helfert, Joseph Alexander Freiherr von, *Denkmalpflege: Öffentliche Obsorge für Gegenstände der Kunst und des Alterthums nach dem neuesten Stande der Gesetzgebung in den verschiedenen Culturstaaten* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1897)

- *Die Herstellung des Riesenthores von St. Stephan und die Wiener Secession* (Vienna: R. Brzezowsky & Söhne, 1902)
- 'Die Wiederherstellung der Burg Karls-Tein in Böhmen', *MZK*, 28 (1902), 1–17
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., 'Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 263–307
- *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Hoffmann, Robert, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand und der Fortschritt: Altstadterhaltung und bürgerlicher Modernisierungswille in Salzburg* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994)
- Hofmann, Werner, 'Bode und Schlosser', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 38 (1996), supplement, 177–82
- Holey, Karl, 'Grundlagen für die Ausgestaltung des Karlsplatzes in Wien: Eine städtebauliche Studie', *MZK*, 15 (1916), 59–66, 185–99
- Hubel, Achim, *Denkmalpflege: Geschichte, Themen, Aufgaben. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: P. Reclam, 2006)
- 'Positionen von städtebaulicher Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz: Der Umgang mit dem Ensemble 1900–1975' in Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, *Jahrestagung 2005: Gemeinsame Wurzeln – Getrennte Wege? Über den Schutz von gebauter Umwelt, Natur und Heimat seit 1900. 73. Tag für Denkmalpflege: Verbundprojekte – Stiftungen zum Schutz von Gebauter Umwelt, Natur und Heimat, 2. Juli 2005. Dokumentation* (Münster: Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, 2007), pp. 176–86
- Hugo, Victor, *Notre-Dame of Paris*, trans. by J. Sturrock (Harmonsworth: Penguin Books, 1983)
- Huse, Norbert, ed., *Denkmalpflege: Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1984)
- Illetschko, Marcel and Michaela Hirsch, eds, *Alfred Kubin / Reinhard Piper, Briefwechsel 1907–1953* (Munich: Piper Verlag GmbH, 2010)
- Jarzombek, Mark, 'Joseph August Lux: Werkbund Promoter, Historian of a Lost Modernity', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 63 (2004), 202–19
- Johnson, William M., *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848–1938* (London: University of California Press, 1983)
- Jokilehto, Jukka, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999)
- K. K. Central-Commission, *Kunst-Topographie des Herzogthums Kärnten* (Vienna: Kubasta & Voigt, 1889)
- K. K. Gewerbebeförderungs-Amt, *Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmäler* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1915)
- Kahsnitz, Rainer, 'Der Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft im Nationalsozialismus. Versuch einer Spurenlese', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 62 (2008), 77–182
- Kann, Robert A., *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848–1918*, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950)
- Kapner, Gerhardt, *Ringstrassendenkmäler*, Die Wiener Ringstrasse: Bild einer Epoche, die Erweiterung der inneren Stadt Wien unter Kaiser Franz Joseph, 9.1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973)
- Knowles, M. D., 'Presidential Address: Great Historical Enterprises III. The Monumenta Germaniae Historica', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1960), 129–50
- Kohte, J., 'Max Dvorak †', *Die Denkmalpflege*, 23 (1921), 40
- Koshar, Rudy, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000)

- *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998)
- Kralik, Richard von, 'Die Entdeckungsgeschichte des Österreichischen Staatsgedankens', *Die Kultur: Jahrbuch für Wissenschaft, Literatur und Kunst*, 18 (1917), 99–137
- Kraus, Karl, 'Brot und Lüge', *Die Fackel*, 21 (1919), 1–32
- 'Die demolierte Literatur', in *Frühe Schriften II: 1897–1900*, ed. by J. J. Braakenburg (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1979), pp. 277–97
- 'Kriegsdenkmäler die beim Wettbewerb des K. K. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht durch Preise oder ehrende Anerkennung ausgezeichneten Entwürfe', *Der Architekt* (1916), 9th supplement
- Kuben, Herta, 'Max Dvorák als Denkmalpfleger in der Nachfolge Alois Riegls. Ein Beitrag über Inhalt, Aufgaben, Ziele und Probleme österreichischer Denkmalforschung und Denkmalpflege am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts' (unpublished Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 1993)
- Kubin, Alfred, *Die andere Seite – ein Phantastischer Roman* (Munich: Edition Spangenberg, 1975)
- Künzel, Friedrich, and Barbara Götze, *Verzeichnis des schriftlichen Nachlasses von Wilhelm von Bode* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1995)
- Kürnberger, Ferdinand, *Literarische Herzensachen: Reflexionen und Kritiken* (Vienna: Rosler, 1877)
- Kurth, Betty, *Die deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters*, 3 vols (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1926)
- Lanckoronski, Karl, 'Max Dvorak', *NFP*, 11 February 1921, p. 7
- Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Lübke, Wilhelm, 'Das Restaurationsfieber', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22–23 December 1861, 5829–30, 5845–46
- Lurz, Meinhold, *Kriegerdenkmäler in Deutschland*, 3 vols (Heidelberg: Esprint Druckerei und Verlag, 1985)
- Lux, Joseph August, *Otto Wagner* (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1914)
- 'Die Baukunst der Germanen, von Albrecht Haupt', *Hohe Warte*, 4 (1907/08), 372
- 'Verschönerungsverein und Heimatschutz', *Hohe Warte*, 1 (1904/05), 9–11
- Mallgrave, H. F., ed., *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1993)
- 'Max Dvořák', *Dictionary of Art Historians*,
<http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/dvorakm.htm> [accessed 30 June 2011]
- 'Max Dvorak †', *Reichspost*, 9 February 1921, p. 6
- May, Arthur J., *The Passing of the Hapsburg Monarchy: 1914–1918*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966)
- Meštrović, Maria, *Ivan Meštrović: The Making of a Master* (London: Stacey International, 2008)
- Der Museumsbau auf dem Karlsplatz*, Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs, 1 (Vienna: Fromme, 1910)
- Musil, Robert, *Der Mann Ohne Eigenschaften* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rohwolt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006)
- Muthesius, Stefan, 'The Origins of the German Conservation Movement', in *Planning for Conservation. Studies in History, Planning and the Environment*, ed. by Roger Kain (London: Mansell Publishing, 1981), pp. 37–48
- Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Innsbruck, 9. – 12. September 1902* (Berlin: n.d.)
- Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des VIII. Internationalen Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Darmstadt, 23. – 26. September 1907* (Leipzig: n.p., 1908)

- Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des IX. Internationalen Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in München, 16. – 21. September 1909* (Leipzig: n.p., 1911)
- Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Amsterdam, 29. September bis – 1. Oktober 1898* (Nuremberg: n.p., 1899)
- Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Lübeck, 16. bis 19. September 1900* (Nuremberg: n.p., n.d.)
- Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses zu Budapest, 1. – 3. Oktober 1896* (n.d.)
- Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses zu Köln, 1. – 3. Oktober 1894* (n.d.)
- Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses zu Nürnberg, 25. – 27. September 1893* (n.d.)
- Olin, Margaret, 'The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 38 (1985), 177–98
- Palacky, Franz, *Österreichs Staatsidee* (Prague: Kober, 1866)
- Panofsky, Erwin, *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955)
- Papageorgiou-Venetas, Alexander, *Athens: The Ancient Heritage and the Historic Cityscape in a Modern Metropolis*, The Archaeological Society at Athens Library, 140 (Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens, 1994)
- Rampley, Matthew, 'The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1873', *Art History*, 34 (2011), 54–79
- 'Max Dvořák: Art History and the Crisis of Modernity', *Art History*, 26 (2003), 214–37
- Rave, Paul Ortwin, 'Anfänge und Wege der deutschen Inventarisierung', *Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalfpflege*, 11 (1953), 73–90
- Riegl, Alois, 'Bericht über eine im Auftrage des Präsidiums der k. k. Zentral-Kommission zur Wahrung der Interessen der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Denkmale innerhalb des ehemaligen Diocletianischen Palastes zu Spalato durchgeführte Untersuchung', *MZK*, 2 (1903), 333–41
- 'Das Denkmalschutzgesetz', *NFP*, 27 February 1905, pp. 6–8
- *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Klassische Texte der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte, 1.5 (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1996)
- 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and its Origin', in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973–1984*, ed. by K. Michael Hays, trans. by K. Forster and D. Ghirardo (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. 621–51
- *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Vienna: Verlag W. Braumüller, 1903)
- 'Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalfpflege', *MZK*, 4 (1905), 85–104
- *Spättrömische Kunstindustrie* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2000)
- 'Die Stimmung als Inhalt der modernen Kunst', *Die Graphischen Künste*, 22 (1899), 47–56
- Rokyta, Hugo, 'Max Dvořák und seine Schule in den böhmischen Ländern', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 81–89
- Roller, Alfred, 'Memorandum der Vereinigung an Se. Exzellenz den Unterrichtsminister (das Riesentor von St. Stephan)', *Ver Sacrum*, 5 (1902), 49–56
- Rosenberg, Marc, *Jamnitzer: Alle erhaltenen Goldschmiedearbeiten, verlorene Werke, Handzeichnungen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Joseph Baer & Co., 1920)
- Ruskin, John, *Die sieben Leuchter der Baukunst*, trans. by Wilhelm Schoelermann (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1994)
- *The Lamp of Beauty: Writings on Art*, ed. by Joan Evans, 3rd edn (London: Phaidon, 1995)

- *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: George Allen, 1891)
- Satzungen des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, eingetragener Verein* (Berlin: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei Gustav Schade, 1908)
- Scarrocchia, Sandro, *Max Dvořák: Conservazione e Moderno in Austria (1905–1921)* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2009)
- Schindler, Dietrich, and Jiri Toman, eds, *The Laws of Armed Conflicts: A Collection of Conventions, Resolutions and Other Documents*, 4th edn (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2004)
- Schindler, Friedrich, 'Die Leo-Gesellschaft im Jahre 1912', *Die Kultur*, 14 (1913), i–x
- Schlosser, Julius v., 'Vom modernen Denkmalkultus', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg – Vorträge 1926–1927* (1930), 1–21
- Schlosser, Julius v., and Hans Hahnloser, 'Die Wiener Schule Der Kunstgeschichte. Rückblick Auf Ein Säkulum Deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts Für Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungs-Band 13 (1934), 141–228
- Schorske, Carl E., *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- Schröder, Klaus Albrecht, and Marie Luise Sternath, eds, *Jakob und Rudolf von Alt im Auftrag des Kaisers* (Vienna: Albertina, 2010)
- Schubert-Soldern, Fortunat, 'Professor Dr. Max Dvořák', *Mitteilungen des Bundesdenkmalamtes*, 2–5 (1920), 91–93
- Schultze-Naumburg, Paul, *Die Entstellung unseres Landes*, 3rd edn (Munich: Kgl. Hofbuchdruckerei Kastner & Callwey, 1909)
- Schwarzer, Mitchell, 'Cosmopolitan Difference in Max Dvořák's Art Historiography', *The Art Bulletin*, 74 (1992), 669–78
- Sedlmayr, Hans, *Die demolierte Schönheit: Ein Aufruf zur Rettung der Altstadt Salzburgs* (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1965)
- Seibt, Ferdinand, ed., *Böhmen im 19. Jahrhundert: Vom Klassizismus zur Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1995)
- Seton-Watson, R. W., *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable & Co., 1911)
- Shapiro, Meyer, 'The New Viennese School', *Art Bulletin*, 18 (1936), 258–66
- Sisa, József, 'Neo-Gothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and His School', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 61 (2002), 170–87
- Sitte, Camillo, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen: Ein Beitrag zur Lösung modernster Fragen der Architektur und der monumentalen Plastik unter besonderer Beziehung auf Wien*, Camillo Sitte Gesamtausgabe vol. 3, ed. by Klaus Semsroth, Michael Mönninger, Christiane Crasemann Collins (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003)
- Stenographischer Bericht: Tagung für Denkmalpflege*, 3 (1915) Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege
- Swoboda, Karl M., 'Max Dvořák', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959), iv, 209–10
- 'Vortrag zum 30. Todestag von Max Dvořák', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 74–81
- Taylor, A. J. P., *The Habsburg Monarchy: 1809–1918* (London: Penguin Books, 1990)
- Telesko, Werner, 'Der österreichische "Denkmalkult" im 19. Jahrhundert im Spannungsfeld von Zentrum und Peripherie', in *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes: Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. by Rudolf Jaworski and Peter Stachel (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007), pp. 145–67
- Tietze, Hans, *Die Entführung von Wiener Kunstwerke nach Italien: Eine Darlegung unseres Rechtsstandpunktes, mit einem offenen Brief an die italienischen Fachgenossen von Dr. Max Dvořák* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1919)
- 'Max Dvořák †', *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, 32 (1921), 441–44

- *Wien* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1923)
- *Das Wiener Stadtbild*, Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs, 4 (Vienna: Fromme, 1910)
- Timms, Edward, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986)
- 'National Memory and the "Austrian Idea" from Metternich to Waldheim', *Modern Language Review*, 86 (1991), 898–910
- Topographie der historischen und kunst-Denkmale im Königreich Böhmen von der Urzeit bis zum Anfange des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 51 vols (Prague: Archaeologische Kommission bei der böhmischen Franz-Josef-Akademie für Wissenschaften, Literatur und Kunst, 1897–1934)
- Das ungebaute Wien, 1800–2000: Projekte für die Metropole* (Vienna: Historisches Museum, 1999)
- Venuti, Lawrence, 'Adaption, Translation, Critique', *Journal of Visual Culture*, 6 (2007), 25–43.
- Waetzold, Stephan, 'Wilhelm von Bode – Bauherr?' in *Wilhelm von Bode als Zeitgenosse der Kunst*, ed. by Angelika Wesenberg (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1995), pp. 55–68
- Wagner, Otto, *Einige Skizzen, Projekte u. Ausgeführte Bauwerke* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1906)
- *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students in this Field of Art*, trans. by H. F. Mallgrave, Texts & Documents (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988)
- 'The Development of a Great City', *Architectural Record*, 31 (1912), 485–500
- Wagner-Rieger, Renate, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970)
- Weingartner, Josef, *Ein Gedenkblatt zur Trauerfeier für Max Dvořák* (Vienna: Hölzel, 1921)
- *Im Dienste der Musen: Briefwechsel mit Josef Garber mit einer einleitenden Biographie* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1978)
- Weinreich, Max, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of German Scholarship in Germany's Crimes Against the Jewish People* (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1946)
- Wesenberg, Angelika, ed., *Wilhelm von Bode als Zeitgenosse der Kunst: Zum 150. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1995)
- Wettbewerb-Ausschreibungen der K. K. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien im Jahre 1915* (Vienna: Zentralvereinigung der Architekten der im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder, 1916)
- Wickhoff, Franz, 'Max Dvorak', *NFP*, 16 September 1905, pp. 21–22
- Wohlleben, Marion, *Konservieren oder Restaurieren? Zur Diskussion über Aufgaben, Ziele und Probleme der Denkmalpflege um die Jahrhundertwende* (Zurich: Verlag der Fachvereine an den schweizerischen Hochschulen und Techniken, 1989)
- Wood, Christopher S., ed., *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art-Historical Method in the 1930s* (New York: Zone Books, 2000)
- 'Zur Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Preußen', *Die Denkmalpflege*, 3 (1901), 6–7
- Zweig, Stefan, *Die Welt von Gestern – The World of Yesterday*, Bibliothek Bayerische Rück, Versicherung in der Literatur 25 (Munich: Bibliothek Bayerische Rück, n.d.)

Illustration Sources

- 1.1 K. K. Gewerbeförderungs-Amt, Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmäler (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1915), pp. 228–29
- 1.2 Author's photograph
- 1.3 Walter Frodl, *Idee und Verwirklichung: Das Werden der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988), frontispiece
- 1.4 Rudolf Eitelberger and Gustav Heider, eds, *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1858–60), vol. II, plate II
- 1.5 Author's photograph
- 1.6 Marc Rosenberg, *Jamnitzer: Alle erhaltenen Goldschmiedearbeiten, verlorene Werke, Handzeichnungen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Joseph Baer & Co., 1920), plate 4
- 1.7 Otto Wagner, *Einige Skizzen, Projekte u. Ausgeführte Bauwerke* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1906), p. 3
- 1.8 Alois Riegl, 'Die Stimmung als Inhalt der modernen Kunst', *Die Graphischen Künste*, 22 (1899), 52/53
- 1.9 Peter Haiko, *Otto Wagner und das Kaiser Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum: Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1988), p. 76
- 2.1 Diverses, Nachlaß Dvořák 15, IKUW
- 2.2 Personendokumentation Wilhelm von Bode, ZASMB
- 2.3 *Topographie der historischen und kunst-Denkmale im Königreich Böhmen von der Urzeit bis zum Anfange des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 51 vols (Prague: Archaeologische Kommission bei der böhmischen Franz-Josef-Akademie für Wissenschaften, Literatur und Kunst, 1897–1934), I, Josef Hlávka, *Der politische Bezirk Kolin* (1898), p. 98
- 2.4 Author's diagram
- 3.1 Frane Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Split*, trans. by C. Lucerna (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatsk, 1929), plate 26
- 3.2 Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London: published for the author, 1764), plate V

- 3.3 Rudolf Eitelberger, 'Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa', *Jahrbuch der K. K. Central-Commission*, 5 (1861), 231
- 3.4 Schröder, Klaus Albrecht, and Marie Luise Sternath, eds, *Jakob und Rudolf von Alt im Auftrag des Kaisers* (Vienna: Albertina, 2010), cat. 67
- 3.5 Alois Hauser, *Spalato und die römischen Monumente Dalmatiens* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1883), inlay
- 3.6 Alois Hauser, *Styl-Lehre der Architektonischen Formen des Alterthums* (Vienna: Hödler, 1877), p. 121
- 3.7 Frane Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Split*, trans. by C. Lucerna (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatsk, 1929), plate 44
- 3.8 'Der Diokletianische Palast in Spalato', *MZK*, 9 (1909), 529
- 3.9 Frane Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Split*, trans. by C. Lucerna (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatsk, 1929), plate 38
- 3.10 Frane Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Split*, trans. by C. Lucerna (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatsk, 1929), plate 16
- 3.11 Frane Bulić, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Split*, trans. by C. Lucerna (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatsk, 1929), plate 26a
- 4.1 *MZK*, 13 (1914), facing 157
- 4.2 Max Dvořák, *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Julius Bard Verlag, 1916), cover
- 4.3 *NFP*, 20 September 1908, p. 33
- 4.4 'Nach Einschmelzung der Denkmäler', *Simplicissimus*, 23 (1918), 111
- 4.5 Paul Clemen, ed., *Kunstschutz im Kriege: Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Massnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung*, 2 vols (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1919), II, p. 4
- 4.6 Paul Clemen, ed., *Kunstschutz im Kriege: Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Massnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung*, 2 vols (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1919), II, p. 9
- 4.7 *Wiener Bilder*, 23 February 1919, p. 6
- 4.8 *Wiener Bilder*, 23 February 1919, p. 6

Volume 2: Max Dvořák's Denkmalpflege

Contents of Volume 2: Max Dvořák's Denkmalpflege

1. Alois Riegl (1905)	202
2. German Art Topographies (1906)	218
3. The Development of the Karlsplatz in Vienna (1907)	225
4. Francesco Borromini as Restorator (1907)	227
5. Introduction to the Austrian Art Topography (1907)	234
6. Memorandum on the Organization and Working Program of the MAG (1908)	248
7. Viennese Traffic Considerations (1908)	255
8. Restoration Questions I: The Royal Castle at Prague (1908)	257
9. Restoration Questions II: The Royal Palace on the Wawel (1908)	264
10. Restoration Questions III: Split (1909)	270
11. A Law for the Destruction of Monuments (1909)	283
12. Notice: It Tends to be Dark under the Lamps (1909)	285
13. The Karlsplatz Question (1909)	286
14. Monument Cult and Artistic Development (1910)	292
15. The Museum Building on the Karlsplatz (1910)	309
16. Saving Historic Vienna (1910)	315
17. The Prospect of the Emmaus Monastery in Prague (1910)	318
18. A Law for the Protection of Monuments (1910)	321
19. An Austrian Law for the Protection of Monuments (1910)	324
20. Monumente Deperdita: Finis Vindobonae (1911)	327
21. Monument Preservation in Austria (1911)	329
22. Protecting Monuments and Protecting the Church (1911)	341
23. The Recent Renaissance (1912)	348
24. Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1914)	360
25. Collectors, Museums and Monument Preservation (1915)	363
26. Schinkel's New Guardhouse (1915)	371
27. The Conservation Catechism (1916)	380
28. Duino (1916)	452
29. A Letter to Colleagues in Italy (1919)	457
30. Monument Preservation (1920)	461
31. The Maintenance and Use of Former Royal Palaces (1920)	467
32. The Balkanization of Vienna (1920)	472

1. Alois Riegl (1905)

Max Dvořák, 'Alois Riegl', *MZK*, 3 (1905), 255–76; reprinted in *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), pp. 279–98.

Hofrat Alois Riegl, conservator general at the Central Commission, died in Vienna on 16 June. He had rendered immortal service to monument preservation in Austria, for which posthumous tribute shall be paid in this obituary.

One has to consider Riegl's whole life work if one is to understand his influence on the reorganization of monument preservation in Austria. For he dedicated himself, neither as a bureaucrat nor as a practising artist, but as a researcher, to the study of the theoretical questions and the practical tasks that arose from the cultural situation of our age with respect to historic monuments, and precisely in so doing gave them new aims and a hitherto unforeseen significance. He was the first to grasp the universal-historical significance of the modern cult of monuments, and the first to draw the necessary conclusions from it. Had this been his sole achievement one would still have to count him among the leading spirits of our age. He died young, and yet his work was so rich that it would be impossible for this epitaph to treat it exhaustively. There is a consistent development at the basis of his whole life work though, and outlining it would seem to be the most important thing here. For this development not only determined his engagement with the tasks and questions of monument preservation, which is primarily why it should be discussed on these pages; it also demonstrates more clearly than anything else just whom we have lost in Riegl.

Overcoming the Cultural-Historical Tendency in Art History

Riegl was born in Linz on 14 January 1858. He was raised in an unusually severe manner by his father, was never given any toys, but could read and write perfectly by the age of four. This may not have been entirely uninfluential for his development. For as happy, cheerful and hopeful as Riegl was even during the toughest periods of his life, nevertheless one of the principal traits of his being was the almost sacred earnestness with which he sought to comprehend every question that concerned him, even the most insignificant, *sub specie aeternitatis* and in their very deepest causes; an earnestness that meant he never shrank back

from the boldest of ultimate consequences.¹ Riegl's father was posted to Krems and later to Zablotów in Galicia, where he died in the year 1873. The family thereupon relocated to Linz once more, where Riegl completed the academic schooling he had started at the Polish *gymnasia* in Kolomea and Stanislaw. He completed his *matura* in Kremsmünster at age sixteen. At the behest of his implacable custodian he was to become a jurist, and it was only after two years that he was able to dedicate himself to the studies he felt called to. At that stage he wanted to study philosophy and universal history, but ultimately abandoned both. Better put, he abandoned his teachers, not his inclinations. For how could Büdinger's mechanical poly-history or Zimmermann's unproductive variations on an already antiquated Herbartian philosophy have satisfied a progressive spirit? If there is any noticeable trace of these teachers in Riegl's writings it manifests itself as a direct negation of their teachings and methods. Time and again one observes how talented researchers apply themselves to the most advanced branch of their chosen science during their student years. In the historical disciplines in Vienna in the seventies and eighties this was without doubt the research of medieval history, as taught and applied at the Institute for Austrian Historical Research. There are people today who look down on the auxiliary historical disciplines from above and take pains to present such activities as useless foolery, whereby they only demonstrate that they have no idea about the development of the modern humanities, or the importance that is to be attached to detailed investigations of medieval sources, which rest primarily upon the systematic principles of the auxiliary disciplines. In contrast to the more literary than scientific pragmatism of former historiography, here one learnt how to consider historical phenomena purely historically, that is, as links in a series of similar, temporally and locally conditioned phenomena, as has been the case in the natural sciences for a long time. There was no better place to acquire these new principles of scientific research than in Sickel's school. Riegl, whom Fanta brought to the attention of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research and who became a member of this institute in the year 1881, suddenly stopped vacillating. He dedicated himself to historical study with great zeal as a member of the Institute, and again later on during his Rome Scholarship, the results of which were published as an investigation of Ceccarelli's forgeries.² These years of historical education are more than simply a biographical fact for Riegl. I have met very few people for whom the one and only thing science ultimately depends on – the universal epistemological problem of their science – was so clearly the source and goal of scientific creativity from the very

¹ [*Sub specie aeternitatis* ~ under the aspect of eternity.]

² Alois Riegl, 'Alfonso Ceccarelli und seine Fälschungen von Kaiserurkunden', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 15 (1894), 193–236.

beginning as it was for Riegl. Büdinger's former pupil lays down a new credo when we read the words, on the first page Riegl ever printed, that poly-history alone is no longer capable of solving certain problems satisfactorily; problems which can only be approached by the scientifically educated specialist if he is to avoid running the risk of pointlessly wasting time and effort. And as we will see, the research methods, the tendencies and the content of all Riegl's subsequent works were determined by this education.

In his years at the Institute he turned to art history. Whilst there may have been external reasons for this, his deep aesthetic inclination on the one hand and a love of broad horizons, of psychological and universal-historical considerations on the other took him from the investigation of historical sources into a field that better corresponded to this side of his nature. To what extent Riegl was influenced by Thausing, who at that time taught art history at the Institute for Austrian Historical Research, I am not able to say; one finds little in Riegl's work that would suggest such an influence, and the fact that both sought to deal with art history according to the laws of objective historical method can be attributed more to a common origin in the historical education they shared than to any direct influence on Thausing's part. And this is immediately evident from Riegl's first important art-historical investigation: a treatise on medieval calendar illustration which appeared in the Institute's *Mitteilungen*.³ It was quite remarkable and highly significant. Here Riegl traces the development of particular forms of calendar representation in antique and medieval art, coming to the result that the same typical compositions were retained up until the tenth century, whereupon they were replaced by a new one in the eleventh century. In order to understand the significance of this investigation, one has to recall the state of art history at that time. Three main tendencies can still be clearly distinguished in all of the art-historical literature of that age, tendencies that developed around the middle of the century, and which we may call the cultural-historical, the aesthetically dogmatic, and the historically dogmatic. It suffices to name the names Schnaase, Semper and Burckhardt in characterizing these three tendencies. The first emerged from Romanticism and patriotic antiquarianism and was content to describe the cultural and artistic life of the past in chronological compilations. The second, whose origins are to be sought in a naïve application of the theories of the English rationalists to new cultural endeavours, attempted to attribute the origin and development of art to mechanical laws. The third, at whose cradle the self-congratulatory humanists, the teachers of classicism and of Hegel's religion of the absolute idea had stood, considered the

³ Vol. 10, 1. In connection with this investigation see the essays: 'Ein angiovinisches Gebetbuch in der Wiener Hofbibliothek' (ibidem, vol. 8, 3) and 'Die Holzkalender des Mittelalters und der Renaissance' (ibidem, vol. 11).

history of art from the position of eternal values. Then there were the early Christian archaeologists, whose exegetical methods always had to move in a *circulus vitiosus* with respect to historical interrelationships.

The degree of scientific progress represented by Riegl's first investigation in comparison to the usual manner of conducting cultural-historical research at that time can be seen from a comparison with Springer's work on medieval psalter illustration, which appeared a few years earlier and dealt with a similar subject. Springer tried to uncover a great and up to that point unknown national style on the basis of a single manuscript, without going to the trouble of locating it with any historical accuracy on the basis of the collected supporting material of this manuscript. Thus his efforts, ingenious as they were in and of themselves, remained utterly indefensible and were soon surpassed. And Springer certainly received an incomparably better scientific education than the majority of his contemporaries. Like the theologians of the Reformation with respect to logical deduction, art historians at that time – and this often still occurs today – only drew on historical methods as biographical or cultural-historical accessories, without applying them, similarly to the theologians' treatment of ultimate truths, to their actual subject matter, which was still abandoned to 'pure thinking and feeling'. However, if art history was to leave the domain of speculative caprice behind, on the one hand monuments would have to be investigated and defined according to the principles of modern historical criticism and *on the other one had to learn to treat the developmental problems of art historically*. It was to this second task in particular that Riegl applied himself from the very beginning, and it was the principal determining factor of his research. His first investigation clearly shows where the impulse for this came from. In a way analogous to an investigation of a single medieval document type, he here investigated monuments from antiquity up to the late middle ages as a self-contained series of interrelated elements, thereby providing a superb example of how *iconographical* questions can be employed in an exact scientific manner when investigating the general development of art. This is worth going into further, because there are many other researchers who, as the aesthetes and cultural historians once did, treat the history of artistic problems (which has since come into fashion) as evidence for universal theories, which are in turn based on vague hypothetical historical conclusions. For Riegl though, as we will see, the results of developmental history – only at all scientifically permissible in this way – entirely corresponded to the boundaries and objective results of his particular investigation and were thus reached on the basis of an exact historical method. The way he deepened these methods in applying them to the history of art from work to work though, the way he was able to give art history a new content in doing so, by an admirable gradation, little by little – *not only is*

this the most important content of his consistent scientific work, it is also one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of the modern historical sciences.

No less significant were the actual results of those investigations. Put forward with modesty and without any generalization, they nevertheless opened our eyes to the continuity of antique and medieval artistic development even beyond the migration of nations and for the first time determined the true epochal beginning of the art of the modern age – and the correctness of this result is gaining ever more recognition. That which Riegl found lacking in the old poly-history he found on the path of exact investigation and broad universal-historical context. And we shall see how, steadily developing in this direction, he was also able to develop the program he had discovered in this first work until his life's end.

Overcoming the Aesthetic-Dogmatic Tendency in Art History

In 1886 Riegl entered the service of the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry as a volunteer, was nominated assistant curator there a year later and entrusted with the administration of the textiles department, a position he held for eleven years. This is not the place give an account of the services he rendered to the museum collections, but the appointment was important for his academic career in that his activities at the museum introduced him to areas of art that he was to take up as the main themes of his subsequent work, and we shall soon see how these had an importance for him beyond being a new area of research. From this point on he was principally concerned with the history of ornament. There are academics, and this perhaps applies to the majority of them, who spend their lives writing one and the same treatise over and again, and though they may alter the material and scope of their work, they are nevertheless like tourists who travelled once in their youth and recount it over and again into their old age, making use of the one and only research formula they ever came across. With Riegl it was virtually the opposite. His last work treated the same theme as his Institute work – Salzburg's architectural history – and yet what lies between! When we survey all of his works they seem to be directed toward a single task, and yet how the paths toward it and the results changed! 'The best art-historian is he who has no personal taste, because art history is concerned with discovering the objective criteria of historical development,' Riegl once told me, and when we consider his works from this perspective they seem to follow on from one another in strictly regulated sequence.

In 1891 Riegl published his book on early oriental carpets, two years later the *Stilfragen*.⁴

These are works of the utmost significance in their objective and quite fundamental results. Our entire conception of the development of oriental art rests on the first, whilst the amount that we owe to the second cannot be put so concisely. To get an idea of the immeasurable progress that separates us from previous generations as to our conception of how historical events and cultural circumstances come to be, one need only pick up an older book on the history of the Orient. Here everything really is still as though in *The Thousand and One Nights*: palaces in the desert are suddenly conjured up out of nowhere because ‘it must have been so’; cultured peoples and flourishing cities appear, founded by prince so-and-so. The historian wanders through a fairytale land like a magician, reporting everything as though it had happened of its own accord. It is therefore no wonder that dilettantes and inventors of fantastical or doctrinaire theories have always fled to this wonderland. And so it was for art history too. Oriental art has come into fashion since the great World Exhibition in London, and because people knew nothing of its historical development, nor bothered to find out, one could exploit it for the strangest of historical and aesthetic theories without being challenged, just as the alchemists did with their chemical processes before the laws of chemistry had been established and universally recognized. One of these aesthetic-philosophical art doctrines, which we can trace right back to the sixteenth century, achieved broad recognition in the third quarter of the nineteenth century because it stemmed from a celebrated artist and a spirited writer. This was Semper’s technical-material explanation for the origins of the decorative arts, which sought to explain the stylistic peculiarities of individual artworks from the material and technical conditions of their production. Any considerations of historical context stood in the way of such a theory, so they were simply swept aside as though they did not exist or replaced by completely imaginary contexts that were no hindrance to an arbitrary explanation of style. Now when Riegl decided to focus on oriental textiles in his position at the museum he could not be content with such fantastical ideas, but sought to trace oriental artworks back to their historical origins – and thanks to his historical training this would not have been possible any other way. These endeavours had unexpected and virtually epochal results. It was not just that the historical relationships between individual areas of oriental art were explained, not just that the huge influence of

⁴ The following works also owe their existence to the research done for the above: *Die ägyptischen Textilfunde am k. k. österr. Museum* (Vienna, 1889); ‘Neuseeländische Ornamente’, *Mitteil. der anthropol. Gesellsch. in Wien*, vol. 20; *Volkskunde, Hausfleiß und Hausindustrie* (Berlin, 1894); and *Ein orientalischer Teppich vom J. 1202 n. Chr. und die ältesten orientalischen Teppiche* (Berlin, 1895). [See *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament*, trans. E. Kain (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).]

East-Asian art on the whole of the Orient was observed and demonstrated; what was more important was that the sources of oriental art were also uncovered for the first time. On the basis of an historical analysis that was similar but far more extensive than his first investigations, Riegl was initially able to prove, generally speaking, that the oriental art of the middle ages cannot be considered as an autochthonous creation of the Orient and that it emerged as a continuation and further development of the art of classical antiquity no less than European art. In this way, Riegl not only founded a scientific history of oriental art, but also recognized and demonstrated the universal-historical significance of classical art beyond the sphere of European artistic development. This proof of the common foundations of European and Asiatic civilization, which pulled the rug out from under all the transcendental and rationally fantastical hypotheses and fairy tales once and for all, is at the same time perhaps the most important step forward in our conception of the course of modern world history since Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* in that it shook the faith in dogmatic interpretations of universal history for the first time.⁵

If Riegl was perhaps not as well known as many a less important researcher, and less well known than one would expect on the basis of the aforementioned discoveries, then one can put this down to the modesty with which he, one might almost say, concealed his finds within his works, and to his restless efforts to reformulate and to solve problems that went beyond his own results. In individual specialist investigations he was content to convey the leading ideas of his research with an objective simplicity and clear comprehensibility, such that those being instructed were compelled to believe that these discoveries had in fact been made by others long ago, and whilst these ideas gradually spread, creating new levels in the areas of research concerned, they had already long since been surpassed and overcome by Riegl himself. Particularly characteristic of this is the appearance of a book like the *Stilfragen* just two years after the work on the sources of oriental art. The former is an investigation into the origins and history of the most important Greek ornaments, but with intentions reaching far beyond the bounds of such an investigation. Here Riegl demonstrated that the most important motifs of Hellenic, Hellenistic, Roman and Oriental ornament did not arise by chance, as stylizations of natural models that could have been possible at any time and determined purely by artistic intention or technical conditions; rather, he showed that they had developed in an unbroken evolutionary historical lineage from a few basic original motifs which can be traced back to early Egyptian art. It is almost as though this

⁵ [Originally known as the *Histoire universelle*, 1753–1754. For an early translation see *An essay on universal history, the manners, and spirit of nations, from the reign of Charlemaign to the age of Lewis XIV*, 4 vols, trans. Mr. Nugent (Dublin: S. Cotter, 1759).]

were a contradiction of the general correctness of the results of his investigations into the style of Oriental carpets. Here he had demonstrated the historical facts, there the physiology of the process that led to those facts, presented in one example – and the most celebrated one there could be – with a degree of precision approaching that of the natural sciences.

The possibility of proving historical relationships on the basis of iconographical correspondences and visual transformations, as Riegl had done in his earlier works, was a very limited one, and could easily have broken down where new groups of ideas usurped the old gods and heroes. And even then, does a correspondence in representation prove a continuous historical evolution in and of itself? But if, as with the transformation of letters in palaeography, the unbroken continuity and reformation of certain art forms can be proven by transformations in ornamental motifs, then does that not represent an objective piece of evidence in favour of the continuity of historic artistic cultures and against all the aesthetic-dogmatic theories? Therein lay the great scientific blow of the *Stilfragen*. It was miles ahead of the then prevalent conception of art-historical research, which was content to explain the palmette as the purest expression of the well-balanced organization of Greek genius, whilst Riegl himself had advanced to a position miles ahead of his earlier works. If in his youth and on the basis of general progress in the historical sciences he had emancipated himself from the former poly-history and lexical cultural history, now he was able to open up world-historical perspectives to art history, at least for the archaic and superstitious periods, on paths that he himself had opened up for science, and without having to renounce the weaponry of strict scientific method. One may well have talked about the relationship of Greek art to older artistic periods in the past, but who would have thought that the art of antiquity as a whole could be united in one chain of historical development?

Soon afterwards, in an essay on art history and universal history dedicated to the old ‘poly-historian’ Büdinger, Riegl, now full of joyous confidence, wrote that even the ‘anarchists’ of art history would gladly make a start on the allegedly Sisyphean task of world history in the hope of contributing to a solution of the great world-riddle from the universal-historical perspective of art history; something that every science must ultimately have as its goal. Only later did it become clear that this had been an over-optimistic personal ideal.

It was a remarkable trait of his personality that this brooding thinker, for whom ‘all things metamorphosed into one problem’, was at the same time filled with a will and a longing not only to create new work on the slow path of bookish science, but also to get involved in the present directly. He was gifted like few others in transforming the results of his historical research into cultural values for the present. One can hardly conceive of what might have become of the museum he was employed at had it only been granted him to

make of it what he would and could have done as its director. It was quite incomprehensible. I had the opportunity to speak to him on an almost daily basis after his departure from the museum. He never complained about it, and far less about others, although at that stage he, one of the most successful researchers in his field, was as unhappy and dissatisfied as one could be. 'I have no profession', he would often say.

Overcoming the Historic-Dogmatic Tendency in Art History

Riegl received his postdoctoral qualification from the university in the year 1889; he became assistant professor in 1895 and full professor after his departure from the Austrian museum in 1897. Hereafter he dedicated his time exclusively to his teaching profession for a few years. This period coincides with the third stage of his academic development. While still at the museum Riegl took up his plan to collaborate on Masner's proposed history of the applied arts of antiquity with a contribution on the post-Constantinian period. The many splendid Austrian finds of late antique applied-art objects were to be published in a large compilation. It goes without saying that for Riegl this was more than merely an impressive publication. It was to be a comprehensive presentation of a discovery of no less significance than those that had formed the basis of his earlier books. Whilst theories asserting the originality of the decorative arts of Greece and the medieval art of the Orient – theories based on technical and aesthetic novelties – had been refuted, there was nevertheless another period for which one still assumed the emergence of an entirely new art based on national peculiarities. This was the art of the period of the migration of nations, which, it was assumed, had been brought into the collapsing Roman Empire with the victory march of nations who had forced their way into that historic civilization's realm. Thus their art was also thought to be barbaric. Riegl now made the observation that this supposedly barbaric art displays the very same stylistic characteristics and the very same stylistic changes that are in evidence across the whole spectrum of Roman art. These characteristics are connected to the final stylistic phases of classical art in such a thoroughly organic manner that one also has to consider this celebrated 'primal' art as a further development of the art of classical antiquity, and hence the unitary course of world art history can also be inferred from these sources. The whole was to be presented in two large volumes, of which the first was to deal with the question of the fate of the art industry amongst the bearers of the broader development, the Mediterranean nations in the post-Constantinian age, whilst the second was to determine the extent to which the northern barbarian nations, who had just stepped onto the cultural world stage, had played a creative role in the development of the visual arts in the five-and-a-half

centuries from Constantine to Charlemagne. Only the first volume appeared, containing a history of late Roman art.⁶

One might have expected Riegl's new work to have been organized in a manner similar to that of his older books, for it also dealt with the developmental history of a particular mode of decoration. And yet this new work was quite different from the older books. It is the manifestation of a new transformation in art history. Besides being one of its founders, Riegl was its most ardent and consistent advocate.

This transformation can be designated as the victory of the psychological-historical conception of art history over the absolute-aesthetic. From the point when ecclesiastical art began to compare its own achievements with antique models, the history of art came to be seen from the perspective of the actual tasks and endeavours of contemporary art. Historically speaking one would have to describe this as a renaissance lasting from the eleventh century up to our own age, one that discovered a new antiquity in every century. In this much even the monument research of the past century, which renounced any form of aesthetics, brought about no change here, for the alleged rejection of all value judgments only concealed, as before, the tyranny of a given and aprioristic historical doctrine of art. One was only able to attain any clarity on the history of art, to get beyond a mere history of artists, by way of detours into vague historical considerations or hard-won but unimportant criteria. Clearly, modern art had long since put the writing on the wall, as it were, in lecture theatres where one still worshipped 'art in the highest and most specific sense'. Works such as Justi's *Velasquez* or Wölfflin's *Renaissance and Baroque*, albeit still based on the old assumption of an adoration for classical art, got beyond the former approaches by demonstrating the lofty artistic intentions of periods which one had hitherto been accustomed to seeing as the *membra disjecta* of disorganized artistic activity. But it was only with a series of works at the threshold of our century that the principle of developmental history, which had long since formed the basis of all the other sciences, was first applied to the history of artistic problems. It was Wickhoff's research into the history of Roman art that for the first time replaced the old aesthetic-historical dogmatism with a genetic history of artistic problems, and for an extremely important period of art. But this was precisely what Riegl's whole prior development seemed to be striving towards, and his new book, one could almost say, was the natural completion and continuation of Wickhoff's studies, if clearly a continuation in a different mould. Whilst Wickhoff had demonstrated that the art of the

⁶ Vienna, 1901. The following works also belong to the range of ideas developed during this period: the abovementioned paper in the *Büdingen-Festschrift*, which leads up to the others, and the 'Oströmische Beiträge', in the *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Franz Wickhoff gewidmet*. [For the former see *Late Roman Art Industry*, trans. R. Winkes (Rome: Bretschneider, 1985).]

Roman Empire – which one tended to overlook through the spectacles of eternal artistic ideals and which one had formerly considered as low-grade epigonism – was one of the most important and influential creations of the human spirit if only one learnt to understand it, Riegl for his part showed that the art of the following periods – which one had only ever been accustomed to interpreting as the demise of Roman art – had been imbued with no less a degree of independent artistic intention and that it was connected with all prior art history to just the same extent that it fed into the art of the middle ages and the modern era. The demise of antiquity had of course long since been a much-debated and variously treated topic in universal history – not the demise that textbooks ascribe to certain years and events, but rather that unmistakable inner dissolution or remoulding of antique culture which begins soon after it had apparently attained its greatest heights. In an ingenious way Riegl now showed that whilst the art of these periods had been considered in terms of a decline from the perspective of certain aprioristic, aesthetic, or historical assumptions, in reality it represented a step forward on the path toward new artistic ideals; to ideals that were to have a decisive impact on the subsequent age. In an analysis of the architecture, icons, paintings and applied art which, in terms of its penetration, and if one can be allowed to compare such disparate things, recalls Ranke's portraits of the popes, Riegl makes it clear to us that the relationship between objects and space is seen by the onlooker in terms of light and shadow, or in other words that the progressive subjectivization of art was the driving force of artistic endeavour; a finale for the old art and an overture to the new.⁷ Without this force, which one also observes in the contemporary literature, Christendom as a whole, the religion of subjective feeling and the relationship to the world and to eternity would not have been possible. That tendency of late antique art which rests on the subjective perception of spatial beauty manifested itself most clearly and most strongly in the privileged art form of the immediate future: in architecture. Thus we come to understand how buildings as wonderful as S. Vitale in Ravenna – perhaps the most wonderful that antiquity ever created – could arise virtually on the pyre of antiquity; buildings, more importantly, that found their continued development in the architecture of the middle ages and the modern era, up to St Peters and Il Gesù. But the essence of the style that forms a bridge between antiquity and the modern era is also explained for the first time here for the other arts, and the historical necessity of this style is demonstrated from the continuity of foregoing and subsequent phenomena. In this way, 'the last great gap in our knowledge of the universal art history of mankind has for all intents and purposes been filled.'

⁷ [Leopold von Ranke, *Die römische Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im sechszehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1834).]

Just as it is with great artists who, like Rembrandt or Michelangelo, focus on one artistic problem throughout their lives, such that the entire problem, the whole conception of art, is gradually given a new content through this one task, so it was with Riegl, who steered an ever-increasing focus on one research problem toward a new understanding of the entire course of the history of art. From the very beginning his research had been directed toward fathoming the essence and historical emergence of ‘that inner necessity which is common to all the artworks of a certain period and which one tends to designate as style.’ Having successfully demonstrated that an artistic period which had been deemed sterile in precisely this regard in fact evidenced a wealth of artistic intentions – intentions that laid the groundwork for the future – the entire history of style in the arts, now measured according to these new stylistic traits, necessarily had to appear in a new light. It was in the last years of his life that Riegl dealt with this world history of style. One finds mere reflections of it in his writings, but his lectures and conversations from this period of cheerful creativity were full of new ideas on the course of art history. Riegl was a superb speaker; not a smooth-talker of the sort one used to esteem and who have now become so unbearable to us, with their applied pathos and emotionally expressed phrases being calculated to affect the audience. His rhetorical gift instead consisted in his ability to lead the thinking listener along the path of his ideas via an eloquence that flowed from a deep sense of conviction and the pleasure he took in his work. When I think back on that time now it seems to me that he already sensed he would not be granted a long life, so feverishly did he strive to work through the bold structure of his history of style or, as he would have called it, the history of artistic volition. It contained chapters of the utmost beauty, the most ingenious conception and of trail-blazing results. If only he had committed it to paper the history of baroque art that his students learnt from him – and I cannot put this any differently – would have uncovered the origin and essence of the modern Baroque, just as he had discovered the origin and essence of the late-antique Baroque. But during this time he was more interested in knowledge; a search that sought to penetrate the deepest causes of history. Once the old dogmatic theories had been demolished once and for all he wanted to replace them with a universal history of art – this was the task his whole life had been aimed at from the very beginning. And since, on the assumption of a single chain of development, he identified the history of style with the history of art, he also believed he had discovered the historical law of this development.⁸

From the midday of his academic career Riegl turned to an entirely new activity.

⁸ This primarily applies to the following works: ‘Das holländische Gruppenporträt’, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 23 (1902); ‘Über altchristliche Basiliken’, *Jahrbuch der Zentral-Kommission* (1903); and *Salzburgs Stellung in der Kunstgeschichte* (Salzburg, 1905).

Modern Monument Preservation

It has recently been said of Riegl that his feeling for art tended towards the sense of rhythm from the outset. That is doubtless correct, but it only partly characterizes Riegl's relationship to art. For him the contemplation of art rested far less on any given inclination than on intellectual conclusions. I do not know a single art historian who could have been as objective as Riegl with respect to historic artworks, whilst remaining sensitive to their artistic qualities. For him the appraisal of artistic values coincided completely with the results of his historical analysis of artworks, and yet this appraisal was not just the lifeless result of research, but of an inner experience at the same time; a true enjoyment of the artworks that was based, incidentally, on the same aesthetic values which, consciously or unconsciously, were the basis of the creator's own enjoyment. He came to his way of looking at art gradually and of his own accord (which for me always seemed to be the most remarkable thing about him) and knew how to convey his finds to others with a suggestive gift of persuasion. Thus he was not only capable of transporting himself into the playful harmonies of primitive ornament, but also of interpreting a baroque building or a Rembrandt picture in such a way that it could never be forgotten by any listener who was able to follow him.

One sees how deeply this historicism was rooted in his essence when one considers that he even saw the art of our own time from an historically objective viewpoint. As with politics and literature, we also judge the artistic phenomena of our age from the subjective perspective of our own education. We consider those artworks that correspond to it as being of our time and try to derive justifications for this art from historical necessity, whereby we forget that our subjective conception of art by no means coincides with the general artistic sensibility of the age. It was different with Riegl. In earlier years he spoke about the artistic tendencies of our age only seldom, and even then without particular interest. Should our daily papers and reviews be preserved, people will one day smile about the abundance of supposed artistic tendencies in this extraordinary century and about the ways artists and art critics sought to make them credible, just as we tend to smile about the countless socio-political theories of the eighteenth century. They will come to see that the art of the nineteenth century and that of the following age also form a unified complex, one which may well represent a continuation, but by no means a revolution or even any sort of fundamental innovation with respect to baroque art, the unity of which no one today can doubt. Anyone who considers the colourful artistic activity of our age from the perspective of a single artistic taste – whether it be high or low taste is a matter of indifference – will be unable to

perceive that which underlies every artistic endeavour of our age. But anyone who is capable of tracing artistic phenomena back to their common historic fundamentals will easily discover the connecting element, the common style. And so it was for Riegl, who, in conjunction with his universal-historical conception of consistent artistic development, sharply differentiated modern art from that of all past periods and explained it in its most essential character traits; those which underlie it everywhere and in all its manifestations, as various as they might be. This concerns the relationship of art and people to earlier artistic periods. Just as the politicians and theologians of the cinquecento only drew upon history for proofs of their theories, so the art critics, the artists and the public alike only considered the artworks of the past in terms of evidence for their own concrete conceptions of art, and destroyed them mercilessly or remained entirely indifferent towards them where correlations of this sort were not possible. Little by little this began to change in the baroque age due to a new conception of art's tasks. Whilst the Renaissance, like all preceding periods, created and enjoyed every artwork as an isolated unity (which also goes for the individual members of a single artwork), from the time of Michelangelo onwards people came to subordinate every entity more and more to the greater spatial values of the whole. People looked at the architecture of antiquity not just in its individual motifs, as had once been the case, but in its appearance as a totality. People drew upon Gothic forms once more; not out of any particular interest in Gothic construction, but because they had come far enough to understand their particular picturesque charm. Little by little they rediscovered the historic styles; not because art had regressed to its developmental stages, but because the framework of the Baroque (and of contemporary art) presents the possibility of deriving artistic pleasure from every countryside *veduta*, every animated scene and also every historic artwork. The intellectuals and pedants among artists who supposed they had arrived at a scientific knowledge of the historic styles would never have dreamt that they were obeying the very same artistic laws that had created the Gesù and that allowed Turner and Constable to discover the modern landscape. But where their erudition overstepped the bounds of our art, where it wanted to simply resurrect historic artworks and styles from the grave, a reaction soon set in. This reaction now flows around the whole world like a mighty current, though it is not a creation of recent times, for it springs from the development of baroque art as a whole. People came to see that our relationship to historic art is not such that one can impose some golden age of art upon the present, as dogmatic art and research had intended, but nor can one attribute value to historic artworks only insofar as they can be restored and completed as specimens of the art of that age. Historic artworks contain a wealth of artistic powers that ought not to be seen as rules or principles of a particular artistic doctrine, nor as grounds for favouring this

or that style. Thanks to the development of art in past centuries, and reflected in our modern artistic sensibilities, historic artworks are just as capable of speaking directly to our hearts as nature itself or the artistic creations of our own age. They are a source of artistic sensations that are all the richer and clearer the less this legacy of the ages is infringed upon by one-sided modern interpretations. Everyone of taste and education senses this today, but no one before Riegl had traced the phenomenon – perhaps the most important in the history of modern art – back to its historical origins.⁹ I have mentioned how upset he had been when he was denied the opportunity to create a great museum, to put the fruits of his research directly into the service of the life of our times. Now a second opportunity presented itself, though not so much due to external factors – for neither his personal circumstances nor those within the institution he wanted to serve had changed – as because of his own personal intellectual development. If it were merely a matter of popularity or external recognition he would certainly have become one of the most celebrated intellectuals and university lecturers before too long. Seeing it as his duty though, he turned to tasks which hardly anyone could have envied him at that stage; tasks which slumbered unknown and half forgotten in bundles of files, tasks one rarely saw as anything more than a bureaucratic annex to the history of art. Then came the tragic end.

This quiet and lonely man, who, on account of his poor hearing, had lived half isolated from the world up to that point, and who, through his ideas and his research, lived far from the travails of daily life, suddenly became an ardent and untiring organizer. The new conception of the duties of monument preservation and the new tasks this conception brought with it necessitated a reorganization of the institutions responsible for the preservation of historic monuments right up to state level, and the more stringent content of these duties and tasks demanded legislative support. Riegl worked up plans for both: they are perhaps the best possible solutions and, if carried out, would become exemplary models of modern state monument preservation.¹⁰ Yet that was only the lesser part of his service to the Central Commission and Austrian monument preservation. The most outstanding statute or law remains a lifeless piece of paper if the conditions for its implementation are not guaranteed, and in his last years Riegl's untiring, almost superhuman efforts were directed towards achieving this. He was not an organizer in the present sense of the word, whereby the 'gift of practical organization' consists above all in exploiting the errors and weaknesses

⁹ *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Vienna: Verlag W. Braumüller, 1903).

[‘The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin’, trans. K. W. Forster and D. Ghirardo, in K. Michael Hays (ed.), *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973–1984* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. 621–51.]

¹⁰ Printed as a manuscript.

of one's contemporaries. On the contrary, alongside his mastery with respect to the tasks in hand, and alongside the unexampled zeal with which he took everything that had to be done upon himself despite being mortally ill, with Riegl it was above all the rare gift of being able to win over every heart with his sympathetic understanding for each individual's feelings and background. This certainly raised hopes for his reform of state monument protection. Had he succeeded it would have been a work created by the noblest of men with the noblest of weapons, and would have provided a new and lasting basis for our artistic culture. He collapsed not far from the goal.

2. German Art Topographies (1906)

Max Dvořák, 'Deutsche Kunsttopographien I', *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, 3 (1906), 59–65

One would have thought there could be no more important event for an historical discipline than the publication of a comprehensive monument inventory. How often one used read the complaint – in old art-historical essays – about how difficult it is to come to reliable art-historical conclusions because of a lack of publications that provide instructive information on the artistic heritage preserved in Germany. Such inventories have been coming out for almost three decades now and already constitute a small library. Much effort and industry has gone into them, not to mention money. One might have expected review upon review, discussion upon discussion, just as there were after the first publications of the *Monumenta Germaniae*. After all, these publications ought to have represented a new foundation for German art history as a whole – not something that can be started with all over again at the drop of a hat. All those who really cared about art history ought to have come together to establish the whole undertaking on the basis of a thoroughgoing engagement with guiding principles that would have given this branch of scholarship a serviceable and enduring form. Nothing is more characteristic of the deplorable state of art history as a discipline than the fact that none of this happened. The art topographies appeared one volume after the other without anyone bothering to give any thought to how they were produced. With the exception of a few conservation specialists, no one thought it was worth wasting any time on them.

One could perhaps counter this argument right from the outset with the contention that these works are not so much scholarly publications as inventories which, as a precondition for monument supervision and monument protection, are primarily there to serve administrative purposes. But this objection corresponds neither to the basic intention of these undertakings nor to the way in which they are carried out. One only has to read the prefaces. What purpose could the historical excursions and all the academic apparatus possibly serve in a mere administrative inventory? But both these things were to be achieved at once, and this combination turned out for the worse in two respects, as we shall see. There can certainly be no doubt that most of the art topographies fall a long way short of the requirements that have to be demanded of such inventories from the perspective of monument preservation. This journal is not the place to go into that. But nor can there be any doubt that the scientific results of the inventorization work have not lived up to their

promise. I know of no serious or significant work of art history that has been inspired by or based on the art topographies. Long rows of these books stand unused in the libraries and people seldom look anything up in them. This has become all the more conspicuous recently, and especially over the last few years, as people have increasingly started looking into the history of German art. And thus what one hoped to see as a fruit of the art topographies has come about independently of them. This proves that it is not a lack of interest, but the manner in which the art topographies were carried out that is to blame for the fact that they do not fulfil the purpose they were supposed to fulfil.

However, nothing would be more unjust than the generalizing claim that this can be put down to inexact, careless work. As we shall see, there are a few German art topographies that leave much to be desired even in this respect, but most of them have been produced with care and attention and there are some, the topographies for the Rhineland and Baden for instance, that can truly be held up as the exemplary results of a publication program that has been implemented with the greatest accuracy and meticulousness. Thus, at least for the latter, the root of the error has to be sought in this program and it seems to me that there are indeed some fundamental concerns to be voiced; problems which are evident in more or less all of the old art topographies. I want to point out the most important ones here.

It might be due to the abovementioned combination of administrative inventory and scholarly publication that most of the art topographies suffer from an inadequate distinction between material which is scientifically important and that which is not. 'But isn't every monument equally important for art history?' The pedants may well ask this with astonishment – and they can be answered with a firm 'No'. Of course everything is equally important *sub specie aeternitatis* and one should certainly aim to achieve the greatest possible degree of completeness, but this completeness in and of itself does not represent scientific progress when the important monuments are then inevitably not given enough space due to uniformity of treatment. It may well be important to know about old bells and gravestones under certain circumstances, but it is not a good thing from the perspective of art-historical research if a cycle of paintings from the beginning of the sixteenth century is treated in as few words as a bell or a gravestone. Thus, for example, provincial forms of building from the fifteenth and sixteenth century are only of any significance for local history, and the local researcher can easily find information about such things without an art topography. On the other hand, it is a serious drawback if the only thing that is said about a private or public collection is that it has or is supposed to have a number of pictures by Lorenzo da Credi, Titian, etc.; that the collection also contains 'numerous' Rembrandt drawings or valuable wooden sculptures from the fifteenth century, and thus says nothing

more than what one finds in a travel guide anyway. The smaller collections in particular frequently contain art-historical material brought together from all over the world with a significance that goes beyond the bounds of local art history.

In addition to this, not all artistic periods are given a consistent degree of treatment in the art topographies. This is the after-effect of romanticism and classicism; a patriotic, antiquarian, cultural-historical or aesthetic-dogmatic evaluation of artworks. Whilst the monuments of Romanesque, Gothic, and renaissance art are described at length and often even characterised in detail, but where the monuments of other artistic periods are concerned the topographies seem content to provide quite general information and descriptions. Thus in most of the topographies antique art merely provides the starting point, baroque art the final flourish around the individual essays. It is no help at all if a researcher finds the following information in an art topography: ‘The extensive collection of antique vases includes some black-figured and some red-figured vessels, the majority stemming from sepulchral sites in the Greek-colonised landscape of southern Italy and the island of Sicily, some of them from the Greek motherland.’¹¹

Information such as this even fails to meet the standards one would expect of a tourist guide. And as if this were possible, baroque art is often given even shorter shrift than antiquity in many of the topographies. The standard formula is as follows: the altar paintings are good or poor works of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, or, the pulpit is a richly carved work of the baroque era, or even, as one reads in a stereotypical topography: the interior of the church – *Zopf*.¹² If one only wants to establish the fact that there are baroque pulpits and rococo church furnishings in Hessen or Thüringen one does not need the large and costly apparatus of an art topography to do so. But this superficial treatment of antique and baroque art actually stands in inverse relationship to the scientific significance of the subject matter. Especially where medieval artistic treasures are concerned, it will be a long time before the art topographies are able to replace specialist publications, if at all. The general problems that confront the researcher of medieval art history, whose material is scattered all over the world, will naturally not be solved by treating material that is confined to a single administrative district. But for as long as these problems remain unsolved will we not be able to conclusively determine the art-historical significance of that material either. Late antique and baroque art is quite a different matter though. Here it is precisely the

¹¹ [The anonymous citation here is from Georg Schaefer, *Kunstdenkmäler im Grossherzogtum Hessen: Inventarisierung und beschreibende Darstellung der Werke der Architektur, Plastik, Malerei und des Kunstgewerbes bis zum Schluss des XVIII Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt: Arnold Bergstraesser, 1891), vol. 4, p. 81.]

¹² [*Zopf* ~ derogatory term for late baroque or rococo art, suggesting both the plaited wigs of the eighteenth century and out-modedness in general.]

territorial development that needs to be investigated if we want to get beyond generalizing slogans. Thus the treatment here will have to be as thorough as possible if the art topographies are to fulfil their scientific purpose.

But even the most extensive description can only have a highly problematic scientific value if it is not based on an exact investigation of the historical significance of the individual monuments and monument groups. It is in precisely this respect that the art topographies have been so poorly served and it seems to me that the decisive cause of their scientific sterility is to be found here. In this respect one could perhaps compare the art topographies to the old source works and document publications that were compiled by educated clergymen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They published endless series of folio volumes, they printed a vast quantity of narrative sources, documents and files, and yet for the most part these enormous undertakings were of purely bibliographical significance and they are often made redundant, as far as scientific results are concerned, by the publication of a single modern anthology. The difference is that the old publications were simply compilations, whereas the modern ones contain scientifically treated source material and then also pose the scholarly questions that arise in relation to those sources. Thus nor will the art topographers manage to attain any sort of ground-breaking scholarly significance for as long as they confine themselves to compiling the artworks of a given territory, or, as they themselves call it, to providing inventories in the form of descriptions; that is, for as long as their inventories are not also combined with historical investigations of the material they publish. But do they not? One might well ask. Are the individual entries of the topographies not prefaced with extensive historical introductions, entire local histories, sometimes more extensive than the following inventory entries and exhaustive bibliographies? That is certainly all very well, but it is not the main thing, for it does not constitute the actual historical treatment of the inventorized material, as they generally seem to believe. A list of owners of a given place from the twelfth to the eighteenth century might perhaps be of use to an art historian once in every hundred cases. But what he will always expect to find listed for every inventorized monument is as accurate information as possible on the date of origin, the artist, and the general and regional significance of the artworks under discussion, the groups they can be associated with and the historical questions and problems they pose. Such information is only contained within the art topographies – and then only unintentionally – if and insofar as it is self-evident from the artworks or can be construed from them anyway. Otherwise they leave the majority of periodizations up to ‘feeling and experience’, they rely on the sacristan’s information to provide the artists or, particularly for baroque artworks, they take anonymity as a given and are content hand down

aesthetic praise or censure when establishing the significance of the individual monuments. 'The altar painting is a good work by a seventeenth-century baroque master' – one reads similar things over and over again; how is the researcher *not* to lay the volume aside in disappointment?

If, however, the art topographies are to offer more than such general and quite useless 'connoisseur's judgements', two purposes will have to be combined with the inventorization. Firstly archival research. There may well be references to a few archives and archival materials in a few of the topographies, but, as I have frequently found, and particularly for the modern era, the topographies only exceptionally draw on archival materials to the extent that is possible and desirable when establishing who the artists were and when the works were made. And here it is not only the local archives that need to be considered (for these are referenced in some cases), but also documentary sources elsewhere, which is of course not to say that everything that represents such a source has to be consulted and published, but just as one can quite rightly demand that a publication of historical documents should work from all the available material when handling critical questions, so one can also expect the art topographies, if they are to be more than administrative inventories, to draw on every available source, at least to the extent necessary for determining the chronology and style of the inventorized monument as accurately as possible. This naturally applies all the more to the monumental sources of the history of art in the inventorized area; the temporal and stylistic information that can be derived from them has to be as complete as possible and is the scholarly *sine qua non* of each and every art topography. I can hardly imagine a discipline that would produce a monument inventory without the editors going to the trouble of establishing the links between associated objects, and if this does not happen then the inventory is not scientific. How would one react, for example, to a gallery catalogue that simply described the pictures without asking which schools or artists, which narrower groups the individual pictures are to be ascribed to? And yet the art topographies could even fulfil a more important mission than the museum catalogues in this regard. Take, for instance, a picture in a village church that is ascribed to Rubens, or a picture ascribed to Guido Reni. Now in the art topographies, since their authors will have realised that these pictures cannot possibly be by Rubens or Guido Reni themselves, one will read that the church contains 'pictures from the seventeenth century in the style of Rubens or Guido Reni.' Such information is useless, for one finds seventeenth-century pictures in the style of Rubens or Guido Reni pretty much everywhere. But if the author of the art topography were to look around in neighbouring villages and regions within a certain radius, as a rule he would find numerous pictures by the same master and in most

cases the name of a specific artist could then also be ascertained for one or another of these pictures from archival or other historical sources. In Italy, such investigations are unnecessary because the artists and workshops can easily be established on the basis of the vitae, guides or old literature on art theory. But for us even the artworks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lack any sort of provenance and in my view providing this provenance for certain local regions is one of the most important tasks of the art topographies. Or to take another example: a late-Gothic or baroque building seldom represents an isolated stylistic phenomenon in a given region, but I hardly need emphasize how useful it is when all the stylistically related buildings of a region are brought together, which can often lead to a temporal definition of a certain stylistic tendency. The same goes for late-Gothic carvings, so interesting and important in themselves, or for the wonderful southern German baroque church furnishings, which are amongst the most beautiful creations of the human imagination. The fact that art historians, to say nothing of the general public, have hitherto paid so little attention to these artistic treasures is certainly partly due to the lack of any accepted historical articulation, and there is no doubt that the art topographies could and should create a new foundation for the research of indigenous art in this area too. Such a foundation will clearly not be provided if the material is compiled uncritically.

Now one could ask whether producing the art topographies in this way, i.e. on the basis of art-historical research of the inventorized monuments, might not delay the completion of the whole enterprise, setting it back into an unforeseeable future. It would certainly demand more time and labour than currently accepted practice. But the extra effort would not be so great as to outweigh the advantages and could be reduced by a corresponding division of labour. And, moreover, would anyone these days still advocate a publication of documents that eschews any critical treatment of the material, thus returning to the old way of doing things, simply because this makes it possible to get the publications out more quickly? Is it not the case that certain scholarly requirements cannot simply be ignored, even if they do take so much more time and effort? What we are demanding will have to happen sooner or later and there could be nothing more natural and convenient than to start with this straight away in connection with the inventorization work. I need hardly emphasize the point that not all the art-historical questions brought up by the inventorized monuments have to be answered immediately. It is quite enough that the questions concerning the temporal and stylistic provenance of the monuments be posed correctly, i.e., on the basis of a methodical treatment of all available material. If this is carried out then the art topographies, as one once hoped, will take on a truly fundamental significance for the research of German art. And furthermore a great hoard of researchers will everywhere be

working towards that which we are all striving for; namely the transformation of art history in to an exact historical science.

The execution of this principle would however require certain modifications to the layout of the art topographies. The alphabetical arrangement has already proved itself unhelpful insofar as it separates artworks that are related to one another, and even when their interrelationships are pointed out, one still has to read through every volume in order to obtain certain information – a demand that is so great as to make any sensible use of the topographies virtually illusory in this respect. Doing away with the alphabetical arrangement would hardly be a good idea for reasons that need not be gone into individually here, but its inadequacies can easily be overcome if the alphabetical registers are prefaced by chronological surveys and art-historical introductions which provide the reader with an accessible overview of what he can expect to find in the volume. These introductory texts could be complemented with thorough indexes compiled according to various criteria.

3. The Development of the Karlsplatz in Vienna (1907)

Max Dvořák, 'Notiz: Die Verbauung des Karlsplatzes in Wien', *KJZK*, 1 (1907), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 146–48

For many years no artistic question concerning an art-historical monument has been so hotly discussed as the current question over the development of the Karlsplatz. As the majority of our readers will be aware, the vaulting of the Wien river has created a large square in front of the Karlskirche, a square that has already been partly surrounded by new buildings – alas not everywhere in the most fortunate manner. Further spoliation would result from the construction of the projected municipal museum. The discussion initially concentrated on the projects that had been put forward for this museum building, a discussion originating in the conflict between current artistic tendencies. Alongside this specific artistic question, though, which can now be deemed as having been settled anyway, reservations have also been raised as to whether it would in fact be advisable to build a museum of the sort projected alongside the Karlskirche at all. Such a building would inevitably and fundamentally influence the appearance of the Karlskirche, since a monumental building erected in its immediate vicinity would compete with the monument and would, in addition, forever close the few views of the church that at present remain open. It is not our intention to discuss the arguments or counter-arguments for this or that solution here, where the question ought to be considered with historical objectivity, but merely to underline those general viewpoints to which the various opinions can be traced back. There are three of these, two of which can be grouped together insofar as both see the architectonic closure and development of the square as necessary and desirable.

1. The representatives of the first view maintain the position (consciously or unconsciously) that, in conjunction with a thoroughgoing, grandiose and entirely modern development of the great square, the projected museum would result in a work of modern architecture on par with Fischer von Erlach's building. It would thereby be left up to the creator of the new building to resolve its relationship to the Karlskirche in a satisfactory manner. Thus, according to this viewpoint, the Karlskirche is to be incorporated into an entirely new cityscape, just as baroque art now and then sanctioned the incorporation of a Gothic element into a grand new building.

2. The representatives of another view take the position that the architectural closure and development of the square is indeed desirable, but that it may only be undertaken in such

a manner and with the end result that the present effect of the Karlskirche be heightened by the regulation of the surroundings.

3. The third view proceeds from the assumption that the present effect of the Karlskirche may not be altered and that any architectural development of the Karlsplatz would only be permissible if that effect were to remain unchanged by it.

Historically speaking, the second viewpoint has to be named first, for it corresponds to those views which lie the furthest behind us and whose general content lies in the conviction that the task of monument preservation is to heighten the effect of a monument or the surroundings of a monument by means of appropriate development.

The first view listed above is to be placed in second position according to the chronological order of the emergence of these ideas. It is based on a particular tendency in modern architecture and proceeds from the conviction that an entirely new architectural style can be created if, without consideration for tradition, new technical conditions can be reinterpreted as the artistic expression of architectural creativity. The logical (if also unspoken) consequence of this is that an old building could only ever be an accompaniment within the context of a unified spatial solution that corresponds to this entirely new art.

The third view represents another modern artistic current, one that grows with elemental force alongside the new views of monument preservation. This most recent tendency in modern monument preservation, which comes from England and Belgium and is increasingly gaining ground in Germany, rests on the conviction that a new architecture must indeed reject all imitative historicism, and that it must strive for new solutions to architectonic problems; solutions that correspond to modern technical preconditions and the modern sense of form. At the same time it cannot entirely renounce everything that can be seen as historic artistic culture. Particularly where new work is to be created within the context of an historic artistic culture, the new has to subordinate itself to what has become an historical whole. It hardly needs emphasizing how close this tendency is to modern views of monument preservation, which sees one of its principal tasks in the preservation of the received documentary significance of monuments – in as undisturbed and unaltered a form as possible; for the benefit of the history of artistic culture and for the influence monuments have assumed through the ages as a source of modern artistic sensations.

4. Francesco Borromini as Restorator (1907)

Max Dvořák, 'Francesco Borromini als Restorator', *KJZK*, 1 (1907), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 89–98; and 'Francesco Borromini als Restorator' in *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), pp. 271–78

The most venerable church of all Christendom, the old Lateran Basilica, *mater ecclesiarum*, had to be renovated in the seventeenth century, for it threatened to collapse.¹³ As Baldinucci reports, this renovation was a case of *superare grandissime difficoltà*.¹⁴ We will see why presently.

The execution of the task was conferred upon Francesco Borromini. Many of his contemporaries will perhaps have seen this as an enormous risk. Except for the younger ones among us, we have all had the good fortune to witness a new art emerge in the face of old traditions. To many people, as the battle raged most intensely, it may well have seemed that similar things had never happened in the past; that the new has never had to fight for recognition and its right to existence as intensely as it has in our times. This opinion would be in error. Up until the cinquecento we hear nothing of artistic battles, for the new had always conquered the world without struggle as universally sought-after impersonal solutions to universal problems. This situation changed with the individualization of artistic creation in the modern age. This gave the subjective involvement of the artist far more room for manoeuvre in the solution of artistic problems than it had been granted in any earlier period. There were feuds between artists, and tragedies for some of them, these originating in the fact that successful solutions to the new conception of artistic problems now required longer than the duration of the lifetime of one creator.

Borromini was the victim of such a tragedy. There can be few architects whose art has exerted so great an influence on Europe over the centuries as that of the ill-fated master from Lake Lugano. One can name only Michelangelo and Palladio alongside him.

A transformation of architectural style had been developing since Michelangelo's death. Its content can be designated as the victory of architectural subjectivism over traditional architectonic norms. The tectonic laws upon which the Gothic and the

¹³ On the deplorable state of the old basilica, cf. Rasponi, *De Basilica et Patriarchio Lateranensi* (Rome, 1657), pp. 37 and 79, and the valuable investigation by H. Eggers, 'Francesco Borrominis Umbau von S. Giovanni in Laterano' in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Franz Wickhoff gewidmet* (Vienna, 1903), p. 154 ff.

¹⁴ 1773 edition, vol. XVII, p. 65. [*Superare grandissime difficoltà* ~ overcoming enormous difficulties.]

Renaissance were based had already lost their significance with Michelangelo's built creations, and the rule of subjective architectural composition took their place. As with the principles of monumental baroque painting today, the old tectonic norms and forms continued to have an effect even though they had long since lost their artistic meaning, like idols one no longer believes in. But they had not been relinquished entirely. Even Bernini only dared to do so in decorative auxiliary works. But Borromini broke with tradition in full-scale architecture; a tradition that had been the basis of each and every architectural creation for centuries. He created a new architecture where the single determining factor for the composition as a whole and for the form and application of each and every architectural element – regardless of their tectonic origins and former architectural significance – was the overall effect that the artist was trying to achieve in his building.

This artistic revolutionary – and there are only a few of them in the history of art – was entrusted with the repair of Constantine's basilica. One would think that for him, as for his great predecessors, but even more so, the old can only have been a hindrance, and one that he had to do away with even more unscrupulously than his predecessors, for his art represented a complete break with thousand-year-old traditions. Yet instead of this the contemporary biographies report with astonishment that he carried out the renovations *senz' alterare la pianta, senza muovere mura e senza scomponimento del tutto*.¹⁵ Thus he preserved what he could of the old building, and this seems virtually paradoxical when one considers his art, which stood in sharp contrast to the past.¹⁶ One cannot compare this to earlier examples – and they were certainly not rare – of old and even decrepit buildings simply being consolidated, connected to new additions, or refurbished. In all such cases people decided not to undertake extensive renovations for some reason or other. Nevertheless, Borromini had to carry out a renovation, and he did so superbly. This is still astonishing today, for the church was to be *luminosa, ornata e vaga*, and what was called for was not *quieta non muovere*, but something new along with the necessary reconstruction work; something corresponding to modern expectations.¹⁷

Worrying about the existing fabric in any way would not have occurred to any of his predecessors even in their dreams unless they had been tied to it for financial or technical reasons. In every earlier instance of architects being given free rein they would alter the whole disposition without taking the old into consideration. Neither Bramante nor even

¹⁵ Passeri, *Vite de' Pittori, scultori ed architetti*. 1772 edition, p. 386. [*Senz' alterare la pianta...* ~ 'without altering the ground-plan, without moving the walls, and without dismantling the whole.']

¹⁶ In the abovementioned investigation H. Egger has shown that he also retained, as far as possible, the positioning of the supports, Rainaldi's coffered roof, and indeed the Constantinian east façade.

¹⁷ [*Luminosa, ornata e vaga* ~ luminous, ornate and ethereal; *quieta non muovere* ~ quietude without movement.]

Michelangelo would have understood if one had demanded a renovation of St Peter's *senz' alterare la pianta, senza muovere le mura e senza scomponimento del tutto*. For earlier generations the alteration of the overall form was the natural consequence of the attempt to accommodate a building to modern artistic requirements. They only retained the old where they did not want to open the gates to the new. And when they did, the old ceased to play any artistic role. *But Borromini incorporated it within the framework of his new artistic creation.*

There is an obvious proof that he did so without external coercion and because his new art contained a new relationship to the monuments of the art of former periods: he installed the funerary monuments that had adorned the old Lateran church along the nave walls of the new S. Giovanni.¹⁸

One usually let old monuments stand for as long as the building in which they were housed existed. As 'intentional monuments' they were to give account of an event to posterity, and were linked to family memories, guild interests or communal-patriotic reminiscences. In this way, S. Croce in Florence or S. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, for example, gradually became magnificent mausoleums to the communal past. But where the artistic needs of the present were to be taken into account and an old building replaced by a new one, no consideration was given to the monuments in the old building. They were at best set up in side rooms, but usually just disposed of entirely.

The funerary monuments, epitaphs and statues that stood in the old St Peter's were mercilessly driven down into the grottoes. This in spite of the fact that a few of them, such as the sarcophagus of Otto II, were associated with historical memories of global significance, and others, such as the funerary monument to Paul II, were milestones in the development of Roman art. Only the statue of Peter was carried over into the new building, clearly for devotional reasons.

By contrast, Borromini had the funerary monuments of the old basilica installed in the newly renovated church, if not without altering them a little. He set them into flat wall niches, whereby their earlier overall forms had to be changed, or certain parts omitted in many cases. Otherwise though, he left the old parts as they were, without transforming them. Nor did he seek to arrange them into a new entity that might have corresponded to the former mood by piecing together or supplying the missing fabric. Rather, he tied all the individual parts together by means of a new, purely decorative, magnificent architectural

¹⁸ These are works by the *Cosmati*, Gothic funerary monuments, the grave of Cardinal Antonius de Clavibus (d. 1477), of Ranuccio Farnese by Vignola, etc. A part of Giotto's fresco was thus also preserved.

surround, which is different for each individual monument but everywhere conceived in connection with the entirely new architectural decoration of the Lateran Church. Just as during the Renaissance one tended to give antique intaglios rich new settings, so these medieval or renaissance sculptures were stretched across their new frames. They are among the most beautiful of Borromini's extant works.

Proof that these surrounds were designed by the master himself, if one were needed, is available in a series of drawings of the decorations which are preserved at the royal library in Vienna, one of which we reproduce here. They are undoubtedly in Borromini's hand.

Thus a master whose audacious innovations would ultimately be his downfall was here striving to preserve as much of the old Lateran Basilica as possible, and indeed in both its general form and its interior decoration, incorporating the old into his new artistic program. On the one hand, then, a thoroughgoing disregard with respect to tradition, and, on the other, an unheard of respect for tradition – is that not a peculiar problem?

This problem leads us to the source of a new attitude toward historic monuments. Above all we have to ask ourselves whether Borromini wanted to preserve the old because he appreciated it as a documentation of particular artistic rules and formal principles. This hardly seems likely, for if it were he could not have resisted the temptation to imitate the old forms in some way. Neither can historical motives be taken into account – everything we know about Borromini rules out the possibility of his concern being based on historical considerations and requirements.

Yet when we consider the significance of that which he championed and had to pay for with his life, the essence of his style, then it becomes clear that his respect for the existing fabric was not only not inimical to his other innovations, but, on the contrary, was a consequence of them.

Until that point the individual form, be it tectonic, sculptural, or painted, was the primary and decisive element in architectural creation and any artistically competent contribution to architecture. The overall picture of this architecture was more or less determined by a combination of such individual elements in accordance with tradition and the style of the age. This is perhaps clearest of all in the architecture of the quattrocento, when it was believed that one imitated antiquity by imitating the individual tectonic motifs and sculptural forms of classical art. However, these imitations were associated with buildings whose ground-plans and construction depended on immediately preceding developments rather than having any direct relation to the antique. Architectural invention as a whole was tied up with schemes whose transformation occurred only gradually, more as a

result of changes to individual motifs than through direct innovations or a free handling of the disposition of masses and space.

Here, as in all things, Michelangelo was the founder of new values. He was the first to replace the balance of tectonic elements and sculpture with the balance of masses, not establishing this balance on the basis of traditional rules and principles (regardless of whether these had their origins in immediately preceding developments or were taken over from classical antiquity), but, as we have already seen, by raising subjective invention to the status of the highest law of architectural creation, even for overall composition. Never before had anyone dared do so.

The continuation of this development took three directions. Initially it led to a quite different treatment of the external appearance of buildings, conceived as totalities, created and intended as unitary wholes. But this opened up the possibility of seeing buildings as holistic phenomena, and explains why Palladio was able to design and partly also to carry out buildings that reproduced old classical models not only in detail, but also in their overall appearance.

From the free handling of masses to the free handling of spaces is but a small step, and thus we see how Michelangelo's successors strove tirelessly to invent unified spatial effects.

It was as a result of these two innovations that the significance of the individual motif was completely altered. Old residues of classical tectonics lost their significance along with sculptures and paintings, which had formerly been assigned a special mission within a building. Their main function now consisted in activating and augmenting the overall effect sought by the architect. Michelangelo and his epigones still took classical tectonics and statuary as the starting point for this endeavour, but these were actually relieved of their intrinsic significance and played their former roles only superficially. Pietro da Cortona and Bernini took this superficial significance of tectonic form and sculpture the furthest, although their contemporaries can hardly have seen them as thoroughgoing innovators (as we tend to see them), since their art formed the natural conclusion to an almost century-long development.

Borromini, though, was Michelangelo's true heir. He drew the ultimate conclusions from Michelangelo's subjectivism and threw overboard everything that no longer served any artistic purpose with respect to the new architectural ideals. Since tectonic elements had lost their artistic significance, their form had also become irrelevant. Thousand-year-old norms were thus relinquished: entablatures bend and buckle as though they were made of dough, columns bear no load, walls bulge out like elastic material, sculptures become quite

indifferent – they are nothing more than one element in the great decorative effect of the whole, hence their detailing no longer matters at all. Every space represents one artistic power; one only needs to know how to interpret it correctly. And every architecture can be significant within an architectural totality, in whatever style it is executed, because it is no longer the individual form that matters, but the totality as such. This totality has to be the yardstick of the creative imagination and the source of the viewer's artistic pleasure.

Everything that had been created in the past was again made available to art as a result of this new conception of architectural problems; not as a stock of chosen forms, not as a textbook of the various Orders, but as a way of achieving overall architectural effects, a goal which art had been striving for since Michelangelo's Capitoline buildings. From now on the artistic legacy of former ages could also be turned to this end. But it is Borromini we have to thank for this incredible enrichment of artistic sensations. At the wonderful cloister of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane he applied Bramantesque forms because all forms were now of equal value in the painterly effect of the whole. And at S. Giovanni he chose not to alter the layout of the church, because working with it represented a greater stimulus to him. He turned old sculptures to new architectural purposes for the same reason, just as the Late Roman and Byzantine architects before him had done.

Breaking with the mortal remains of tradition as it did, Borromini's art was like a book with seven seals to his contemporaries, who knew no better than to say that it was *di qualche capricciosa irregolarità*.¹⁹ Likewise, his attitude toward the legacy of the past was barely comprehensible to them. On the restoration of the Lateran Basilica Baldinucci reports that he could have proceeded *con tante caprici e bizzarerie*, and that people were generally astonished that he chose not to.²⁰ He enjoyed papal favour for a short time, if only for personal reasons, although the more accessible art of Bernini initially won the day. People had not yet come to understand Borromini's intentions. He was not a man of compromise, and his designs became ever more audacious, like the work of Rembrandt in the same period. People began to take him for a madman. He increasingly shut himself off from the world, then one day burnt his drawings and committed suicide soon after.

We cannot trace the avenues that Borromini's art opened up after his death here, pointing the way for the further development of architecture in all of Europe right up to the present.

But just as his style conquered the world, the new place he assigned to the reception of historic monuments also remained influential. The most important wellspring of creative

¹⁹ [~ of a certain capricious irregularity.]

²⁰ [~ in all caprice and eccentricity.]

involvement with any architectural work of art is no longer the individual form, but the overall appearance of the monument in relation to its surroundings. It is certainly not the antiquarians of art and science that we have to thank for that. The higher unity that for us determines the current artistic significance of an historic building is its role as a *part of nature* as a whole, but this would never have been the case if we had not previously learnt to assess the effect of an historic monument in terms of its relationship to a higher architectural unity.

5. Introduction to the Austrian Art Topography (1907)

Max Dvořák, 'Einleitung' in Hans Tietze and others, *Österreichische Kunsttopographie. Bd. 1. Die Denkmale des politischen Bezirkes Krems in Niederösterreich* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1907), pp. xiii–xxii; and 'Einleitung zum ersten Band der österreichischen Kunsttopographie', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 105–14

The expediency, indeed the necessity of the inventorization of monuments is today universally acknowledged. The institutions that have been called into being for this purpose by a number of states, and at no little expense, demonstrate this clearly enough, as do the many volumes of inventories that have been published. Given the universal recognition of the expediency of such inventories, it is remarkable how different views are as to the purpose they are to serve and the way in which they should be structured in order to best fulfil this purpose. Whilst in Italy and France monument registers are seen almost exclusively as an aide to state monument protection, in Germany they have been created as literary undertakings in the form of art topographies, which have their own independent mission to fulfil in public life. But the prevailing difference of opinion as to what this mission ought to be is no less great. Alongside their role as an aide to state monument protection, the two most frequently cited tasks that the art topographies are supposed to fulfil are: *the awakening of public interest in historic monuments, and their scientific investigation and publication*. It has sometimes also been mentioned that the publication of art-historical monuments in the topographies opens up a source for modern art. And yet the existing art topographies have been blighted not only by a variety of emphases and the often restricted agendas of their various perspectives, but also by a serious lack of clarity as to the objective content of these particular tasks: in a few of them it is archaeological artefacts that are described and for which claims upon the public interest are made, in others it is the monuments of specific artistic periods that are especially privileged, whilst a third group presents artworks of all eras in varying degrees of completeness and according to a more or less subjective selection. There are art topographies that restrict themselves to the description of the artefacts, whilst in others one finds thoroughgoing historical excursions and indeed whole monographs, covering local history in particular.

Given this nigh-on chaotic diversity of opinion over the purpose and desired content of the monument inventories, what sort of program should a new art topography be based upon now?

As with all questions of this kind, only a consideration of the historical genesis of the various perspectives determining how monuments are inventoried can proffer an answer. For there can be no debate about the fact that the purpose and thus also the content of the monument inventories has always been determined by certain general premises which in turn depended upon the relationship between historic monuments and the intellectual culture of the age in question. Today this purpose can only be deemed legitimate if it still accords with the historical development of those premises. Were this not the case, inventorization would be a mere frivolity, akin to the excerpt volumes compiled by the bibliophiles of the eighteenth century.

There can be no doubt that an interest in the artistic form of the artworks of the past has always existed, particularly for artists, and even in the middle ages – as the sketchbooks of Villard d'Honnecourt so strikingly demonstrate. This interest was the prerequisite to an understanding of the formal peculiarities of historic monuments. But the artists' relationship to historic works of art had to be combined with spiritual tendencies of a more general nature if historic monuments were to be moved into the sphere of general interest, thereby meeting one precondition for public involvement with them.

If we ignore material motivations – which naturally always played a role and have given rise to the drawing up of lists of treasures and inventories of possessions in every age – it was religious life that initially awakened public interest in certain historic monuments after the collapse of the classical world in the west. So, for example, on their pilgrimages to Rome or S. Iago di Compostella, pilgrims sought out famous landmarks of the Christian, but also of the heathen past. Catalogues containing hagiographic and annalistic accounts of them, such as the *mirabilia urbis Romae* for example, were compiled for the benefit of the pilgrims; a monument literature that continues right into the modern age and generated widespread interest for a certain class of monument. The narrowly circumscribed program of this literature, however, cannot be taken into consideration as a foundation for the universal inventorization of monuments.

In the Italian city states of the fifteenth century, and under the influence of classical literature, monuments took on a new significance once patriotic interest in historic artworks as documents and trophies of the communal past had begun to develop. In these newly thriving cities, where neither those in power nor the inhabitants could take pride in feudal traditions, the antique conception of the *gloriae civitas* fell on particularly fertile ground. According to this conception, the achievements of the scholars, the poets and the artists of both past and present were considered the greatest pride and the greatest asset of the community, and this soon became the foundation for a universal involvement with both

historic and modern indigenous artistic heritage. At that time people began to record the biographies and the works of famous artists, *qui gloriosam urbem reddiderunt*, and in fact as much in the pragmatic chronologies of artists' biographies – the 'lives' – as in the actual inventories, the 'guides'. All the historic and modern artworks of a city or territory were listed in the latter, classified topographically and supplied with historical notes. This has continued right up to the most recent times, so that the number of such inventories is now virtually unsurveyable – in Rome alone two hundred of them had been written by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

And we are already able to assess their effect. To the north of the Alps, where public interest in artistic heritage had neither been aroused nor maintained by similar records of historic art, whole hecatombs of historic monuments were and still are given over to destruction without any qualms, and in some areas the monuments of important periods in the history of art have completely disappeared. In Italy, where the city descriptions at that time and in the following centuries effectively placed artistic treasures under public supervision, very few artistic treasures have been lost since the fifteenth century, so that even now we are able to accurately determine Italian artistic developments from the fourteenth century onwards, right down to the workshop activities of individual masters, whilst the sparse *membra disiecta* of what was once the no less rich artistic heritage of the north have to be laboriously gathered together. But this survival of historic artworks in intellectual life in general also created a continuity and universality of artistic culture, the likes of which did not exist in any other country and which even today makes Italy seem like a land predestined for art, whilst developments in the north were nevertheless often richer, more intense and more decisive. One consequence of Italy's exceptional position – which rests less upon its actual importance in terms of developmental history than upon the evocative regard and proud ennoblement that historic artworks have enjoyed in Italy over the centuries – still has its effect today in that thousands make the pilgrimage there, year in, year out, as though to the very land of art and artistic ideals.

Now one could ask whether this extraordinarily fruitful effect might not make it desirable to strive for something similar today, and all the more so since the regional inventories in Italy are in fact still made according to the same principles. And yet it is hardly deserving of an extensive proof that the preconditions for these art registers, which were based on communal vainglory, no longer exist. And in terms of their methods – whereby the consideration accorded to an artist is determined according to the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, for which reason these inventories have a biographical character and are limited to artistic periods that lie in the not-too-distant past –

these inventories neither correspond to our current views on historical change, nor would they be at all practicable in the north. Incidentally, they are also considering a reform in Italy.

Remarkably, in Italy itself as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, in their conception of their relationship to historic monuments and the obligations resulting from it, we can observe two significant innovations that were to be of crucial importance for the future. The one was a new and especially high esteem for classical art, which found its expression in the realm of monument preservation in that artists and antiquarians – on their own initiative or as a result of official commissions – began to record and later to publish monuments of the art of classical antiquity.

In the past people had often, if not always, shown an interest in antique art, but this new classicism emerged less from an esteem for the particular artistic qualities of antique artworks than from an historical doctrine which held that the art of classical antiquity had created monuments that were of exemplary significance for all ages.

This differentiation of artistic monuments according to aesthetic theories was then soon carried over into contemporary art, which elevated the works of a specific period to a paradigm for all ages. In this way the religious-hagiographic and the communal-biographical esteem for historic monuments was supplemented by an aesthetic-doctrinaire esteem as the source of public interest in artistic heritage, whereby particular monuments were attributed with a universal significance that was thus not tied to territorial boundaries.

It was certainly no coincidence that this historical differentiation of old monuments started to assert itself at virtually the same time as the introduction of the first measures to prevent the abduction and alienation of historic artworks. The new esteem in which they were held, now no longer tied to their place of origin, transformed them into universally sought-after goods. It was around this time, incidentally, that the popes decreed monument protection orders. In Venice the procurators at S. Marco were given the task of ensuring that the artistic treasures of the city were not carried off and they had official registers of especially noteworthy artworks drawn up for this reason. Whilst up until then the supervision of monument heritage was the direct outcome of an actual private enjoyment of and interest in historic artworks, it now became an administrative preventative measure against dangers that might have arisen from a foreign interest in indigenous artistic heritage.

It is characteristic that both of these new viewpoints were of less importance for Italy than for the north. This can be explained by the association of the new views with a widespread transformation in the spiritual life of the European peoples. Alongside what had hitherto been the only valid conception of the predestination and immutable necessity of the

history of mankind, new doctrines on the philosophy of history were developed and began to influence spiritual life in Europe with elemental force, and indeed far more in the north than in Italy, where they were checked by the victory of the Counter-Reformation. In the north the entire worldview was gradually changed by these doctrines, and in place of traditional values – cultural values taken within the framework of the universal presupposition of territorial differentiation – new values came in, values that rested on historical and philosophical speculation and which were therefore not bound to territorial borders or local-historical preconditions. This also applies to the relationship to historic monuments. Once the general collapse of the former state of affairs had taken place, and once leadership had been taken over by social strata who had only been indirectly involved, and then very little, in immediately preceding artistic developments, the historic-aesthetic doctrines, which had been maintained and developed in literature by artists and amateurs ever since the sixteenth century, took on the significance of artistic gospel for the new society, which had lost its connection with historical tradition. The classicist dogma that knew only the Greeks and Palladio; the *Sturm und Drang* enthusiasm for the middle ages, to which Goethe gave incomparable expression in his apostrophe to the Strasbourg Minster; the glorification of the Gothic by the French as the secular style *par excellence*, by the Germans' as the most national of styles, and by the clerical Romanticists as the most religious; the Nazarenes' and the Burckhardtian apotheosis of the Italian Renaissance – as different as all these theoretical confessions of artistic faith may seem, they are nevertheless all alike in that none of them presuppose the actual significance of monuments for the artistic culture of the past and present. Rather, like the older classicism, they were all based on an aesthetically dogmatic esteem for specific artistic periods, an esteem that was influenced by historical, philosophical, or even political doctrines.

Since these theories were too intellectual in character to have rested on a general feeling for the relationship to historic monuments, their advocates naturally had to call upon the intervention of the state, which, according to the development of things, would itself become the embodiment of the ruling doctrines, as for example happened with the well-known and ardent admonitions of Victor Hugo. And this was how the official monument protection bodies came into being. They followed the ruling doctrines and took monuments that were deemed to be particularly deserving of preservation for aesthetic or other reasons into their care accordingly. In order to make this care possible, art inventories and monument archives such as those in Venice were set up as administrative makeshifts which, in accordance with their origins, were influenced by the ruling aesthetic doctrines in their

selection and in the lesser or greater consideration they gave to individual monuments or periods.

Administrative inventories of this sort still form the basis of state monument preservation in France to this day, and have also provided the program for a number of the German art topographies. But the philosophical and historical doctrinarism upon which they are based belongs no less to the past than the biographical pragmatism of the Italian city descriptions.

One could ask why people started to publish inventories that had been put together for administrative purposes. The 'awakening of a love for monuments of long ago', according to one of these publications – that is, one principal reason for them was certainly to arouse interest in artistic periods which were deemed to be especially important according to the general theories. But gradually the art topographies become increasingly filled with more and more historical dates and investigations, which are largely unnecessary for the realization of such a program. It is not difficult to find the cause of this phenomenon. It reflects the general change in the understanding of historical problems, whose solutions are no longer sought by way of *a priori* speculations, but in the methodical research of objective facts. Alongside the intellectual movement which broke out of the circle of medieval ideas as a result of the revolutionization of doctrines, another movement developed from the eighteenth century onwards, one which replaced the speculative theories with an empirical synthesis of knowledge of the relationships between past and present phenomena. For this movement, historical values and present values are no longer manifestations of certain given truths, but documents of a genetic evolution, documents of the great mystery of the emergence of worlds and cultures, bearing witness to the stages that have been covered and to the continual process of development, and which, above all, are capable of enriching human life and shaping it into a loftier form that transcends everyday needs.

The new historical method, which even filtered down to the notes and commentaries of the art topographies, rested upon this intellectual movement. The modern way of looking at history received such great impetus, particularly in Germany, that no publication containing historical material can have remained entirely untouched by it. It initially asserted itself in the description of the outward fate of monuments more than in their selection, where either the aesthetic-dogmatic viewpoint or at times even the subjective judgment of the editor was still authoritative.

The new conception of these genetic problems, though, having already become a conscious or unconscious norm in our thinking and the actual source of our spiritual and

sentimental interest in the phenomena of the past and present, has in fact already influenced our approach to historic monuments far more than the art topographies would suggest. The demand for the application of developmental history and its methods has long since won out in art history – and not just as an apparatus in the auxiliary disciplines, but also in the judgement of monuments. This judgement cannot be made on the basis of dogmatic viewpoints; it has to proceed according to the new methods, through the investigation of an artwork's significance for local and universal artistic development. And that is not all.

The public relationship to monuments has developed entirely in line with the new understanding of historical problems and far beyond the limits of academic research. The characteristic feature of the new cult of monuments is that it no longer limits itself exclusively to those famous artists, periods, or works of art that correspond to specific aesthetic postulates. Rather, it includes all monuments that are capable of calling forth in the beholder impressions whose origins lie in a psychological involvement with monuments, as documents of the developmental laws of coming into being and passing away. It is not a specific artistic or other ideal that we look for in the artworks of the past, rather, every monument and indeed every fragment of a monument is of interest to us if it can be considered a credible witness to the artistic peculiarities of past generations and the artistic development of past periods. But the conscious or unconscious interest in historic monuments as documents of the struggle to overcome formal artistic problems – by individuals, generations and mankind as a whole – is no longer the only source of this new public involvement with the artistic legacy of the past. The affinities have become even more profound and universal as a result of a new relationship between historic monuments and the artistic and social culture of our age.

The modern view, which holds that a synthesis of experience is necessary for scientific knowledge, is only the result of an older and far more comprehensive transformation of man's relationship to nature and to life. A new notion of natural beauty, of fidelity to nature, and of truth to life underlies this transformation, a notion that developed among the northern peoples. Whilst the peoples of classical antiquity and their immediate successors always studied life and nature more or less from the perspective of certain individual artistic problems, with the representation of the human body being the central one, for the new art in the north it was the manifold of natural phenomena that provided the starting point and the goal of their endeavour to conquer nature through art, such that all the riches of the world became the source of artistic sensations, right down to the smallest meadow flower and the most fleeting variations in quality of light and atmosphere. And that which the artists discovered has gradually become the common property of mankind.

Petrarch still thought himself guilty of a sin when he was shaken by the beauty of the prospect from Mont Ventoux; today though, millions wander beyond the city walls to draw inspiration from the beauties of nature, just as the Greeks once had from their athletics. No aesthetic factor is today more powerful than this universal enjoyment of nature.

This love of nature – which is based on our submissive admiration for everything that nature, as measure of all things, has created and continues to create anew in the genetic becoming and passing away of things – is also the source of the new affinity for historic monuments. Thanks to developments that took place in the north, we have learnt to appreciate monuments both on account of their formal artistic merits and in their overall appearance; as parts of nature and as elements of natural beauty in the broadest sense of the term. Over and above the original artistic purposes of a monument, its beholder is no less gripped by the phenomenal qualities that are brought about in it by natural forces than he is by the creations of nature itself.

This development inevitably had an impact on the emotional life of society. As a love of the *Heimat*, this emotional life is no longer based upon abstractions, but rather, as with intellectual life as a whole, upon evolutionary entities which, as far as the past is concerned, were the result of specific cultural developments, these in turn being embodied in individual nations or territories. The concept of *Heimat* was thereby broadened to encompass all the extant monuments of such specific developments. Historic monuments were thus made comprehensible to the public interest: as documents of the old sense of cultural togetherness and as a genealogy of the present that replaced biographical family trees.

In many respects, historic monuments have taken on a completely new significance for historical questions and contemporary culture, and as a result, the preconditions and requirements of the official inventorization of monuments have also changed fundamentally.

Given this development of the monument cult, one has to come to the compelling conclusion that an official inventory intended for administrative purposes would be unjustified and futile if it were to take a selection from the monument heritage of a country on the basis of doctrinaire aesthetic principles or subjective judgments, for then it would not correspond to the actual evaluation of monuments, whether popular or academic. Rather, if such an inventory is to serve any higher purpose than a fiscal one, it must be extended to include every monument that is capable of arousing scientific interest or the enjoyment of the formal peculiarities or emotive sensations of the sort described. Since this applies to almost all monuments of the past, or since it may in future apply as a result of fluctuating values, the administrative inventories – in line with modern ideas on the cultural responsibilities of the public authorities – must strive for the greatest possible

comprehensiveness if they are actually to be of service for the protection of the common cultural asset of monument heritage, at least where the public authorities have a claim to direct intervention on its behalf.

These new circumstances confront the art topographies with a number of no less definite tasks and requirements. If they are to fulfil a literary and pedagogical mission – something that can hardly be called into question and has to be seen as the actual reason for publishing the inventories – they cannot very well proceed on the basis of assumptions that contradict our notions of historical evolution. On the contrary, they must draw their intellectual content, which goes beyond mechanical inventorying, from the new evaluation of monuments. As we have seen, this rests on perceptions and impressions that can be traced back to a monument's genetic documentary content via concrete historical formulations as to its significance for the development of indigenous artistic culture and art in general. Thus it is a case of making indigenous artistic treasures accessible to the public on the basis of their significance for the history of regional art and art in general, so both the external historical apparatus and the judgment of monuments are to be based on the criteria of developmental history. And this is not merely an academic demand. Rather, since both stem from the same source, it is also justified by the modern cult of the monument. Like the cult of the artist before it, this alone will find resonance in contemporary spiritual life.

The Central Commission began the systematic work of inventorization later than other countries. As regrettable as the late initiation of this important task otherwise was, it nevertheless had the advantage of allowing for appropriate steps to be taken in light of changed circumstances. This was done by my unforgettable teacher Alois Riegl when he prepared a paradigm for an administrative inventory, one that corresponded to the new principles and requirements expounded above. After his death I was entrusted with the continuation of the work. To me it seemed important to start an inventorization that would also be intended for the general public, for the two tasks seemed to lend themselves to being carried out largely simultaneously. Moreover, the deepening and popularization of monument preservation we hoped to see as a result of the art topography seemed no less important than preventative administrative measures.

The first volume of this art topography was prepared following principles that emerged from the considerations contained in the above overview, according to which the most important task of an art inventory intended for the public is the cataloguing of the monuments of a specific area on the basis of their significance for the development of the art and history of that territory's artistic culture.

Another aspect of precisely defining this remit is the delimitation of subject matter with respect to related historical disciplines. Even today there are art topographies that publish a colourful mixture of facts and investigations in the spirit of the old antiquarianism, and from every field of the historical sciences. These correspond neither to scientific methods based on specialized research, nor to the actual remit of an art topography, and were therefore avoided. It would likewise be dilettantish and unfounded if one were to publish all manner of prehistorical and archaeological subject matter in an art topography, since the research and publication of such material is the principal task of independent branches of the historical sciences, and for the most part has nothing to do with the purposes of art topographies. On the other hand, prehistoric and antique objects which are of significance for the history of art clearly cannot be omitted from the art topography. The same goes for auxiliary historical sciences such as epigraphy, numismatics, or sigillography, whose monuments may well serve as art-historical sources in many cases. They must be taken into account in the art topography where this is the case, though on the whole, as documents of the development of script, coinage and legal and economic matters, they too lie outside the remit of the art topography, along with documents or monuments of technical achievements. The same line has been drawn here with respect to the specific area of folklore.

Much like the abovementioned auxiliary sciences, local history, particularly on account of its connection to historical geography, represents an independent area of historical research and was only called upon where it was required to explain the origins and subsequent fate of the monuments listed in the inventory.

The *condicio sine qua non* for the implementation of this program, though – and many art topographies have lacked this far more than theoretical clarity – is that the art history of the individual monuments is researched at least as thoroughly as is necessary for an assessment of their significance for the history of art in general and for the inventorized area in particular. In many cases people have been content to determine the art-historical value of individual objects more on the basis of general knowledge and value judgments than on the basis of local historical research. As a result, monuments of secondary importance were given excessive emphasis, whilst monuments representing the highest artistic achievements of the inventorized territory, and an importance over and above the bounds of the local development, were dismissed with generalizing slogans. The reason that this has so often been the case is that regional artistic developments to the north of the Alps are still almost completely unknown. Whilst in Italy, thanks to the circumstances described above, knowledge of the most important artistic events and their significance for the local and general artistic development has always been preserved, this is not the case to the north of

the Alps, where such a tradition has been almost completely lost. Thus far art-historical investigations have only been able to make good this loss to a rather limited degree, since most of the works that have dealt with this traditionless art were of the purely antiquarian kind and neither attempted nor were able to research individual groups of monuments in terms of their relationships to the general artistic development in Europe.

Consequently, if the aim of the art topography was to be achieved, the attempt had to be made to set this tradition on the path of art-historical investigation.

Two things were necessary here. First, that the dates and provenance of the individual monuments be determined as exactly as possible on the basis of archival material. As long as one does not know with relative certainty when, where and by whom the individual monuments were created, and contents oneself with unverifiable and supposedly authoritative general definitions that rest on connoisseurship rather than having been obtained from the material at hand, then the artistic development of the area and the significance of its individual monuments are left hanging quite in the air and the monuments are described and inventorized as though for an auction catalogue. Even if the archival material is not able to fill in all the gaps, as a rule it nevertheless provides enough information – and the present volume may be taken as proof of this – to determine the key dates and the most important details of provenance, whence further investigation may then proceed.

The actual art-historical, i.e. stylistic, investigation then has to follow this as the second phase of that essential groundwork without which an art topography corresponding to the principles expounded above is utterly unthinkable, although this has often been neglected in the past. The monuments to be described are seldom entirely isolated; as a rule there will be parallels with other monuments within a larger or smaller area. It is a quite obvious requirement of any sort of scientific venture that every assertion and conclusion is to be supported by material that is as complete as possible, which makes it essential that all monument sources are drawn upon when determining the chronology and style of the individual monument described, at least if this determination is to be carried out in an exact historical manner rather than on the basis of unscientific summary judgments that say no more than that the monument in question is a good or bad example of the baroque style.

It is not only for the purposes of dating and determining the style of monuments that the art topography has to be based on such stylistic or art-historical investigation though. Such investigations coincide to a large extent with the actual purpose of the art topography, since related monuments represent the developmental stages of the art of a region and

elements of the history of the artistic culture of the area, the research and communication of which, as we have heard, can be seen as the ideal mission of the art topographies.

Permit me here to forestall a few objections that might be raised with regard to these principles. One might point to the difficulty of the demand that the inventory has to be based on the art-historical investigation of the area in question, and that the execution of the undertaking would inevitably be protracted in many cases. However, this is not a matter of filling the libraries as quickly as possible or scribbling down all the monuments in the monarchy (which can be done in the case of the administrative inventory anyway). This would be of no use in achieving the actual purpose of the art topography; a purpose that elevates it far above the level of a barely effective provisional inventory without intellectual depth. The publication of any sort of historical material is always tied up with much hard work and difficulty, but, irrespective of this, neither an institution nor an individual researcher would venture to promote a publication that paid absolutely no attention to a methodical requirement such as that of the art topography, which can be designated as historical stylistic investigation. Extensive historical investigations have also been associated with the drawing up of inventories in the past, though they were often supplemented with lengthy excurses on the histories of the people and places concerned. As noted above, the art topographies can now be relieved of this task. It is merely a case of replacing such investigations with art-historical research which, where the contributors are appropriately trained and educated, should hardly pose any greater problems than before.

Another objection would be that the general course of the history of art has been so little researched for some periods, particularly those where the old tradition leaves us in the dark, that it may be difficult to properly determine the course and the significance of local developments. Yet the overall development consists of the sum of regional phenomena, and if one attempts to pursue these phenomena and to trace them back to the decisive persons and centres, it is because this is the only possible way to disentangle that which today still seems inextricable and chaotic. Of course, one need not answer every art-historical question that might arise from the monuments described; it is quite sufficient that questions pertaining to the temporal and stylistic provenance of the monuments be correctly posed, i.e., according to a methodical utilization of the accessible material, which at the same time means establishing the outline and most important epochs of the local development.

When this is done, the selection of individual monuments and the varying degrees of emphasis accorded them – something that cannot be avoided even if the greatest possible comprehensiveness is striven for – need no longer be made according to dogmatic or subjective points of view. Rather, both the selection and the emphasis will result from the

investigations of the monuments' significance in terms of developmental history. And there is no danger of the artistic quality of certain artworks being given short shrift here: the great artworks were always the decisive ones.

It goes without saying that the distinction between public and private property, unavoidable for the administrative maintenance of public monument heritage, does not come into consideration for an inventorization based on the history of an area's artistic culture.

The implementation of these principles necessitated a number of changes to the typical subdivision and arrangement of the existing art topographies, almost all of which list the monuments in alphabetical order according to location. Topographical units may well be retained in this way, but the art-historical interrelationships, which are no less important than the regional ones, are lost. The explanation of an individual monument's definition and evaluation according to the history of styles is only partly possible in an alphabetical arrangement; much would have to be repeated and little of the overall picture would emerge. But there are a number of reasons why a complete renunciation of alphabetical order does not recommend itself, so the most suitable way out seemed to be to unite the general outcomes of the volume's basic research and the resulting justification for the selection or accentuation of individual monuments or monument groups, as in other historical publications, into an overview of the stylistic history which would then precede the alphabetically ordered section. A coherent presentation of this sort also has the advantage of paving the way for a general understanding of both the significance of the individual monuments and of the whole chronology of the developmental history of which they form a part; something that could only be achieved to a very limited degree by means of a lexical enumeration.

By contrast, the section arranged according to geographical groupings also provides opportunity to recall those monument values that are so important to the modern observer and relevant to the judgment of the historic artistic culture of the area. These monument values depend on the combined effect of a monument and a particular town or landscape, insofar as such effects can be represented with any objectivity – and this can sometimes only be achieved by illustration, sometimes not at all. Especially striking or beautiful parts of the landscape also find mention here as integral elements of such effects.

The task thus formulated is certainly not an easy one, and will require much hard work and experience if it is to be surmounted in the desired manner. But if this program can be realized in the main, then a great benefit for art history will grow out of it. One of the most important *desiderata* will be the stylistic classification of uncharted material to the north of the Alps. Furthermore, once monument preservation has been established on the

basis of values derived from the history of the artistic culture of a country – values which make up the sum total of historical continuities and, in the framework of the development of a region and a people, the most important source of patriotism – it will gradually be enriched with a new and particularly evocative value, as once in the Italian communes, and transformed into a universal, elemental relationship to historic monuments that will make state intervention superfluous.

6. Memorandum on the Organization and Working Program of the Monumenta artis Germaniae (1908)

Max Dvořák, *Promemoria über die Organisation und das Arbeitsprogramm der Monumenta artis Germaniae*, typescript, June 1908, NL Bode 354, Zentralarchiv, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin

According to the statutes of the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, the *Monumenta artis Germaniae* is to be a comprehensive publication of the monuments of German art. Naturally, this does not simply mean the visual reproduction of all existing material, which any photographer could produce, *but rather a critical publication of the individual monument groups in line with the principles of modern historical science*. The enormous advance that the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* represent in comparison to all earlier publications of historical documents lay in the fact that the publication was based on the entirety of relevant, critically scrutinised material and was not, as had formerly been the case, simply a collection of reprinted documents. Germany's present leading position in the historical sciences is based on this advance. The *Monumenta artis Germaniae* will have to take the same path if it is to attain a similar significance for art scholarship.

The obvious consequence of this is that the material to be published will in the first instance have to be grouped according to two criteria, namely the objective and the chronological. If a publication of documents, chronicles or laws is to follow the precepts of modern historical method, it cannot simply be a colourful conglomeration of sources; it has to be based on clearly defined fundamental categories which facilitate consistent critical treatment. Likewise, the publication of artistic monuments is to be based on subject groups that are as homogenous as possible and represent distinct stylistic categories. On the other hand, the prerequisite of any systematic publication is that the monuments be published in chronological groups, for this is the only way to investigate and bring out those factors that depend on when the monuments were created. These factors are not merely of primary interest to the researcher; they are the *conditio sine qua non* for any critical treatment of the monuments published.

The most obvious organization of the subject matter would appear to be a four-way division according to the principal arts (architecture, sculpture, painting, the applied arts). Further sub-groupings of the subject matter could also be established within these, though this would have to be done with caution in order to avoid giving too much emphasis to differences at the expense of common stylistic factors.

It would be utopian to want to publish all the material within these four series without any sort of chronological sub-division – it would be equivalent, for instance, to wanting to publish every imperial German decree in one book. This would not be possible even if one were to limit oneself to the middle ages. And even if such a comprehensive publication were technically feasible, the sheer breadth of the work would rule out any in-depth critical treatment of the individual series of monuments, something which has to be seen as an unconditional requirement in light of the present state of the historical disciplines. It is therefore essential that the individual sections be divided up into historical periods. In this way, individual departments will be created within the four sections and their coverage defined according to universal developmental-historical stages.

Having established these departments it would be quite impossible, or so it seems to me, to consider the entirety of material from the history of German art all at once. The art topographies already fill a whole library, and yet they are still far from exhausting the wealth of the artistic production of the past that has survived in Germany.

A new systematic publication of all this material all at once would be such an enormous undertaking that its realization is virtually unthinkable in the foreseeable future. It would be like coming up with a program for the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* and setting out to include every conceivable source on German history, with a corresponding number of sub-divisions. No one can seriously have considered this for a moment, for the whole undertaking would thus have been compromised straight away and would never have got beyond a few isolated first attempts.

On the other hand, though, nothing would be more misguided than to try to solve the problem by publishing individual specimens from various regions and periods. This has been the rule for the best part of half a century now; every photographer and every publisher does it, and if one were to give a photographer the money he would probably do it in the largest possible format, which is clearly unnecessary for a scholarly undertaking. The main reason for the paucity of our knowledge of German art is that, whereas the material in Italy was constantly inventoried from the Renaissance at the very latest, in Germany one is forced to rely on one or two examples for even the most important periods, which only allows one to make hypothetical conclusions at best. *Thus it is an imperative and self-evident requirement that all of the extant material be taken into consideration for the groups of monuments that are to be published in the Monumenta artis Germaniae.*

These considerations inevitably lead to the conclusion that, even if the intention, in principle, is the publication of all the monuments of German art, the work will initially have to limit itself to a few concrete tasks, as it did with the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*; to

those tasks which seem to be the most important historically, the most pressing in terms of the current state of art-historical scholarship, and whose completion is least likely to be hindered by insurmountable difficulties. Clearly, this is not to say that individual works should be taken in hand without the existence of any sort of plan. Nothing would be more harmful than to see the Verein's principal task in initiating or supporting individual works on a case by case basis and as the impulse arises. Even if it is not yet possible to establish a detailed overall program with all the departments that might be considered, the individual publications must nevertheless fit into a common organizational framework that would include in advance publications which are of particular importance for the history of German art and whose realisation would doubtless be desirable and possible according to the principles delineated above. This organizational framework should be laid out such that any further publications of a similar sort, whose necessity and feasibility would perhaps become evident in the course of more precise research into the history of German art, can then be included without difficulty. The following tables contain this organizational framework (figs 1–3).

It goes without saying that these departments need not all be called into life at once – indeed, this would not be advisable even if the necessary financial means were available, because the prerequisite for creating the departments is the formation of absolutely competent and trustworthy editorial boards, something that can hardly be deemed possible for all of the abovementioned topics at present.

Thus it would be advisable to begin with a limited number of departments and for the Verein to entrust the direction of these departments to individual researchers. The directors, who would either be individuals or, where territorial division is desirable (as with the panel paintings for instance), a number of academics working together, would be responsible for the preparation and realisation of the individual publications and would constitute the monument commission, which should also include representatives from the academies of science. Since a certain degree of stability will be desirable for the sake of the research, these positions would last for five years, after which time the Verein would be free to renew or not to renew the mandate. The latter requires a two thirds majority with at least 200 members in attendance. Similarly, the chairman of the monument commission is elected by the Verein for a term of five years.

The monument commission shall coordinate the work and take responsibility for its scholarly realisation. It is also to see to the printing of the publication. It may suggest new departments, though the Verein itself may also make proactive proposals in this regard, and these are to be put before the monument commission for consultation prior to any decision-

making. The monument commission shall meet in Berlin at least once a year to deal with any on-going issues. The directors of the various departments are to deliver oral and written reports on the progress of the work at these annual meetings. The written reports are to be published together as the annual report of the monument commission. A list of new photographs is to be included as a supplement to every annual report.

All photographs and work carried out by the individual departments is property of the Verein and must be returned to its director if work is interrupted in the long-term. The photographic negatives are to be kept by the department while a publication is in preparation and returned to the office of the Verein's board of directors after publication. Cost price copies of the photographs shall be available to all on demand at any time (according to the published lists).

Individual investigations arising from the preparatory work may also be published before the main publication appears. It would be desirable to publish such investigations in a monument commission periodical, which might also print any other research on German art that falls within the scope of the commission's activities.

As well as exact reproductions and supplementary descriptions, each volume of the publication must contain a critical apparatus providing a summary, in concise form and without digression, of everything that can be said, according to the results of the research, as to the local and temporal provenance and historical significance of the individual monuments in the monument group under discussion. Each publication must also include a full index.

No one can deny that the study of the history of German art is still only in its infancy; it is at roughly the same position as German history was at the beginning of the nineteenth century. We know next to nothing about certain eras and others only from the perspective of a few sporadic, unrelated monuments. These gaps cannot be filled by speculations and deductions, no matter how ingenious. The only remedy here is the methodical research and publication of all available material from the decisive epochs in the history of German art, as delineated in the considerations above. The history of German art might even take on a completely new meaning for certain important periods, a completely new significance that has perhaps been hidden from us until now by dogmatic theories and an ignorance of the monuments themselves.

But the extraordinary value of the *Monumenta artis Germaniae* would even go beyond this if it were to be organized according to the suggestions outlined above.

The most lavish and opulent publications remain sterile without researchers who are willing and able to convert the content of such publications into historical results. There may well be a number of outstanding researchers working on the history of German art today, but

one can hardly claim that the history of German art is being researched with anything like the same intensity as the study of German history. Publications alone will hardly be able to change that. One might well expect a change, however – and this would be the case if the suggested organization is implemented – if a group of department directors and co-workers were to dedicate their research to the critical preparation of the individual publications of the *Monumenta artis Germaniae* over a number of years. The experience gained, the thorough research of the various periods in the history of German art that would inevitably accompany it, and not least the concentration of academic erudition, the large number of researchers working in the field of German art history, may even be of greater advantage than the publications themselves.

The organization would also be of inestimable benefit for the consolidation of art history as a scientific discipline. Of all the historical disciplines, the greatest lack of clarity as to the aims and methods of the relevant research is perhaps most evident in art history, where both are left to the judgements and inclinations of individual authors, as they once were in other disciplines – in the eighteenth century. This is one of the principal reasons why, even today, art history has still not managed to rid its research of dilettantism to the extent that other historical disciplines now take for granted. If a group of young researchers, through working on the various departments over a number of years, could be taught above all to examine the credibility of visual documents without relying on aprioristic or literary theories; if they could be taught to study their material critically and come to the conclusions that are there to be drawn from their sources as objective enrichments of historical knowledge, then we would soon see a consolidation of method and an agreement on the scientific aims of art history comparable to that which German historical scholarship was able to achieve as a result of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*.

I. Sektion ARCHITEKTUR	II. Sektion SKULPTUR	III. Sektion MALEREI	IV. Sektion KUNSTGEWERBE
<p>VOELKERWANDERUNGSZEIT.</p> <p>1. Abt. Sämtliche Architekturen der Völkerwanderungszeit auf dem ganzen Gebiete der nationalen Kulturen. / In genauen Aufnahmen, eventuell auf Grund von Ausgrabungen. /</p>		<p>VOELKERWANDERUNGSZEIT.</p> <p>1. Abt. Sämtliche dekorative und monumentale Skulpturen der Völkerwanderungszeit auf dem ganzen Gebiete der nationalen Kulturen.</p>	
<p>KAROLINGISCHE ZEIT.</p> <p>2. Abt. Sämtliche Architekturen der karolingischen Zeit auf dem ganzen Gebiete des karolingischen Reiches. / In genauen Aufnahmen, eventuell auf Grund von Ausgrabungen. /</p>		<p>KAROLINGISCHE ZEIT.</p> <p>2. Abt. Corpus der karolingischen Miniaturen und Wandmalereien.</p> <p>3. Abt. Corpus der karolingischen Goldschmiedearbeiten.</p>	

Figure 1. Organizational framework for the MAG, sheet 1

I. Sektion ARCHITEKTUR	II. Sektion SKULPTUR	III. Sektion MALEREI	IV. Sektion KUNSTGEWERBE
<p>DIE DEUTSCHE KUNST UNTER DEN OTTONEN, SALIERN UND HOHENSTAUFEN BIS ZUM EINDRINGEN DER GOTIK.</p>			
<p>3. Abt. Das gesamte Material für die Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der grossen rheinischen Doms.</p>	<p>3. Abt. Corpus aller monumentaler und dekorativen Skulpturen dieser Periode auf dem Gebiete des alten deutschen Reiches.</p>	<p>3. Abt. Sämtliche Wandmalereien dieser Periode auf dem Gebiete des deutschen Reiches.</p>	<p>3. Abt. Corpus aller deutschen Elfenbeine dieser Periode.</p>
<p>4. Abt. Das gesamte Material für die Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der rheinischen romanischen Architektur.</p>		<p>4. Abt. Sämtliche Miniaturen dieser Periode deutscher Provenienz.</p>	<p>4. Abt. Corpus aller deutschen Goldschmiedearbeiten dieser Periode.</p>
<p>5. Abt. Die Ordenskirchen und Klosteranlagen dieser Periode.</p>			

Figure 2. Organizational framework for the MAG, sheet 2

ARCHITEKTUR.

SKULPTUR.

MALEREI.

KUNSTGERÄTE.

VOM EINDRINGEN DER GOTIK BIS ZUR MITTE

DES XVI. JHD.

6. Abt.

Alle Denkmäler für das Eindringen des gotischen Stiles.

4. Abt.

Alle Denkmäler für die Geschichte des Eindringens der Gotik in die deutsche monumentale Skulptur.

7. Abt.

Die gotischen Dome als Mittelpunkt territorialer Bauentwicklung, Gesamtpublikation in territorialen Unterabteilungen.

5. Abt.

Corpus der monumentalen deutschen Skulpturen von Anfang des XIV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jhd. veröffentlicht in territorialen Gruppen.

8. Abt.

Alle Denkmäler für die Entstehungsgeschichte der Hallenkirche.

9. Abt.

Alle Denkmäler für die Geschichte des deutschen Profanbaues bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jhd.

VOM EINDRINGEN DER GOTIK BIS ZUR MITTE

DES XVI. JHD.

5. Abt.

Corpus aller Wandmalereien und Glasgemälde dieser Periode auf dem Gebiete des alten deutschen Reiches mit Ausnahme von Burgund.

6. Abt.

Verzeichnis aller illustrativen Zyklen dieser Periode /in monumentalen Malereien Miniaturen und Drucken, / und deren Genesis.

7. Abt.

Corpus aller deutschen Tafelbilder dieser Periode in territorialen Gruppen.

8. Abt.

Corpus aller deutschen Handzeichnungen dieser Periode.

9.

Beschreibendes Verzeichnis aller deutschen Holzschnitte und Bücherillustrationen bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jhd.

6. Abt.

Corpus aller deutschen Papierserien bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jhd.

7. Abt.

Corpus aller deutschen Goldschmiedearbeiten dieser Periode.

8. Abt.

Deutsche Plakette und Kleinbronzen dieser Periode.

Figure 3. Organizational framework for the MAG, sheet 3

7. Viennese Traffic Considerations (1908)

Max Dvořák, 'Notizen: Wiener Verkehrsrücksichten', *KJZK*, 2 (1908), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 137–40

Historic Vienna is being sacrificed to traffic considerations, considerations which no one cares for and which a certain brilliant artist has wrongly called an hysterical lie: they are nothing more than a slogan.

Let us assume, however, that these considerations do exist and that pedestrians and carriages would be able to traverse the city centre in a little less time once all the 'narrow lanes' have been done away with and after new streets have been laid out (at the expense of the most beautiful parts of Vienna's historic cityscape). Would that prove anything? Is it not simply a case of conflicting interests? And can there be any doubt as to which are the more important?

Never before has there been so much Tartuffery and star-gazing about the relationship of public life and public opinion to spiritual forces and ideal sentiments, to the interests of the past and the present.²¹ Never before has there been so much talk about a loftier conception of life and the spiritual riches of mankind; never before was the nurturing and proliferation thereof so frequently and universally declared the most sacred duty of both the individual and the general public; and never before was the actual degree of respect accorded them as minimal as it is today. It is seen as good form to rave about these values; in their petrified state they form the fictional foundation of the so-called humanist education that is supposed to raise people to be creatures of higher ethical and spiritual qualifications, and a number of authorities even take them for the vignette of socio-cultural welfare and action. But woe to those who have the nerve to demand any actual consideration for these values!

Only gross ignorance can be of the opinion that the struggle for historic Vienna is nothing more than the whim of a handful of art-lovers who, for the sake of their personal passions, demand certain sacrifices of the general public. Were this the case, it would hardly be worth wasting a single word on the matter. However, the modern monument cult has to be reckoned among the currents of contemporary spiritual life which, in terms of their content, are of the utmost importance for the education of the heart and the eye; which have in fact

²¹ [*Tartuffe* ~ a character from a comedy by Molière, 'a hypocritical pretender to religion, or, by extension, to excellence of any kind' (OED).]

already found load and universal echoes everywhere, and which, with virtually elemental force, take on ever greater significance as a universal cultural factor from year to year. It was not the creation of amateurs, but of leading intellects who started to look for a way back to the cultural legacy of the past after the collapse of the *ancien régime* and the atrocious lack of culture that ensued. Their enthusiasm for the past was perhaps initially rather theoretical and dogmatic in character – and it could not have been otherwise, for the continuity of development had been interrupted. It presupposed a certain connoisseurship, so art academics and theoreticians took the lead and attention was concentrated on particular stylistic periods and objects possessing particular qualities. Nevertheless, this current developed an increasing depth and universality over the decades, gradually transforming itself into a sense of piety and love for the monuments of the artistic culture of the past; independent of art theory and connoisseurship, independent of personal proclivities and erudition. Having been established on this broad basis though, the monument cult soon allied itself to another sentiment, one that was just awakening and growing vigorously. According to a sixteenth-century Venetian document on the preservation of old buildings, this sentiment had been the ‘wellspring of reverence for ancestral creations’ in all former ages. This sentiment was a love of the *Heimat*, not in the doctrinaire and impersonal sense it was given during the age of Enlightenment – which knew patriotism but no *Heimat* – it was a love of *Heimat* based on things that bound people to territorial peculiarities and historical moments, on a dependence upon the soil where the struggle to overcome life’s tasks was played out by one’s forefathers, and on a dependence upon the monuments which record a silent and yet eloquent testament to this struggle, like a gallery of ancestral portraits. There are very few new intellectual movements in modern life that are ethically as ethically as this *amor patriae*, in the finest and most noble sense of the term. That which people considered to be a principal task in the education of young people and of the nation – which until now people have attempted in vain to awaken through weak analogies, through books that no one read without compulsion, and through models that no one understood – how much of this task is contained within an understanding of cultural and artistic values in conjunction with patriotism and an idealistic conception of life? But now that everything which was so unctuously designated as the goal we were all supposed to be united in striving for has come about of its own accord anyway, and is beginning to effect the present like a vital spring, suddenly people entrench themselves behind the most banal and trivial objections – such as these traffic considerations – and talk with indignation and supercilious smiles about exaggerated demands that can naturally never be taken into consideration.

8. Restoration Questions I: The Royal Castle at Prague (1908)

Max Dvořák, 'Restaurierungsfragen: I. Die Prager Königsburg', *KJZK*, 2 (1908), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 1–8

‘The restoration of historic monuments is a branch of
architecture that has only reached its prime in our century.’
Building Officer Cremer, 1866

When the Council of Baden rejected the approval of credits for the restoration of the historic Otto Heinrich building in Heidelberg two years ago, with only six dissenting votes – whereby it was decided that all the fine projects devised for the ‘reconstruction’ of that venerable monument were to be consigned to the dustbin – that was a joyous day, not just for Heidelberg Castle, but for all art lovers.

The address with which King Friedrich Wilhelm IV celebrated the completion of the Cologne Cathedral extension, and which was received with so much jubilation, represented the victory of a certain tendency in our preservation of monuments; a tendency that can be deemed relatively well-meaning in comparison with the vandalism of the wars of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or the destructive frenzy of the French Revolution.

Even if we discount wars and revolutions, the artistic monuments of former periods have not fared well in the past. Did the descendants of a family of Urbino *condottieri* and a Florentine banker not have the most venerable monument of Christian art, the old St Peter’s, torn down? Today’s literary supermen in loden robes sermonize that this was ‘for the sake of their own glory’, whilst all other ages would have called it traditionless parvenuism. Was Bernini’s ciborium not cast from the bronze beams of the Parthenon portico? – an event that is made out to be a scandalous act on the part of the over-zealous Counter-Reformation popes, which we will nevertheless judge less harshly when we consider, given the financial situation of the Curia at the time, that this was the only means by which Bernini’s wonderful work could have been made possible. Did the clergy of Notre Dame not have the priceless historic stained glass thrown out in the eighteenth century because clear glass had come into fashion? And did Napoleon not simply have S. Geminiano on the Piazza S. Marco taken down – because he didn’t like the church? One could also inscribe a variation of an old saying on the Acropolis: ‘Civilized nations have destroyed what the barbarians spared.’

The real vandals of the nineteenth century referred to all these cases time and again as though to horrific examples of the former treatment of monuments, and yet they were

mere exceptions. There have been and will always be people who have no heart for historic art, or those who value the satisfaction of personal vanity or personal advantage above the legacy of the past, but they never the definitive feature of the age. With the exception of a few individual cases, they never had enough influence to have done any serious damage to the stock of historic monuments. At the beginning of the past century the artistic treasures of Italy were still almost completely preserved as Vasari had described them two and a half centuries prior, and one need only visit one of Belgium's glorious old towns in order to be convinced of the great reverence with which the princes, citizens and communes treated historic heritage in all former ages, and the degree to which we are still indebted to them for the areas that were spared from the nineteenth century's restoration epidemic. It has certainly been the case in every age that the old has frequently had to make way to new requirements, but in no former period of our culture have historic monuments – witnesses to the historic and artistic past, 'the sanctuary, the pride and the warranty of the homeland's future,' as they are called in an edict of the procurators of S. Marco from the year 1574 – never before have they been needlessly disfigured and destroyed.

This Herostratic infamy was to remain the preserve of the century 'of a newly awoken historical understanding'.²²

The nineteenth century will one day be called the century of grand platitudes. That which once went without saying, such as a love the fatherland or a love of art, was proclaimed to the public as a great new discovery by the literati and the demagogues. This would not have been possible had the public itself not changed. Social strata which had hitherto played no part in the consistent development of the culture that had emerged among the European nations since antiquity now took possession of the right to intervene in this development, and for them these old cultural values really were a new discovery. The 'antiquities' were thus also rediscovered though, and this discovery did them more harm than the passing of time, than wars, revolutions, or the violent acts of individual men. An historic culture can neither be purchased nor taken by force, and thus, at the first salon to be opened in Paris after the bloodbaths of the years of upheaval, it was only natural that the heirs to the old plenipotentiary (not the old tradition) allocated first prize to the worst picture, because, in terms of its subject matter, 'it was best suited to arousing patriotic feeling'. But artistic heritage is the cultural value that least lends itself to simply being taken over in the process of ethnic and social ascendancy. When asked to implement measures for the preservation of old monuments an important church dignitary in the nineteenth century used to say 'e una

²² [Herostratism ~ vainglory. Herostratus supposedly set fire to the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus for the sake of fame in 356 BC.]

roba vecchia', and at least this was sincere and honest.²³ Indeed how could these historic monuments have been anything more to the new society than old rubbish; than ruins, torsos and fragments of images? For they no longer constituted a monumental ancestral gallery of the dynastic or communal past for this society, and it no longer stood upon the heights of an artistic culture which alone could have enabled it to understand and to appreciate the artistic legacy of historic works of art. If, perchance, a Michelangelo statue were to have ended up in a hairdresser's, the owner of such a bodega would certainly have had it 'gilded' sooner or later – i.e., painted with some grubby bronze lacquer. Similar things happened all over central Europe around the middle of the nineteenth century. Inspired by a literary movement that sprung from England, the general public started to show an enthusiasm for historic monuments. However, whilst this enthusiasm found echoes in contemporary art in England, where the connection with the historic development of culture had not been interrupted, it lacked artistic content on the continent: it was a dilettantish enthusiasm; a stale, sterile cultural philistinism to which, by contrast, both old and new art were sacrificed. At that time historic monuments were given over to building officials and antiquarians. In all earlier ages the formal content of art, the enjoyment of art, and therewith the relationship to historic works of art had been determined by artists, but the new society, carried away with its new sovereignty and misled by all the prattling on about art, deemed itself authorized and competent to cast judgement on such matters. This led to the administration of artistic heritage being taken over by talentless amateurs and unscrupulous augurs who were prepared to do up old works of art in such a way that they would find favour even with an artistically insensitive public. When today, after half a century of tireless research, when we are constantly faced with the realization of how diverse the development of art in earlier periods was, how little we yet know about it and the part played by the individual talent of the artist in every age, one would almost be tempted to laugh at the naïve impertinence with which the old researchers of the fatherland's art – whose studies were predominantly focussed on old oven-tiles, bells, and grave tablets – laid down the laws according to which historic works of art were supposed to have come into being and by means of which they could be perfectly imitated. One is likewise tempted to laugh at the unwavering certainty with which the practicing prophets of these laws dared to paste their drawing-board fantasies and pattern-book lore onto the old artistic treasures and symbols of the political and cultural past. And these things really would be laughable had not so much fallen victim to them. Thus they became a sorry hecatomb to a triumphant lack of style and of culture. The most splendid and important old frescos, which, by a miraculous twist of fate, had been protected from

²³ [*E una roba vecchia* ~ it is just old rubbish.]

destruction under whitewash, were daubed over and completed ‘true to style’, i.e., supplied with additions, whereby, since the occupation of a restorator has mostly been taken up by people who could not expect to achieve any fame as creative artists, ‘old’ comes to mean the same thing as ‘bad’ and, furthermore, the observer is presented with an excerpt from a period drama as the appropriate equivalent for the reverence that historic artworks ought to be shown. In this way, that which the centuries spared was rapidly destroyed by its unsympathetic finders. Old sculptures were mistreated to an even greater degree: they were scraped back, worked over with bush hammers and painted like fairground attractions until they shone with a new effulgence like that statue in the barbershop, and until the last trace of the spirit and the signature of their authors was lost. But it was architecture that fared worst of all. Architectural beauty, comparable to that of music, demands an even more subtle understanding than that of painting or sculpture, where the material content of the artwork comes to the layman’s aid. How many of today’s tourists are there who, being compelled to visit the Medici Chapel by the most mindless notions of propriety, are capable of distinguishing for themselves between the architecture of the walls that rise up behind the *Pensieroso* and the ‘quite identically’ articulated and adorned facades of modern buildings, the likes of which they regularly see at home, and indeed all over the place. For a long and woeful time the official and omnipotent advocates of artistic monuments were people who, like these uncultured tourist-philistines, did not know or did not want to know that an unbridgeable gulf separates an imitation from a work created by the unique and never-recurring artistic sensibility of a past period and a particular artist. They avidly took advantage of their positions, disfiguring buildings that had hitherto provided an untouched witness to the artistic will and ability of past generations, and even replaced them completely with counterfeits and forgeries. Ruins of fortresses consecrated by stories and sagas were ‘reconstructed’, i.e., rebuilt in the style of exhibition stalls; town halls, castles and palaces which had been the sacrosanct palladia of their communities and families were given over to master builders whose conceptions of style seldom went beyond those, for instance, of the agents employed by furniture factories offering ‘work in every style.’ To posterity and *aere perennius* they heralded the new golden age of the community and the family in that they had the audacity to irreverently supplement old buildings with extensions and completions and, what is more, to ‘improve’ them and transform them into vulgar theatrical architecture in their pseudo-historical styles, which misconstrued the essence of architecture for all ages alike and were based upon the shallowest antiquarian stuff and the dullest commercial banalities.²⁴ Cathedrals created by whole nations over many hundreds of years, which

²⁴ [*Aere perennius* ~ a reference to Horace’s boast (*Odes* III. 30): *Exegi monumentum aere perennius* |

represented more artistic zeal and imagination than the great sanctuaries of antiquity, so grand and inexhaustible that the work could not be brought to completion, were finished off foolishly and unimaginatively in a few short years of rivalry, as though they were children's building blocks. Would the whole civilized world not be indignant, and rightly so, if a presumptuous philologist were to dare to supply the lost parts of Tacitus? Yet people stood by and watched while the Gothic cathedrals, those monumental works of history that passed the art and the history of Europe on to posterity, were disfigured by additions that were an historical lie and an artistic disgrace. And that is not all – lest any of the vanity and often even lucre of these restorators be spared – they invented two formulae that allowed them to alter the historic fabric of a building and, on top of this, to lend their intentional barbarities the appearance of eligibility and indeed even of piety. Under the pretext of preserving the building for an extended period – according to the one formula – they implemented far more than mere consolidatory measures for the prevention of collapse; they promptly tore down and rebuilt entire buildings or essential parts thereof. Even if they had adhered strictly to the original form, although as a rule the buildings were adjusted in accordance with the rebuilders' conceptions of style, the magic and the unique historical and artistic value of the original creation was lost, just as it would be if one were to try and paint an old painting anew. The second formula was more nonsensical and disastrous still: under the pretext of the desired stylistic unity and purity they simply destroyed anything that was beyond the knowledge and the schemes of the privileged connoisseurs and improvers of the past, their definitive style being the single possible stylistic unity, and for whom everything else, the richness and diversity of the art of many hundreds of years, was but an aberration. The richest and most important buildings were mercilessly demolished, entire cycles of paintings were torn down from the walls, and the most precious decorations were smashed, burnt, or sold to the junk dealer, only to be replaced by the 'true-to-style' products of a confectioner's Gothic or a joiner's Renaissance. Whole towns were artistically annihilated in this manner, and it seemed as though the mass murder of historic artistic monuments would not stop until the last trace of any original, unadulterated artistic expression of the past had disappeared.

Luckily it has not come to that.

The general level of artistic education in England was far too great for them to have ever partaken in the barbarism of restoration. In Italy, where old traditions were still a factor,

regalique situ pyramidum altius, | quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens | posit diruere aut innumerabilis | annorum series et fuga temporum ~ 'I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze, more lofty than the regal structure of the pyramids, one which neither corroding rain nor the ungovernable North Wind can ever destroy, nor the countless series of the years, nor the flight of time.' Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, trans. N. Rudd, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 216–17.]

Boito raised a blazing protest against the ‘frivolity of the restorators’ when the Austrian administration took it upon themselves to convert S. Donato in Murano in 1858, and soon afterwards the whole of the general public revolted against the ‘stylistically faithful’ replacement of the Milan Cathedral facade. In France, where the breach that the Revolution had made in cultural continuity was filled admirably quickly, the period of restoration was also only a short episode, and no one today would take seriously an architect who wanted to convert or complete one of the great cathedrals or an old royal palace, or to do away with their baroque parts. But even in Germany and Austria, artists and academics have been fighting for a more reverend treatment of historic artistic monuments for years, and the decision of the people’s representatives in Baden proves that their victories were not just limited to narrow circles of specialists. Some buildings may still be ruined by restorations, but, since broad swathes of the population have now been won over to the conviction that historic artistic treasures need to be protected more from the interventions of the restorators than from natural decay, we can perhaps consider that calamitous period of monument preservation as having been concluded.

And yet many are still under threat. Prague has its own Otto Heinrich building; a monument whose unique effect is to be destroyed by restorative interventions, and indeed with less cause than at Heidelberg, for this is not a case of a ruin that needs saving from collapse, but of a building that can by all means be secured in its present form and appearance. This is the part of the Hradčany built under King Vladislav II, a marvel by Benedikt von Laun and, moreover, a monument which counts among those that have been transformed into untouchable epitaphs to the past, not only by art and their builders’ love of art, but also by their broader fate: by the events they have witnessed, the spiritual life and the political destiny of a nation, by poetry and history.²⁵ One has to be entirely lacking in artistic and historical sensitivity to walk past these parts of the old royal castle with indifference.

The facade of the palace facing the cathedral is now to be ‘repaired’. Not only are the prosaic and disruptive functional annexes to be removed, which, if carried out with tact, would be a welcome change, but the sgraffito is also to be restored, because ‘otherwise it would disappear completely’; as though it would have been a good thing had it been restored – i.e., destroyed – a hundred years earlier. The pinnacles are to be completed because otherwise they ‘could disintegrate entirely within the foreseeable future’ and ‘then one will no longer know how they looked’, as though, even if this were true, one could not prevent their collapse by simple consolidation and retain their historic forms for all time by taking casts. The gallery that runs around the facade is to be opened up and completed, ‘just as it

²⁵ [Benedikt Ried (1454–1534), German architect active mostly in Bohemia.]

once was', because – I know not why – because the 'new branch of architecture' demands its rights and because there are still people whose hearts and tastes are closer to the banalities of the modern pseudo-Gothic than they are to the historic monument. According to them decorum requires these things – as though it would be more appropriate to the decorum of both nation and dynasty if the old royal palace, robbed of any traces of age, were to celebrate a resurrection similar to that of a Herr Pumpelmeier's suburban villa, which he tends to celebrate after extensive repairs once every five years.

9. Restoration Questions II: The Royal Palace on the Wawel (1908)

Max Dvořák, 'Restaurierungsfragen: II. Das Königsschloss am Wawel', *KJZK*, 2 (1908), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 105–12

‘How often I dreamt, on gazing at the ruins of the old palace, that
one day I would fill this wreath of jagged walls with ghosts, spirits,
and knights; that I would re-erect the tumble-down halls.’
Slowacki²⁶

The palace on the Wawel is one of those works of architecture that derives its significance less from a specific, temporally determinate artistic achievement than from its association with important historical events and the fortunes of a nation over the centuries, to which it provides a commentary in stone. The main complex is a work by Italian architects stemming from the first half of the sixteenth century, but this complex had not completely dispensed with the buildings of the old royal castle, these having emerged over various eras, nor did it mean an end to building work on the old royal residence, which continued virtually uninterrupted into the nineteenth century. More than twenty periods of construction can be made out in the present building, and thus the palace represents an epic in stone, whose content is of far more importance to the Polish nation than mere construction dates or disjointed historical reminiscences. Herein lies the particular complexity of this restoration question.

After the division of Poland the palace, which had until this point been an emporium of royal providence, was transferred to the coffers of the Austrian military and transformed into barracks. A number of different alterations were undertaken then and later on, their exclusive concern being fitness for purpose, and, since the palace was run down, consolidation and repair work also had to be undertaken, for which utilitarian considerations were likewise taken as the only guiding principle. Thus the damaged roof was renewed in a simple manner; the court arcades, which threatened to collapse, were propped up with brickwork infill and the windows of the facades were robbed of their rich surrounds, be it because they too were in a poor state, or perhaps also because they wanted to reduce the size

²⁶ [Juliusz Słowacki (1809–49), Polish poet.]

of the window apertures. This was doubtless a lamentable conclusion to a glorious past, which must have been an eternal source of wistful reflections, and all the more so as the old palace was filled with new life in the form of a mundane everyday existence, heightening the contrast between past and present to an unbearable degree of depravation. One can therefore understand the great joy that prevailed all over Galicia when a magnanimous decision on the part of the monarch withdrew the palace from state usage and gave it to the country as a national monument. But the old monument's life of suffering seems not to have come to an end there. People are not content to have saved that which survived the inclemency of the ages and to preserve it for the future. They believe that the time has now come for the realization of the old dream; that the royal palace can now be resurrected in all its former glory. According to a project that has been prepared for this purpose the palace is to be returned to the form it had assumed by the end of the seventeenth century. The court arcades are to be reopened, the roofs replaced in their old forms, the facades given their old ornament and the towers their old crowning elements. Evidence and analogies for all this have been established thanks to the eager diligence of the archaeologists and restorators, and thus nothing appears to stand in the way of the long-awaited rebirth.

Herein, though, lies the greatest danger that ever threatened the palace.

The Romantic belief that the past can be raised from the grave to new life by means of art and science – a belief that inevitably found strong echoes and concrete historical meaning in Polish intellectual life – has long since belonged to the past, and from the perspective of our present views the planned reconstruction would represent not the resurrection, but the ruin of the building. There is already a lamentable example of the complete devaluation of an old building by similar attempts at reconstruction in Krakow. This is the old Jagiellonian library, which was given a true-to-style restoration in the past century. Anyone who wants to get an idea of how beautiful the building once was need only take a look at the painting that hangs in the librarian's room, which includes a representation of the library prior to the restoration. The poetry of the old building lends the modest image an indescribable charm. The true-to-style restoration, though, has transformed this building into a ludicrous parody of the past which is of as little interest to the passer-by as a suburban apartment block. The historicizing renovations of the Wawel would certainly be carried out with incomparably more fidelity to the existing fabric and analogous work from the period, and yet the result would be the same, for a counterfeit does not become any more valuable if it is forged with skill and expertise. And today we consider all historicizing completions and renovations as forgeries; forgeries which cannot replace what has been lost, but only devalue that which has been preserved, like bogus ancestral portraits in an ancestral gallery or

modern interpolations in an old document. Only an age in which the degree of understanding for the qualities of architectural creation had sunk to the level where architecture came to be identified with technical and antiquarian knowledge could be of the opinion that historic works of architecture could emerge in their original forms from the alchemical parlours of the antiquarians and restorators. There can hardly be a more humiliating testament to the low standing of an artistic culture than its failure to recognize the insuperable difference between an original historic artwork and a modern imitation of the same, and if originals have already been transformed into styleless, ageless and tasteless imitations in the realm of handicraft objects and sculpture, where concrete models can be slavishly imitated, how much more must the same apply to the complicated organism of a historic work of architecture, which renders visible the inimitable traces of the era, of its individual artistic exertions and of the fortunes of the building in hundredfold variation. And thus even today we perceive modern imitations of historic buildings – for all that they may be supported by historic models and documentary evidence, and indeed, all the more so the more faithful they are – as meaningless banalities, as skeletons lacking life, both that of the past and that of the present, and which, for all the historical correctness that forges them, have no more direct a relation to the past than the wax figures in a panopticon do to art and nature.²⁷ When bound up with historic buildings, though, such true-to-style reconstructions, which want to affect the old artistic character of the building without being able to even come close to achieving it in reality, are a lie that is unworthy of the old monument. This lie is all the more lamentable for its being bound up with values whose ideal and emotional importance consists primarily in the fact that they can be seen as the authentic heritage of the past; it is a lie of which people generally become all the more conscious and which is perceived as being all the more regrettable as the general historical and artistic sensibility of a nation is deepened and refined.

It is still possible that much of the Polish public will take a liking to the planned reconstruction and even that the country will greet it most gladly as the realization of the castle's longed-awaited resurrection. But according to views which – having blazed a trail with virtually elemental force in countries that today stand at the heights of historical and artistic culture – have to be considered as the leading ones, there can be no doubt that the reconstruction would mean a severe and irreversible devaluation of this historic monument. And it is just as indubitable that we are not far away from the time when these views will

²⁷ [Rather than Bentham's celebrated prison design, Dvořák probably has something akin to the Hamburg *Panoptikum* in mind here, a collection of waxworks est. 1879. Its precursor, Madame Tussauds in London, has a history stretching back to pre-Revolutionary France.]

necessarily become widespread even in Galicia, as in the rest of Europe, and with an inevitability that ultimately leads to the complete triumph of artistically and intellectually advanced spiritual tendencies that are of an importance similar to that under discussion. The false new old facades will then no longer be looked upon as the regenerated adornment of the building; they will instead be deemed no less stale and insufferable than all the other creations of the modern pseudo-Renaissance. No one could believe that the lost parts of the castle could be replaced by the neo-Gothic roofs with their colourful parrot-pomp or the strange false towers, which are to be rebuilt 'exactly as they were', either quite arbitrarily or on the basis of a tiny old drawing, photographically enlarged a hundred times – which is the same as wanting to reproduce a lost painting from an immense enlargement of a sketch no bigger than a few centimetres. Rather, people everywhere will be convinced that this reconstruction is nothing more than idle foolery and, at the same time, an act of impiety as irreverent as wanting to give an old man the appearance of youth by dressing him up in wigs, make-up and colourful clothes.

But when they do finally become aware of this it will be because of the monument's former national significance. Not just because the reconstruction will have spoiled the contemplation of the palace for every artistically sensitive person. A renovated relic is a relic no longer, so how could one possibly be enthusiastic about the regenerated castle having come to the conviction that the dreamt-of resurrection had found its realization in a worthless masquerade? For public opinion the palace would then become a reminder of the moment when its fate was entrusted to the nation, when no one could be found who understood the importance of protecting its inheritance from forgery and disfiguration. And that would be incomparably worse than any stroke of fate in the past. When a monument of the national past is destroyed by wars and political catastrophes there is at least the consolation that these were forces against which one was powerless, but it is a far greater national misfortune if a historical palladium has to go to ruin because its administrators are unable to keep abreast of the intellectual developments of their age.

But surely at least the court galleries can be reopened and thus allowed to appear in their former splendour?

There would be nothing to object to here if it were only a case of removing the structural infill. The arcades are nevertheless in such a poor structural state that, in order to be reopened, three quarters of them would have to be redone. Their structural fragility may well have been the main reason for their being closed in the first place. The columns, archivolts, cornices and balustrades would for the most part have to be renewed, and as such it would virtually be a case of reconstructing the arcades completely. This would be no less

disastrous for the castle courtyard than the new facades, roofs and towers would be for the exterior view. The appearance and effect of a building does not depend solely on the overall material form; it is determined no less, and indeed generally far more, by what confronts the observer in every part of the building – right down to the simplest masonry detail – as the handwriting of a specific person, a specific generation, as the inimitable and irreplaceable signature of personalities whose voices found expression within the overall form. If this signature is destroyed then the overall form is left as a miserable, empty skeleton, even if it is mathematically faithful to every part of the original. It may be of interest to antiquarians, for whom the old building is nothing more than a reflection of their own notions of style, but historically and artistically it is utterly empty and relates to an original historic building as an oil-colour print to an original painting. Much of the old gallery has been preserved to this day by virtue of the supporting infill, but if the arcades were opened most of this would have to be sacrificed in exchange for nothing more than a mummified resurrection of the whole; a lifeless shadow-realm to all those who have come to understand that a monument, when untouched by the restorative arts, even if it is propped up on crutches and consists only of fragments, has a thousand times more power over the imagination and perception than a reproduction in historic forms, which may recover an outline of the building, but obliterates the life of the historic monument and destroys its soul.

So what should be done with the palace?

Should it be left in the state of neglect in which it was taken over from the military administration? Certainly not. But nor does one repaint a picture as soon as it gets dirty or damaged. And it is simply not the case that the only two alternatives are to reconstruct the building or let it fall into disrepair. That which was carried out for utilitarian reasons during the period when the palace served as barracks, to the detriment of the monument, ought to be removed where this is possible without causing damage to the old parts and without extensive reconstructions, which detract from the building's value as a monument. Where new fabrication is unavoidable, as with the individual window surrounds, it ought to be executed in plain, non-historicizing forms, such that it does not compete with the old, but immediately appears as a modest infill that is subordinated to the old parts of the palace. The same applies to the technical measures for the consolidation of the building, whereby one ought not forget, as so often happens, that these are not to be considered as ends in themselves – something that would best be achieved by re-doing the building completely. Rather, these measures should above all enable the actual historical and artistic legacy of the past that is preserved for us in the old building to be saved for a further lifespan as sacred, untouchable heritage. If all the disruptive elements are removed, primarily the traces of the

building's dismal neglect in recent decades, then the effect that this legacy will exert on the nation will be incomparably greater than that of all the restorative arts. This legacy, whatever purpose the building is to serve in future, represents the highest ennoblement, ornament and honour for the palace. And for the future life of the nation it will be, as Krasinski once said of the great Polish poet, a pillar which, though cracked, is still able to support the vault on its core.

Were it to be destroyed by renovation and reconstruction the regenerated palace would become a ruin – not in the material sense of the word, but a thousand times worse: it would be the ruin of the intellectual and artistic forces that it had formerly embodied.

10. Restoration Questions III: Split (1909)

Max Dvořák, 'Restaurierungsfragen: III. Spalato', *KJZK*, 3 (1909), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 117–42

‘Thousands have here pondered over Tasso’s musings on fallen states
(*Cadono le città*), on past glories, on the irony of the fates, on human
destinies and landscape painting. Meantime the antlike zeal of recent
antiquarian explorers has laid bare the bleached bones of this crumbling
skeleton and provided it with a fresh certificate of baptism.’
Justi, *Velazquez* I 300²⁸

The C.C. has been fighting for Split for years.

The struggle centres on a single house: the old Episcopium, a simple ashlar building from the seventeenth century, whose effect of unadorned monumentality is enriched by just one ornament: the portal with its coat of arms. An opportunity to demolish the house arose, and this opportunity was greeted gladly by various experts and by the population, who took their side. The exploitation of this opportunity was clamorously demanded in the interests of the town and its monuments. The C.C. protested against this, and gradually all other foreign art academics and art lovers took its side. But in Split itself people still called for the building to be taken down, as they had done before, and indeed with a vehemence and passion that found expression in innumerable newspaper articles, pamphlets, public assemblies, resolutions and protest rallies, the likes of which can scarcely have been seen in any other case of Austrian monument protection. Someone even attempted to set fire to the palazzo.

No less strong, though, was the resolve of those fighting for the preservation of the building. Even on his deathbed my tutor and predecessor in this office, Hofrat Alois Riegl, asked me not to make any concessions on the issue of the Episcopium; instructions I have fulfilled faithfully, both out of inner conviction and out of veneration for that unforgettable man.

²⁸ [Carl Justi, *Diego Velazquez and His Times*, trans. A. H. Keane (London: H. Grevel & Co., 1889), p. 167. The place under discussion in this epigraph is the Roman Forum, specifically: a view of the *Arch of Titus* (Madrid, Prado, now attributed to J. B. Martínez del Mazo). Justi laments the restoration of the arch, which was disencumbered from medieval accretions in 1822. The passage continues, ‘But in doing so they have also unfortunately let loose the hitherto pent-up sources of exhalations deadly to the living generations.’]

This persistent and heated controversy would be incomprehensible if it only concerned the Episcopium. Monument preservation in Austria is unfortunately dependent on compromise, and monuments more significant than the bishop's house in Split have often had to be sacrificed for the sake of keeping the peace or to other, more important interests. Those who advocate the demolition of this building could not have mounted such a sustained opposition if it had only been a case of gradually shifting judgments on the significance of a single building. This is not just about the Episcopium, but the whole old-town of Split. There are two diametrically opposed conceptions as to our obligations *vis-à-vis* the remarkable form of the town enclosed by the walls of the old imperial palace, and the roots of this difference of opinion lie in the most important struggle that our age has to fight out over historic and modern art.

As is the case everywhere in such questions, people in Split have also spoken of traffic considerations and the need for the sanitation of the town by the creation of new squares and streets. It is surely clear that the demolition of a single building could only be seen as the beginning of such tasks and that a complete redevelopment of the internal area of Diocletian's Palace would have to follow. Let us remind ourselves of what this would mean.

There are certainly many towns that are better situated, richer in artworks and far more interesting than Split in terms of their individual buildings. There are also many monuments of classical art that are artistically more meaningful and offer the beholder more aesthetic pleasure than the ruins of the mighty imperial palace, whose simple layout and coarse provincial forms are less a source of unique artistic sensations than they are instructive as to the process of the dissolution and rustication of classical art. And yet there are few towns that leave so deep an impression on the artistically minded visitor than this magnificent peripheral theatre of world history. Mightier than anything to have originated in the country before or since, created on an out-of-the-way beach by the world-dominating mind of a Roman emperor, the immense building eventually became a ruin, but within these ruins there blossomed new life – in the full sense of the word – and, in conjunction with the dilapidated old walls, it became a new, unified historical organism which has continued to develop up to the present day into a picture that seems to owe its origins more to a great poet than to historical evolution. Other Roman ruins have only been preserved beneath or alongside the strata of new cultures; in Split they have grown up with them, they permeate them and frame them as though history itself had been anxious to create in one place a monumental allegory of the old and new worlds in their succession and genetic connection, not as a dry formula, but as an entity that appears to the historic or painterly imagination as an endless source of inspirational individual moments.

And having emerged out of the combination of classical ruins and the layout of a medieval town, this epic in stone is to be 'regulated', i.e. transformed into a modern town with broad streets and open squares. Is this not the same as using the *Pasquin* or *Marcus Aurelius* as candelabra for electric lights? It is nigh on ridiculous to talk about traffic requirements in this context. They are either minimal or do not exist at all, and even if they did, they would have to yield to higher considerations; namely consideration for what has been preserved for us in the historic townscape of Split, a place that belongs to the whole civilized world. And this need not involve any great sacrifices for Split, because the town is free to expand unhindered in all directions, such that any possible traffic problems in the small old-town itself could easily be solved by transferring traffic intersections to other parts of the town, where they can draw attention to themselves all they like. And the sanitation questions! One has to say, *difficile satiram non scribere*.²⁹ How many other places are there in Dalmatia and Split itself that are in need of reform for sanitary reasons, and yet no one gives a thought to them. There are narrow streets elsewhere in Dalmatia: in Zara [Zadar], in Ragusa [Dubrovnik], in Sebenico [Šibenik], in Cattaro [Kotor] and everywhere, just as there are in most Italian towns. They were a means of protection against the blazing heat of the sun in the south. Is something that people are capable of tolerating everywhere else supposed to be intolerable in Split, where it is bound up with such precious values?

One sees in Split more clearly than elsewhere that the technical and humanitarian arguments are merely a pretext or an unconscious self-deception; phrases that people would not have hit upon at all had there not been a deeper cause for the assault on Split's present townscape. And this cause, as those with insight will concede, is to be found in artistic convictions and opinions. People are convinced that it would be a good thing artistically to strip away as much as possible of the shell of medieval and later buildings from the ruins of the palace, to isolate them and free them of all 'unworthy' additions and to let them effect the beholder in all their naked grandeur. They see the Episcopium as a building of no artistic value and do not understand why it ought to be left standing in the vicinity of the wonderful mausoleum, towards which a clear view would be opened up by taking the building down. They want to do similar things in other parts of the town, and in various degrees: from freeing up individual buildings to evacuating the ruins completely.

²⁹ [*Difficile est satiram non scribere* ~ it is difficult *not* to write satire.]

The fight for the Episcopium and for Split is thus ultimately down to a difference of artistic views. What is this difference? Answering this question is particularly important, for it not only applies to Split, but is of universal significance.³⁰

The conviction that the nineteenth century was an age of the deepest artistic decline is gaining ever more ground. It is not as though it failed to produce a number of important artists – for they exist in every age – and yet, despite all the talk about art and despite the most widespread artistic activity, the general understanding of artistic values fell to a level lower than perhaps ever before. As a rule, people were certainly unduly harsh on the immediately preceding period, glad as they were to have overcome it, but today we are far enough from the matter to be able to state objectively that building had never been so poor, that the products of the applied arts were never so thoroughly lacking in artistic value, and that the taste of the general public had never contented itself with such disgraceful products of painting or sculpture than it did in the second half of the nineteenth century. This not only applies to a particular social stratum that ‘had not yet been won over to the cause of art’. There are ministerial bureaus and noble palaces, banking houses and artists’ dwellings which look like desolate orgies of tastelessness and artistic impoverishment. And it has less to do with a particular nation (though the Italians – the Greeks of the modern age – have fallen the furthest) than with one particular artistic perspective among many, and in any case these were stylistic trends far more than artistic tendencies. This is not the place to pursue the causes of this artistic decline; I will merely attempt to characterize it insofar as it is relevant to the present question.

It is certainly not correct to speak of past periods in the history of art as though of a golden age in which every artwork was created for everyone, understood and enjoyed by everyone, and in which there was only one sort of art, one that joined and elevated all men together in a spiritual unity. Such unity in the production and comprehension of art is only possible at primitive stages; the more complicated, intellectual and formal works of art become, the more they depend on individual ideas and individual abilities, the more one requires a certain artistic culture and individual capacity in order to be able to enjoy them. It would be wishful thinking, and thinking that dispenses with the most rudimentary knowledge of the psychological preconditions of the enjoyment of art, to believe that Michelangelo’s sculptures or Titian’s pictures were created for all, that they spoke to everyone and were understood by everyone to the same degree. The various degrees of

³⁰ [The following argument (from ‘The conviction that...’ to p. 71 below, ‘Only then will allied spirits be awoken and crystallization points created for a new artistic culture.’) was subsequently published as ‘Denkmalpflege und Kunst’, *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 September 1910, Feuilleton, 1–3.]

artistic understanding and enjoyment were also differentiated in former periods, even if not to the same infinite degree as they are today. Yet at every level of this differentiation – and this is the fundamental difference with respect to the artlessness of the nineteenth century – the relationship to the artistic realms of understanding rested on real artistic feeling in both the artists and their audience. They only surrounded themselves with art which they understood and which was appropriate to their individual and social artistic requirements, without presuming to want to go beyond that. Life as a whole was therefore a truly artistic culture, not because there was a single, consistent and universally comprehensible form of art, but because everywhere, from the proud chapels of the Medicis right down to the humble farmhouse, art was always actually art on each of its thousand levels: an expression of artistic will, ability and enjoyment, not merely meaningless ornaments, lies or conventions. And therefore there was also a universal, real and deep reverence for artworks, even for those whose significance went beyond everyday horizons, because people knew that there was a higher artistic will and a greater artistic potency embodied in such works – one had to submit to them without presuming to be able to identify with them. As a result, great artworks actually became the focus of art and of a unitary artistic culture, and they fructified artistic life as a whole.

Nevertheless, all this was transformed into its opposite in the nineteenth century. In the hotel room in the small provincial town from which I am writing these lines there hangs a colour print of the *Madonna della Segiola*, and there are plaster copies of the *Aurora* and the *Crepuscolo* mounted above the portal of the savings bank opposite the hotel. What meaning does Raphael's masterpiece have for the white-collar workers who visit this hotel? What do Michelangelo's figures have to say to the petits bourgeois who take their savings to the savings bank? And is this type of reproduction not the clearest proof that even the last notion of the artistic qualities of the originals has been lost and that the copy has become no more than a mindless absurdity? Similar things confront us at every turn in the art of the second half of the nineteenth century. Never before had so much been expended (in terms of quantity) on the creation of art objects and the decoration of towns and buildings. From monumental buildings executed in the style of cinquecento palaces, the Alhambra, or Gothic cathedrals, via Louis-Seize style furniture in the café on the corner, to so-called 'old-German' furnishings in the bedroom; it was almost always a case of false art applied formulaically by the manufacturer and perceived by the customer as an ingredient necessary for the fulfilment of social decorum (and mostly perceived as such with regret about the cost), whilst saying nothing more to him than what he (if educated in art history) had heard or read in a textbook of style, or else from the art dealer's marketing pitches, or in a

warehouse catalogue. Any real, creative relationship to the artistic values of works of the past was lost and replaced by bookish conceptions of style on the one hand and, on the other, by an uneducated and uncultured inferiority of artistic intentions that was manifested in painting over, making smooth, straightening out, and setting symmetrically.

These are circumstances that are sufficiently well known, but what is not known or perhaps not said is that they were also the source of the impoverishment of their so-called monument preservation: the madness of purification, the restoration epidemic, the wanton attacks on historic townscapes and cityscapes. But the systematic destruction of old artworks and artistic values over the last three generations cannot be blamed on a lack of historical interest. In recent times these interests have always had the last word in such questions, and not always pharisaically. Nor was a lack of piety the actual cause of the innumerable acts of vandalism that were committed, for there have been centuries that were far less reverential without wreaking such devastation. But the piety of the nineteenth century – and this must be said openly for once – was cultureless and botched, a quack's piety that did damage even when it wanted to do good, for it was ignorant of the fundamentals of art. It was the piety of an artistically blind plebeian caste (not in the social sense of the word) who presumptuously sought to 'protect' the artworks of the past according to their own artless ideas on art and style. How could people be expected to understand what the protection of historic monuments entails when the artistic solution to even the simplest of problems was like a book with seven seals to them, when art was merely a social obligation (if not a social ill), and style an intellectual concept? How could the purchasers of colour prints and plaster copies be expected to understand this, or the customers of 'Decorate your Home', or the pile and street manufacturers, the ancillary art speculators and cultural philistines for whom art was a market commodity or a public house platitude, or the snobs who assessed artworks according to prices and authorities, the prophets of antiquarianism, those versed in style doctrines, and so on. And how were the artists supposed to understand when even they learnt their art from books? How was a general public with these as its leading and decisive elements then supposed to understand what the protection of historic monuments entails? How were they supposed to preserve and safeguard something of which they had no idea, something which is nevertheless the most important thing for artworks of the past and present and is not dependent upon rules of style and abstract artistic concepts, namely the infinitely differentiated and concrete artistic content as determined by temporal and regional conditions of production, the artist's individuality and the history of the monument.

Thus this form of piety necessarily and inevitably only wrought disaster whenever it went beyond defensive anti-demolition protests (and this was more often than not the case).

They did not protect what was valuable in monuments, but sought to remake historic artworks in accordance with what seemed valuable to them, and these were not individual artistic values, but antiquarian recipes, appalling banalities and theoretical stylistic dogmas. When one gets to the bottom of these ‘historical’ reconstructions and restorations one soon finds that the ‘historical’ therein at best related to the original artwork as the abovementioned oil-colour print to Raphael’s original painting, but that in most cases it was nothing more than an historicizing manifestation of the terrible lack of style and taste that one can observe in the bulk of new art products from the second half of the nineteenth century. Earlier artistic periods often subjected historic artworks to quite radical treatment, but the new elements they added were art, and what they spared remained art, so ultimately one can live with the alterations. But the monument protection of the nineteenth century consisted in reducing the most interesting, beautiful and remarkable works of art to the level of the prevailing conceptions of art and style, for both the older parts and the new additions, under the pretext of structural making-good or stylistic purification (and often without such pretexts), thus transforming them into ignominious paraphrases of current artistic incompetence, or, in other words, destroying them as works of art. There is only a superficial difference between the so-called ‘stylistically correct’ reconstructions and renovations of medieval castles and cathedrals and the unbearable platitudes of the ‘Gothic’ villas, town halls and furniture depots; between the church interiors done up to the nines and the empty showiness the boulevard restaurants; between the regulatory assassinations of historic towns and the streets of apartment blocks that resemble wastelands, the squares that resemble torture chambers, the representative public buildings that resemble repulsive monstrosities or ridiculous masquerades; only a superficial difference between the notion of freeing up the surroundings of a building and the modern statuary which, in accordance with the aesthetics of associations for urban beautification, is erected as an alleged adornment to public squares. And often it is not even that. The same dearth of artistic feeling attaches to both, the same art confronts us in the one and the other, with or without its historical cladding. It is an art of appearances that relates to the real – be it old or new – as a panopticon relates to life.³¹

Herein lies the most difficult and most important problem of monument preservation. For though there are many scientifically educated and literary men who are aware of the necessity of preserving the original or historically conditioned character of monuments, and who lay emphasis on the value of originality (the principal arguments we are fighting for), even if they protect some historic artworks from destruction or artistic depravation, our successes will nevertheless only ever be sporadic and mostly attained under

³¹ [Panopticon ~ see note above, p. 266.]

force of compulsion for as long as the qualities of the historic artworks for whose preservation we are fighting do not find resonance among the general public. And this will not be possible without a thoroughgoing transformation of the public's relationship to art.

But where will this come from?

One hopes for a new art as though in recent times one had not all too often seen how the general level of artistic production soon turns that which is good about new artworks into new manifestations of tastelessness. Draconian measures of a general nature are of as little use as honey-coated words of instruction; they only arouse distrust. And nor will appeals to a patriotism based on concepts rather than artistic experience bring us any closer to the goal; at best it replaces old formulae with new, localizable ones. As with all cultural questions, examples are decisive, as is the firm conviction of people who do not shy away from the struggle and ultimately carry others along with them. Important questions must be fought out to the bitter end, *usque ad finem*.³² Only then will allied spirits be awoken and crystallization points created for a new artistic culture.³³

**From the Central Commission's Report on Diocletian's Palace in Split,
Addressed to the Ministry of Religion and Education, Vienna, 26 June 1908**

It has been repeatedly and most solemnly acknowledged that it is the honourable duty of the state to see to the preservation of Diocletian's Palace in Split, in recent times, namely, by the approval of considerable financial means for the purchase and removal of individual disruptive buildings and for an architectural survey of the palace. This is a case of a monument of quite exceptional significance which, not only on account of the person of its builder, but also because of its importance for the history of classical architecture, has to be counted among most important historical documents in Austria, and indeed the world. In line with this significance the Royal and Imperial Ministry instituted its own commission, which was to advise on measures for the preservation of the palace. This commission has now been in existence for five years. It has held a series of conferences and has worked with the greatest self-sacrifice and energy to answer questions concerning the fate of the palace.

³² [*Usque ad finem* ~ from one end to the other. This seems to be an almost messianic reference. The Latin fragment here was probably known to Dvořák through an antiphon from Christian liturgy, 'O Sapientia'; one of a group of responses sung at vespers during advent and intoning Christ's characteristic names: *O Sapientia, quae ex ore Altissimi prodisti, / attingens a fine usque ad finem, / fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia: / veni ad docendum nos viam prudentiae*. ~ O Wisdom, coming forth from the mouth of the Most High, / reaching from one end to the other mightily, / and sweetly ordering all things: / Come and teach us the way of prudence.]

³³ [A report on Split by the directors of the Austrian Archaeological Institute is omitted here.]

Regardless of this, the measures implemented thus far for the protection of the palace cannot be designated as satisfactory. This can be traced back to a number of causes. Among them is the lack of any legal basis that would guarantee the success of state intervention in all relevant cases. Large and important parts of the palace are in private hands and thus there is always the danger that arbitrary alterations carried out on these parts will cause damage to the historic fabric, as unfortunately happened in one of the most important parts of the palace last year, and in particularly lamentable fashion. On the imposing sea front of the palace on the west side, the owner of a house had the part of the front that belonged to him reconstructed in spite of energetic protests from the Palace Commission, whereby the preserved historic parts of the architectural elements of the palace walls were supplemented with modern additions and annexed to an obtrusive modern facade, which is perhaps worse than if one had completely destroyed the old fragments in the first place. Imagine the indignation of the interested parties if a similar thing were to happen in Rome! In Split one has to quietly tolerate such cultural devastation because there are no legal means in place that might prevent the owners of the historic parts of the palace from acting according to their own discretion and doing exactly as they please. In this way, though, any state measures for the preservation of the palace remain illusory while there is no law that would in one way or another remove the monument from the caprices of its private owners.

This lack of a legal basis for the parts of the palace held in private ownership is, however, not the only reason for state's failure thus far to achieve results in its custodianship of the palace, results that one would expect of a civilized state. Even for those parts of the palace where the direct intervention of state agencies would be possible, the situation is really anything other than what the significance of the monument, and even the most rudimentary public interest in the structural condition of an historic monument, would seem to demand. Two years ago a Spalatian doctor was killed by a stone that fell from the vault of the rotunda, and the imminent collapse of the whole rotunda is at present a serious concern. The same is to be feared of the walls bordering on the *porta argentea*. Isolated parts of the peristyle are in a desolate state and, according to Professor Niemann, the top of the *porta aurea* is also imperilled. One asks oneself with astonishment quite how things could have got to this stage and how it can be that the most important parts of the monument are close to collapse even though such extraordinary measures have been taken for the protection of the palace.

This distressing fact is to be blamed primarily on the false aim that has been pursued in the custodianship of the palace. Within the Palace Commission the question of the Episcopium has stood at the centre of negotiations on the fate of the palace for years. The old

episcopal house, which, with other buildings, enclosed the cathedral on the eastern side, is a plain but evocative seventeenth-century building. After the new episcopal residence had been built outside the walls of the palace district the municipal administration of Split decided to buy the old Episcopium and to have it torn down. Opinions have long been divided over the expediency of this project.

The municipal administration justified the intention to demolish the building with reference to traffic considerations, sanitary concerns and the aesthetic advantages that the building's removal and the associated freeing-up of a part of the cathedral would entail. Of these only the latter argument can be given any serious consideration. For the small amount of traffic and the minor role it plays in the palace district, the destruction of the Episcopium would only have brought about a widening of the street in one location; a location that would be of no relevance to the overall level of traffic. And the street widening would have to have been limited to this unless one wanted to sacrifice parts of Diocletian's Palace itself – something which had to be deemed out of the question from the outset. The sanitary advantages that were cited, which were supposed to consist in the creation of a larger square, were given no more serious consideration, since this square would be on the periphery of the palace quarter and the desire for more light and air could only be justified in the maze of narrow alleys in the central parts of the palace. In fact, these practical arguments increasingly moved into the background. At the last sitting but one of the Palace Commission the Mayor of Split finally expressly stated the main motivation for the people of Split wanting to do away with the Episcopium: it is the wish to free up the cathedral, and its ultimate goal is the idea of '*isolamento*'.

It was this idea, directly or indirectly, which formed the background and principal content of all the discussions about the palace and has until now paralyzed every campaign for its preservation and consolidation. The situation is as follows: as is well known, a medieval town was built into the ruins of the palace. The mausoleum of Diocletian was dedicated to the Madonna and converted into the church of the Bishop of Split. Emerging from the rubble of the palace, surrounded by the great palace walls, new buildings, streets and squares developed into a town on the field of ruins; a town unique in its class, a town in which the immense remains of the Roman monument combine with a medieval town complex and the creations of many centuries of artistic production into architectural *vedute* that outdo Piranesi's most audacious fantasies. Very little in Austria can match them in terms of their picturesque effect.

In that unfortunate period when antiquarian interests replaced an artistic relationship to historic monuments, when dilettantish academic dogmatism believed its style of choice to

be the only valid art form and deemed every addition in any other style or age to be inappropriate to the dignity of the monument, in that period there arose the idea of *isolamento*, the freeing-up of Diocletian's Palace. The ideal they strove for was the removal of structures that had been built into the palace at a later date. A whole town, medieval and modern Split, was to be destroyed in order to liberate the antique buildings from later additions. This enormous project was to proceed in phases because it could not have been carried out in one fell swoop – many hundreds of buildings would have had to have been destroyed. Individual houses were to be bought and demolished when and where the opportunity arose (as indeed happened to the Jožević and Romagnolo houses), and all later buildings were to be done away with, primarily those in the vicinity of the cathedral. They also wanted to destroy the choir of the cathedral and to move the cathedral itself elsewhere in order to leave the bare masonry of Diocletian's mausoleum exposed, robbed of its precious Venetian furnishings. Above all, then, they wanted to open up a breach in the vicinity of the cathedral by taking the Episcopium down.

Once our relationship to historic monuments had been permeated by the new ideas, though – ideas according to which no single style possesses sole canonical validity and the removal of later additions does not represent an act of piety towards a monument – this idea of *isolamento* necessarily came up against grave reservations. From the archaeological point of view the destruction of an entire town, of a highly unique and evocative town, can only be taken into consideration if any possible excavations would be of exceptional value to science, as in the case of the Roman Forum. There can be no mention of this in Split, since one could hardly expect to find anything other than a few foundations. But besides that, the clearance cannot be justified in light of our modern views, and the damage it would cause would be immeasurable. The *isolamento* would be of no advantage to the remains of Diocletian's Palace. That which currently appears as a jewel of first rank in the setting of a living organism, in a setting created over the centuries, like an antique cameo in a baroque surround, would inevitably become a desolate ruin after the demolition of medieval Split. None of the many other ruins that have been preserved from antiquity can compare with the effect we admire in Split, where it is precisely in conjunction with medieval and modern artistic production that the remnants of the classical monument appear as a gigantic legacy of the past. No one who has given any thought to the source of this monument's artistic effect could believe that it would be advantageous to remove the precious internal furnishings and leave the space empty, or to tear down all the surrounding buildings and free up the central building in order for it to appear in isolation. This sort of isolation is a school-book cliché, and while a site foreman might imagine it to be a valid aesthetic postulate, it actually

contradicts every tradition of artistic culture and would destroy the documentary significance of the entire configuration of buildings along with their evocative and picturesque effect.

But the *isolamento* would be disastrous for more than just the antique parts of the town. We are now far removed from the age in which antique art was privileged above everything created in later periods as the only valid and absolute artistic norm. Split also has a wealth of important and interesting witnesses to the art of later centuries, and it would be tantamount to vandalism if they were to be sacrificed for doctrinaire reasons on the altar of an enthusiasm for classical ruins.

Not only would this mean the destruction of important individual monuments from the middle ages and the modern period; worse still, it would be the ruin of historic Split, a town that is itself a remarkable monument in which the unity and picturesque effect of the streets and squares exert an irresistible charm on anyone who is at all receptive to such impressions. The *isolamento* would mean giving up on a town that counts among the most interesting and evocative that exist, and exchanging it for a field of rubble without there being any vital scientific gain. Such a ruin would perhaps have inspired historical contemplation if it had come into being through the ravages of the barbarians, but as a product of modern monument preservation it would inevitably only cause the greatest outrage among art lovers.

Thankfully, the victory march of the new conception of our duties toward historic monuments was quicker than the progress of the project. According to these new views, the historically determined forms of all monuments, and especially the historical townscapes, are to be treated with the utmost piety. These views got the upper hand within the Palace Commission at the last sitting. The majority was not only against the *isolamento* in general, but also opposed demolition in the case of the Episcopium, less for the sake of this particular building than because of the consideration that taking it down and freeing up that part of the cathedral would be to falsify the historical form of the cathedral's surroundings, and that to rupture the atmospheric enclosure around the mausoleum would be to exchange the historic and highly evocative current configuration of this part of the town for a banal panorama without any historical or artistic justification.

Once this question had been dealt with and agreed upon by the majority of the commission, if not formally, then at least objectively, the inevitable calls for the preservation of the palace naturally moved back into the foreground. While the interminable consultations on the Episcopium had been going on, the antique parts of Split had come ever closer to complete destruction. There were consultations on this matter, but no consensus was reached as to the measures to be taken, and no one was prepared to push for the realization of those

measures that were seen to be necessary. It is the view of C.C. that the following proposal would perhaps lead beyond the deadlock of these academic consultations and would present an opportunity to implement measures that are implicit in our duty of piety towards monuments.

A project for the technical consolidation of the palace should be drawn up by someone who is fully qualified for the task. Since nothing is to be completed or restored, this will not require an architect of reputation so much as a man who understands the new principles of monument preservation and sees his chief task in finding ways and means to preserve for the future that which has been preserved for us, without spoiling the originality and the present effect of the ruins. It will be a self-sacrificial task, and its solution will be all the better the less one sees of the work that has been done. At the same time, though, it will be an incredibly difficult task, for its singularity precludes anything along the lines of the schematic consolidation measures that are generally applied. It is a task that will have to be solved from scratch, independently, and virtually from one stone to the next. The closest analogy is the consolidation work that has been carried out on the Palatine, in the Roman Forum and the Roman baths. It is imperative that the author of the project should be or become familiar with these, be it as examples worthy of imitation, or be it in order to avoid mistakes that have been made there. But even if he endorses everything that has been done in the context of similar consolidation work at Rome, which would hardly be the case, the consolidation project for Diocletian's Palace in Split would nevertheless in many respects still have to be considered as a completely new problem because of the singular nature of the monument. It is a problem which calls for someone who can be relied upon to apply himself to the solution with love and discernment.

11. A Law for the Destruction of Monuments (1909)

Max Dvořák, 'Ein Denkmalzerstörungsgesetz', *KJZK*, 3 (1909), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 173–75

Judging by all appearances, a law for the protection of monuments will not be passed in Austria in the near future. This is not because it has many enemies. With a few exceptions, neither political parties, public factors of any kind, nor individual personages can oppose it. If one were to call a plebiscite the law would without doubt achieve an imposing majority. And yet the law will not be passed because, like every cultural reform, it requires a purposeful and progressive will, the courage to make decisions, and a convincing ability to act – none of which are to be found within the ponderous apparatus of our legislature and administration.

Another legislative proposal has far more prospect of being taken on, one that could be designated as a 'law for the destruction of monuments'. This is the proposal for a new 'law for the taxation of profit derived from property' which the government has put before parliament.

With the increasing appreciation of historic town and cityscapes, with the escalating admiration for historic artistic culture – which saw fit to bestow aesthetic form on private existence too – private buildings are also taking on growing significance where monument preservation is concerned. In the past the complaint was occasionally raised that the tax exemption granted to new buildings was a kind of incentive for the demolition of old secular buildings. Not being content with that, the new proposal now also taxes the upkeep of old buildings with a tariff that is Draconian and unaffordable, as the following points show:

1. The buildings are not to be taxed according to profit, but according to the number and the size of the rooms, and on a terribly steep progression at that. Whoever has the misfortune to own a house with spacious, healthy rooms will be penalized for it.

2. The tax is to be calculated according to the number of inhabitable rooms, not according to those that are actually inhabited. Whoever has the misfortune to own an old palace – in which, without being able to inhabit it, he only uses a few rooms as temporary quarters, and that he only maintains because it is an historical and artistic monument – he will be penalized. Or, whoever has the misfortune to have beautiful old stately rooms in his house – which could be inhabited, but, for the sake of preservation, are not – he will be penalized.

3. *Rooms in which collections, libraries, galleries, etc. are housed will only be tax free if the collections are completely open to the public.* Monasteries, convents, and owners of art collections who preserve valuable artistic treasures, libraries, or archives as goldmines of knowledge and education for academics and art lovers – these will be penalized for it.

4. *Buildings with beautiful grounds or surroundings (gardens, parks) are to be taxed up to a hundred per cent more.* Thus whoever has the misfortune to own a well situated, pleasant, and beautifully built house or any sort of outstanding palace at all will be penalized. Whoever takes the pains to look after the historic park that happens to be tied up with his estate will be penalized. Whoever delights himself and others in a garden at his house and thus adds to the beauty of the area will be penalized.

This is a legislative proposal that will force owners to demolish beautiful old buildings for the tax burden associated with them will be too great to bear. In this way, before too long all the beautifully constructed complexes, the cultivated beauties of nature, and the witnesses to the higher artistic requirements of our ancestors that have been preserved in the form of private property will be financially ruined in the name of the law.

One can safely assume that this Herostratic proposal will obtain the force of law, for its passing does not require an act of the intellectual will, merely cultural indifference and political opportunism.³⁴

³⁴ [Herostratism ~ see note above, p. 258.]

12. Notice: It Tends to be Dark under the Lamps (1909)

Max Dvořák, 'Notiz: Unter dem Leuchter pflegt es finster zu sein', *KJZK*, 3 (1909), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 109–10

As I was poring over my files at the Central Commission one day, trying to find some hefty new words for the same old protests about a parish church that was about to be disfigured by pointless completions and true-to-style reconstructions, an unassuming parish priest came to visit me. He was a small chap with an open countenance and goodly eyes; a picture of virtue and common sense. In quite moving words he told me how for years he had wanted to have a new Gothic altar set up in his church. As a result of his collections he had finally got the necessary money together, but the high Central Commission had opposed his plans. He resigned himself to the fact with a heavy heart, for he knew he didn't understand these things quite as well as the gentlemen in Vienna, even though this diminished his prestige with the parishioners, who had donated money for something which could not be carried out because it had been declared bad. So he came to ask the high Central Commission to write to the community to explain all this so that he would not be held responsible for it.

I recalled this episode as I was walking past the north side of the Stephansdom the other day and saw the work that was being carried out there. Here, at the most important ecclesiastical monument in Vienna, and indeed the whole country, they are being allowed to commit crimes that are a thousand times worse than anything we so energetically and haughtily deny to the parish priests in their humble churches. Not only are the architectural elements being entirely renewed and completed, the empty niches of the church are also being 'adorned' with new 'true-to-style' statues. Statues of this type and quality recall the worst moments of the disastrous restoration epidemic, and wherever people are even halfway informed as to what's good for historic and modern art this sort of thing is simply no longer possible. And yet this is being done with public means in times when there is not even enough to save what can be saved. What on earth would the old parish priest have thought if he'd noticed this new adornment of the Stephanskirche?

13. The Karlsplatz Question (1909)

Max Dvořák, 'Die Karlsplatzfrage', *Neue Freie Presse*, 21 December 1909, Feuilleton, pp. 1–3

To a less than precisely informed observer it might seem remarkable that circles who took Wagner's side with resolve and indeed enthusiasm during the competition now declare that they are against the execution of the Wagnerian project for the municipal museum.

The style in which the building is to be carried out is not an issue at the current stage of the debate. The creator of the museum project is the most distinguished and by far the most significant representative of a certain tendency in the development of modern Viennese architecture, whose works represent the most important chapter of Viennese architectural history in the last twenty years. And even if this tendency has been overtaken by the emergence of a new architectonic style in the German Reich – to which constructive and material dogmatism was only a precursor – it would nevertheless be detrimental to art in the highest degree if, merely on account of style, one were to place even the slightest hindrance in the way of the execution of the Wagnerian project. But no one has that in mind. The opposition is not against Wagner's building (which, on the contrary, must be most warmly endorsed in and of itself), but merely against its erection in the immediate vicinity of the Karlskirche.

What is threatening the church in this respect? Would it really be a disaster if an artistically valuable building was to be erected in its environs? Did former ages not frequently place new buildings alongside the most important works of architecture? Is it not the succession of various periods of architecture that we have to thank for the finest and most striking of cityscapes?

This is all right enough, and one can go further: after so much had been altered around the church that very little remained of the original picture of this part of the city – that which the Karlskirche, standing open on all sides, had once dominated – there can be no doubt that the square can and indeed must undergo new architectural development, since the present situation bears the unfavourable character of an interim solution. This redevelopment of the Karlsplatz, though, has to proceed in such a manner that the appearance and effect of the famous building are not only not made to suffer, but, on the contrary, are thereby augmented. That is the crucial point of the debate.

Up until the nineteenth century one could hardly point to a single case of a famous historic building being marred by inappropriate additions. For even if, in the elation of their

own creative and artistic powers, earlier centuries often did away with artistic heritage unsparingly, they did not artistically devalue what they spared, but preserved the fullness of its artistic effect. Now and then one ought to take the trouble to note the commendable tact and the utter mastery with which, for instance, the surroundings of an important old building were refashioned in the eighteenth century. They either laid the emphasis on the old building, to which the new arrival would then have to subordinate itself, or they set the old within the context of a larger overall architectural design like a precious jewel. Despite the variety of styles they were always able to achieve an inner unity, the unity of artistic accord – principally because the surviving artistic tradition, despite the transformation of stylistic forms, had suffered no interruption.

In the social revolutions of the nineteenth century, though, this link to the artistic culture of the past was lost and, as in other areas of intellectual life, its place was taken by a rootless doctrinarism which supposed that its task was to replace artistic ability with superior knowledge. Architecture was consigned to antiquarians and technicians who believed they could master the art of the ages through a superficial adoption of the forms and constructive methods of former styles and periods. They deemed it their calling to build in the greatest variety of styles according to the dominant aesthetic, literary, or political trends, or even just the patron's wishes, whereby little by little any understanding for the artistic qualities of the buildings of the past was lost. Despite this imitation and alleged admiration they lost respect for historic works of architecture. Without any sort of artistic subordination, without any deeply felt need for unity, they erected their new creations in historicizing styles as rival counterparts in the surroundings of historic buildings. The latter were thereby artistically devalued and in many cases this was far worse than destroying them completely. Ostentatious hotels and railway stations in the 'Gothic' or 'Renaissance' styles were built in the vicinity of historic cathedrals, and thus the most important artistic monuments in the city were reduced to the level of an undignified rivalry which completely destroyed the former charm of the place. Familiar squares were given new dominant elements in the form of pompous, pseudo-Gothic town halls and, where master builders had once excelled in giving their individual efforts the correct scale in the overall context, the beautiful old streets were transformed into desolate battlefields of unbridled drawing-board fantasies.

The case of the projected museum building on the Karlsplatz is no different to what so often happened to historic architectural monuments as a result of the arrogance and parvenu artistry of those adept in the historical styles.

They may well insist that the new building will be kept to modest forms, chaste and plain, but in fact, already by virtue of its massing, and no less through the broad, colourful

surfaces that are calculated to enhance the special colouristic effect of the building, it would without doubt compete with instead of subordinating itself to the Karlskirche. Despite its stylistic radicalism the new building would stand in a similarly discordant relationship to the old monument as do those pseudo-historical monumental buildings to the archetypes in whose vicinity they were erected – buildings which are rightly disparaged by every educated citizen.

Far more alarming, though, is the fact that the museum would also mean the artistic adulteration of the Karlskirche. Everyone who has a heart and eye for such things knows how much the church lost as a result of the raising of the polytechnic building, for this compromised its position of dominance over the surroundings. The addition of a building of the same height on the other side would not, as some contend, make good this damage, but would worsen it tenfold, since the Karlskirche, whose former glory has until now retained its dominant effect over everything, at least from certain prospects, would then inevitably be relegated to the position of a coordinated centrepiece in a mighty, long-armed building complex. This would overwhelm the church, it would demote its mighty cupola – an artistic end in itself until now – to the status of an indifferent mid-point in the new building mass, and it would rob it of its former effect and importance. In future only its size, and no longer its artistic mission, would differentiate it from the cupolas of the many apartment blocks, and the old form would thus be transformed into a meaningless commonplace.

If the cupola were indeed to forfeit its powerful and autonomous dominance over the square, though, how much more would this be the case for the other parts of the church! In recent times one has occasionally heard the unconsidered assertion that the church ought to be set in a corner, whereby reference is made to the quite inappropriate analogy of St Peter's square in Rome. After the execution of this project the church really would stand in the corner, in the negative sense of the word; it would be nothing more than the central projection in a long, broken, and, what is more, a non-homogeneous wall of buildings. Its famous columns, which give one the impression of a grand triumphal effect – the most brilliant reinterpretation of an old motif one can imagine – these columns would in future be nothing more than two pylons set in front of the facade, demoted to the status of indifferent and quotidian adornments to the square by the wings and the new layout as a whole.

In his *Mornings in Florence* Ruskin directs the artistically minded visitor to a precise place in the church of Santa Croce, to which, if the entire beauty and significance of the building is to be revealed to him as a prelude to further reflection, he must repair at the

very first moment, without looking around to left or right.³⁵ In the case of the Karlskirche one would have to take the visitor to Schwarzenbergplatz. Everything that has been erected in the vicinity of the church – to its detriment – is at its least disruptive when one views it from here because the heightened polytechnic recedes into the background, whereas it has a disruptive effect when seen from the front or from the area of the extended Kärntnerstraße. But from Schwarzenbergplatz the tremendous building appears in all its unencumbered majesty, commendably articulated, a monument to the *ecclesia triumphans* comparable to only a few worldwide.

And that is not all. Like the transverse interior vistas of the church, the exterior side elevations with their finely calculated contractions are particularly characteristic of the artistic intentions of seventeenth and eighteenth-century architecture. There are certain buildings, such as Sant' Agnese on the Piazza Navona in Rome, which are meant to be seen almost exclusively from side on. But even where this is not the case, as with the Karlskirche, the effortless handling and layered grouping of masses on all sides is incomparably more expressive when viewed from the side than it is from the front, where the arrangement in depth is less prominent and the free composition is somewhat constrained by symmetry. One therefore has to consider it a particularly good bit of luck that this view of the church has been preserved up to the present day. The projected museum, though, would obstruct and destroy it irretrievably. A few years ago the Viennese public campaigned with an incomparable zeal to have a view opened up onto the Stephanskirche. Are we now going to needlessly relinquish one of the most beautiful *vedute* of Vienna's second most important ecclesiastical monument?

One asks oneself with disbelief whether the demands of the present are so strongly in favour of the project that they could justify doing such extensive damage to Fischer von Erlach's principal work. This question must be answered with a resounding 'no'. Those who are familiar with the circumstances of the museum are unanimous in the opinion that the site in front of the Karlskirche is not at all suitable for the construction of the municipal museum: it is too small and would not allow for any future extensions – something that has to be reckoned with when building a modern museum. But even if this were not the case, even if the site were entirely suitable for the museum, are there not enough sites in Vienna where the building could be carried out in fulfilment of every modern requirement without causing harm to a famous monument? One has long since been aware of how important it is to forge new centres of creative development through the siting of monumental public buildings in

³⁵ [John Ruskin, *Mornings in Florence: Being Simple Studies of Christian Art for English Travellers* (Orpington, Kent: George Allen, 1881).]

different parts of the city. People speak of the higher costs that another construction plan might entail. But is this a reason to carry out the museum at the cost of one of Vienna's most important monuments? And even if the whole museum project were to prove illusory, it would be a lesser evil. Indeed, it would be an outrage if one were to build a museum and thereby destroy the artistic effect of one of Vienna's most important artworks; if one were to create a new monumental building and yet deprive the most monumental creation from the heyday of Viennese art of its own monumentality.

The Karlsplatz can certainly not be left in its present form in the long run. But nor can a development *in pejus*, such as that proposed, be allowed. The buildings in the immediate vicinity of the church could have been laid out symmetrically before the heightening of the polytechnic, for then the wings would have played the role of a subordinated coda, like the colonnades at St Peter's Square in Rome. After the unfortunate extension of the polytechnic, though, the present asymmetry, which at least maintains the old dominant effect from one side, was and is the only means of saving that which still can be saved. On the site earmarked for the museum one could erect simple family dwellings, small exhibition halls, or other buildings without pretensions to a monumentality that would compete with the Karlskirche. And one can easily leave the solution to the architecture of the near future. If the departing generation was fortunate enough to have experienced the victory of a new form of painting, a painting which re-established a connection to the whole prior development of painterly problems, it has been granted to us to witness the emergence of a new architecture that stands beyond all theory, far removed from the sorry eclecticism of the nineteenth century, and represents an independent continuation of the architectural achievements of the past and, at the same time, a new epoch in the steady course of a thousand-year-old history of architectural creation. In artistically progressive regions the present already belongs to this new architecture. In future it will everywhere. It stands in an inner relationship to historic monuments; without wanting to copy or vie with them like historicism, without forcefully pushing them aside or putting them 'in the corner' as technical doctrinarism would. The new architecture is forging a true artistic rebirth out of the monuments of the past and the recent achievements of a new artistic culture – which is itself based on old traditions and new sensibilities. This is not an isolated artistic trend or a one-sided credo though. Rarely has an artistic tendency had so broad a basis, found so great an echo in a universal spiritual movement. Just as it did at the threshold of the Italian Renaissance, an enthusiasm for the artistic legacy of the past, and above all the local past, is awakening with vigour everywhere; an enthusiasm that has nothing to do with the academic and technical interests of the nineteenth century, but is based upon the reawakening of a

universal artistic sensibility and upon a resuscitation of those values which give life to art, and greatness and beauty to life.

It is a joy to see the great cities of imperial Germany becoming more beautiful from day to day, notwithstanding the impetus from England, the actual home of this new renaissance. And in this great age a project is to be carried out in Vienna whereby something that would elsewhere be considered as the crowning glory, as the starting point and leitmotif for the artistic development of the city, would inevitably fall victim not to an unfortunate coincidence of circumstances and views, as was so often the case in the past, but to a mere ignorance of progressive artistic ideas.

14. Monument Cult and Artistic Development (1910)

Max Dvořák, 'Denkmalkultus und Kunstentwicklung', *KJZK*, 4 (1910), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 1–32; reprinted in *Max Dvořák. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by J. Wilde and K. M. Swoboda (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1929), pp. 250–70

I. The Problem

Reverence for monuments is taking on ever more importance in contemporary intellectual life, but it will not escape the careful observer that the greatest lack of clarity prevails – not only as to its tasks, but also over its premises and motivations. It therefore seemed to me that an attempt to summarize the principal moments of this historical development would be all the more useful, since, in my opinion, far too little weight has hitherto been put on the most important among them.

There are without doubt many reasons for the veneration of monuments.

Religious piety may be counted among the oldest of them. The temples and statues of the gods as well as other objects that were associated with religious ideas and memories, were deemed sacrosanct and entrusted to public protection by even the most ancient cultures. Thus everything found in the temples of China and Japan has stood under the protection of the law for millennia, and we have this protection to thank for the fact that artworks from the most distant periods in the development of East-Asian art have been preserved in such great numbers. But also in other artistic fields, where the protection of monuments did not attain this sort of legal status, we have religious veneration to thank for the fact that many monuments which would otherwise have fallen victim to new artistic demands have been preserved. It also played a large part in the case of Christian art, and a larger one than it does today, where in many cases religious circles have been gripped by an irreverent hankering after novelty.

The genealogical esteem for historic monuments can be no less old: a veneration for ancestral inheritance played an important role for individual families, entire communities and peoples of all eras, and this resulted in the preservation of buildings or other monuments associated with historic memories. Particularly instructive here is the sparing of individual monuments of classical antiquity in medieval Rome. The columns of Trajan, Marcus and Phocas, the *moles hadriani*, the *dioscuri* and the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius would certainly have perished had they not been venerated from the perspective of historical memory as symbols of the Eternal City's past. They were the *memorabilia urbis Romae*, and pilgrims and tourists came from all over the world to see and admire them, just as they go to

see and admire the Sistine Chapel today. That this source of the preservation of monuments and witnesses to the past has still not run dry is evidenced most clearly by the various museums that are being created to recall important historic events or significant persons and to safeguard objects that relate to these events or persons in some way.

But this is followed by one of the most important sources of the monument cult: that patriotic enthusiasm which takes pleasure in the artworks of earlier generations and takes pride in them even when they are not associated with reminiscences of particular historic events. This was a moment that already played an important role in classical antiquity; something that can easily be demonstrated with reference to literary documents or religious and other artworks, which, although irrelevant as bearers of historical memories, were nevertheless held in high regard by later generations.

As a source of the monument cult this factor took on tremendous significance during the Renaissance, outstripping all others. In the mercantile centres of southern and north-western Europe a society whose members could not lay claim to long-established family trees, old castles, family privileges or family traditions assumed political leadership and thus compensated for what they lacked in values of personal piety by means of the past of the communes to which they belonged. And everything that the community possessed in terms of the monuments of former artistic endeavours started to be considered as part of the communal past. At the feudal courts the artist was a craftsman who was counted amongst the servants, and one was accustomed to valuing his works according to the value of the materials and labour involved. But the great bankers and cotton manufacturers – a Jodocus Vydts in Bruges or a Cosimo de Medici in Florence – were put on a par with the artists as a result of the guilds, and since the individual importance of the artist was also growing and people had begun to reconsider the accounts by classical authors on the esteem accorded to artistic creation in antiquity, great artists and artworks took on an entirely new significance in public life. To venerate them was now a duty, their history part of the city's fame, and in order to give this past a correspondingly long and glorious history the Italians extended it right back to the art of classical antiquity, whereby it was not only the artists that started to learn to look back on it with patriotic pride (which had often been the case before), but also every cultured citizen of the Renaissance.

The influence this change had on the general public's relationship to artistic heritage was great indeed. From that point on, numerous artist's biographies and art topographies were written, which, by establishing the works of famous artists in literature, contributed an enormous amount to their preservation. A genuine adoration of the artworks themselves also developed though, and indeed just as much for the creations of the present and the

immediately preceding periods (insofar as these could be brought to bear upon the present) as for the monuments of antique art.

Various facts instruct us as to the extent to which this patriotic monument cult contributed to the protection of publicly owned artworks. We know from documentary reports and chronicles, for example, that several foreign artists – Frenchmen, Netherlanders and Germans – worked in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Whilst the works of the contemporary Italian masters were recorded and described for the glory of their native cities by Vasari and the other art chroniclers and have thus been almost entirely preserved for us, the works of the foreign artists were for the most part lost. Or another example. Artistic life in fifteenth-century France and Germany flourished no less than it did in Italy, but since the high esteem that the Italian Renaissance had shown for old and new artistic property only became widespread later on in Germany and France, only a small remnant of the former wealth of German and French quattrocento art has been preserved for us. But gradually a relationship to art similar to that which had developed in Florence and Venice, in Bruges and Ghent, spread everywhere and was further developed in line with the direction that social life had begun to take. In this way the communal artistic patriotism of the Renaissance was gradually transformed into an artistic patriotism of the nation and the state, whereby the limits that determined what artistic heritage was to be protected were naturally also shifted. At the beginning of the nineteenth century in particular, this patriotic point of view took centre stage in all statements and discussions on the esteem for and sparing of historic monuments, where the philosophical and historical theories of the Enlightenment and of Romanticism clearly also played a part. According to these theories, ancient monuments required especial attention and the utmost care as documents of a national or universal human *aurea aetas*; of a better, idyllic age. The entire movement for the protection of the artworks of the middle ages in the first half of the nineteenth century was based on this spiritual foundation, which also explains why the patriotic standpoint was put forward as motivation for the majority of protection laws up to the present day. Indeed, just a few years ago a distinguished academic, Professor Dehio, in a speech that was also printed, identified patriotic interests as the main source of the modern monument cult. Riegl contradicted him in an essay in the *Mitteilungen der Zentralkommission*, where he stressed, certainly quite rightly, that patriotic considerations are not the primary causes of the pleasure we derive from old ruins, churches and towns.

But it seems to me that Riegl himself went too far when he sought to eliminate completely the part that a love of the *Heimat* plays in our relationship to monuments. It is not artistic value alone that moves thousands to seek out a monument of the national past. Just

recently the gradual transformation of a doctrinaire political patriotism into a concrete cultural love of the *Heimat* has had the effect of bringing indigenous issues to the fore where historic art is concerned too.

Another result of this new esteem for historic artworks while it was still developing during the Renaissance was dilettantism and connoisseurship. Whilst the broad majority of contemporary art was generally comprehensible, the monuments of former artistic periods in many cases demanded a special personal predilection and knowledge, and this in turn caused art lovers, researchers and collectors to engage with historic artworks quite intensively. Cabinets of curiosities were transformed into art collections where a variety of art objects were safeguarded – no longer on account of their material value and rarity, but out of a delight in their historic and artistic importance. The importance of these art collections increased steadily, especially when, under official patronage and in the context of academic artistic tendencies, a pedagogical mission came to be attached to them, which clearly only served the original and soon antiquated purposes to a minimal degree. In spite of this, the collections and museums became very important institutions in public artistic life, institutions to which we owe both the preservation of innumerable historic artworks as well as a no less significant and ever-deepening comprehension of them.

But the collecting of artworks also contributed to their protection indirectly. They retained a high material value as sought-after commodities that were in high demand. As a result, rulers and governments began to bring historic artworks found during excavations or already belonging to the state under their authority and passed measures against unauthorized alienation or abduction. The first decrees against the export of artworks were issued in Rome and Venice in the sixteenth century and were based on these fiscal grounds. Then, in the mercantile age, they developed into extensive state interventions into artistic life, which came to be reinterpreted as a moral duty in the nineteenth century. The legislative provisions for the protection of artistic heritage in certain states, such as Italy and Greece, rest primarily on fiscal motivations to this day.

A further and particularly important cause of the consideration for and preservation of historic monuments is the desire for historical knowledge and information. It is rooted deep within the human soul and is probably as old as human culture itself. An interest in everything that can be considered as a witness to the history of times past is its necessary result, and thus we do in fact find occasional mention of historically or artistically significant objects in even the oldest historical accounts. Such mentions become more regular and more extensive with the advancing development of historiography, from which one can conclude that the interest in historic and artistic monuments was also on the increase in intellectual life

as whole. It is well known how rich the writings of the classical authors are in historical information on artists and artworks, and we have these to thank for our knowledge of the most important facts on the history of art in antiquity. And even if a certain interruption occurred in the middle ages and the accounts of historically or artistically noteworthy monuments were mostly limited to occasional notes, nevertheless an historical interest in the monumental witnesses to the past never disappeared completely and again increased from century to century, ultimately making up an important part of the modern historical sciences, whose influence on the intellectual life of the present need not be emphasized. In the second half of the nineteenth century historical interest came so clearly to the fore in all questions of monument preservation that it was quite simply identified with the entire content of the modern monument cult, although it is not difficult to demonstrate that there are many monuments whose historical significance does not coincide with their significance for our monument cult and where these are in fact diametrically opposed. A cloister, an old alley, neither historically nor art-historically significant, often exert a greater influence on us than monuments that would otherwise have to be counted among the most important of art-historical documents or the most remarkable symbols of historic events. And neither can the contemporary monument cult be explained, as people have occasionally tried to do in recent times, with reference to the increase in historical education and the understanding of historical values that depends upon it. Even here it is a matter of but one moment that worked and works alongside and with others, and which clearly came to the fore in recent times in the context of the historicism of the nineteenth century.

All these reasons for holding monuments in high regard can be traced a long way back through historical development, but even taken as a whole they do not exhaust all the causes of our interest in historic monuments and the pleasure we derive from them. Religious, genealogical, patriotic, material and historical motivations hardly come into consideration in the case of a humble ruin of an old castle of which nothing remains but a few remnants of walls in a state of the utmost dilapidation. And yet, standing on a woody mountainside above a mighty river, these remains cheer and inspire the hiker, though he knows nothing of their history and has no interest in them besides, for they awaken a sense of pleasure in him and they elevate his mood. It is clear that values other than those enumerated come into play here; values one tends to designate with the terms romantic, picturesque, atmospheric. These values rest, on the one hand, on specific sentiments and, on the other, on the aesthetic qualities of the monument, without the former coinciding with the universal feelings – religious or patriotic, for example – that otherwise come into consideration with regard to historic monuments, nor the latter with the absolute artistic

value of monuments, whose effects in this direction are conditioned less by their original artistic form than by the appearance they have taken on over the course of time and in connection with their surroundings.

Alois Riegl, who dedicated the last years of his life to Austrian monument preservation and who was of far too profound a nature to have done so without taking the fundamental questions of the task into account, collected these values together under the designation 'age value' and sought to explain our admiration of them with reference to the evolutionary ideas upon which our worldview is based.

Riegl set down his views in the text, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, which is the most important and brilliant contribution that has hitherto been written on this question, so we will have to go into it in some detail.³⁶

Riegl differentiates intentional and unintentional monuments. According to him, antiquity knew only intentional monuments, whereby a further differentiation is to be drawn between the ancient eastern nations, for whom there were only monuments to individuals and families, and the culture of the Greco-Roman nations, where the intentional patriotic monument emerged. An intentional monument was only capable of sustaining itself for as long as there were people who stood in some sort of relationship to the reasons for its having been created. This naturally lasted far longer for patriotic monuments, since the guarantee of its preservation was already contained in the continued existence of the nation. But neither in antiquity nor in the middle ages can there be any question of monument preservation or reverence for monuments in our sense of those terms. The situation only changed with the formation of a new monument value during the Renaissance. People began to appreciate the monuments of antiquity again, but not merely as intentional monuments, not as sources of the patriotic commemoration of the greatness and power of the empire that is communicated by such monuments, but on account of their artistic and historical value. People venerated them as the precursors of their own artistic creations, but then for their artistic form too, in that the art it had produced came to be seen as the only true, objectively correct art with universal validity for all ages.

Thus, according to Riegl, two factors came together in the evaluation of historic monuments after the Renaissance: first a historical interest, then an artistically dogmatic interest, which gave rise to the classification of monuments that has survived up to the present day: historic and artistic. The first measures for the protection of historic monuments, unknown to earlier ages, also emerged at that time.

³⁶ [See note above, p. 216.]

The continued development, according to Riegl, saw an increasing appreciation for other forms of art impinge more and more upon the objective exemplary status of the antique, whilst historical interest had turned away from the old patriotic historiography and towards developmental history. For developmental history, though, it is not only the important and notable monuments that come into consideration, but also every monument that exhibits a developmental value, which is independent of material, labour and purpose, and which Riegl calls age value. Today this has replaced the intentional commemorative value of antiquity and the artistic and historical values of the Renaissance.

Historical and artistic value demand the greatest possible preservation of forms, which explains the popularity of restorations that pursued the aim of preserving form. Age value, by contrast, calls first and foremost for the preservation of the existing state, excluding any sort of intervention that might cover up the traces of age or falsify the monument in its multifaceted significance.

This conception of Riegl's seems so clear and convincing that one could consider it a definitive solution were it not for a few objections that arise on closer inspection. Thus, from what has been said in the preceding remarks about the various sources of reverence for monuments, it should be apparent that Riegl's historical succession of three different phases in the reverence for monuments actually contradicts irrefutable historical facts.

There can hardly be any doubt that it was not intentional commemorative value alone that determined the relationship to historic monuments in antiquity, but that the artistic and historical significance of historic artworks also played a large role. How otherwise could we explain the fact that numerous writers of classical antiquity provide lengthy accounts of works of art; not because of their intentional commemorative value, but because of their historical and artistic significance, which is often expressly emphasized and described in detail.

Why did they persistently copy old artworks that had absolutely no intentional commemorative value right up to the imperial age if they had no interest in their long-outmoded artistic forms? Why, as the house discovered at the Farnesina shows, did they replicate old paintings on the walls of their dwellings; why did they collect whole picture galleries of old paintings? The Pergamene kings were already collecting old Greek works of art, and the desire to collect increased steadily thereafter, so that in the imperial Roman age it became, like today, a virtually pathological passion. Whole shiploads of the most diverse kinds of historic artworks were brought to Rome from Greece and from the Orient and, as one does today, one could find old artistic treasures in every halfway distinguished house. Excavations are providing new evidence of this all the time; surely it presupposes a certain

general artistic and historical relationship to historic artworks. Without artistic links to the art of the past the Flavian renaissance of Egyptian and ancient Greek forms would also be unthinkable and the conscious historicizing of the late imperial Roman age could not have emerged. For a long time this has tempted archaeologists to deny the art of these periods any originality at all.

Whilst the historical and artistic interest in artworks of the past did diminish significantly in the middle ages, even then it did not disappear completely – a conclusion that can be reached via the numerous conscious attempts to match the artistic qualities of antiquity as well as from the various records and reports. It was historical interest first and foremost that moved Charlemagne to have the equestrian statue of Theodoric brought to Aachen; historical interest that caused Bishop Bernward to have his imitation of the Roman triumphal columns carried out in Hildesheim in the eleventh century; historical interest that propagates itself from the pilgrim's books up to Ghiberti.³⁷

On the other hand, though, the intentional monument attained greater significance in the Renaissance than it had in antiquity. The desire for monumental immortalization was so great, for individuals as well as whole communes, that Burckhardt counted it amongst the most important characteristics of the Renaissance. The churches were transformed into mausoleums and halls of fame; statues were set up in the squares; pictures featured portraits of their donors; the portrait takes on ever more importance and the great buildings were only executed to convey the names of their patrons to posterity.

All this presupposes a belief that such intentional monuments will also be respected by coming generations. This desire for monumental glorification has persisted undiminished right up to the present day, as demonstrated – to say nothing of everything else that points to it – by the numerous statues that have been erected everywhere over the last few centuries and, though they have long since lost their artistic mission, are still being erected today.

Thus the criteria established by Riegl for the monument cult in antiquity and the modern age cannot be seen as a succession of developmental stages, for they derive from reasons for interest in historic monuments that can be observed in every period. They are as old as the patriotic and historical sensibility itself, and even if the content of these motivations changed with culture over time, they can nevertheless not be seen as absolute characteristics for the differentiation of the various historical phases of the monument cult. Rather, they are related to other motivations for the monument cult; ones that pertain in all ages.

³⁷ Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester (1129–71), bought antique statues in Rome and took them back to his homeland (*Historia pontificalis*, MGSS XX, p. 542).

But what does this mean for the last phase in Riegl's evolution of the monument cult? Does its content coincide with age value and can the evolutionary worldview be seen as its cause?

Here, too, objections can be raised.

There is no doubt that traces of age and the patina of a monument are capable of heightening the charm of a monument for modern man, and often the subtlest pleasures afforded us by monuments depend precisely upon those phenomenal characteristics that are produced over the course of the ages. But one ought not to overlook the fact that the modern monument cult also turns to admire other qualities of historic monuments, qualities that do not coincide with absolute art value and cannot simply be understood as age-related values. This can perhaps be observed most clearly in the redesign of the surroundings of an historic monument, which may increase or impair the effect of the monument depending on whether or not the artist has been able to combine the old and the new into a harmonic picture.

This harmony is not only conditioned by the degree of artistic mastery of the new elements and by the retention of the original monument's traces of age; it also requires a particular understanding of the qualities we admire in the overall effect of a group of buildings, qualities that are as independent of style as they are of traces of age. We also are able to observe similar things in monuments whose effect depends on their relation to the surrounding landscape. This effect cannot be explained by the opposition between the dilapidated monument and nature's eternal self-regeneration alone, as Riegl supposes, because there are a number of cases where monuments that are otherwise quite comparable, with the same degree of traces of decay and natural regeneration, are nevertheless quite different in terms of their value as monuments. Rugged, bare and lifeless cliffs heighten the effect of a ruined fortress, idyllic meadows that of an old farmstead, but how much of the former effect would remain if the scenery were changed? And are such great impressions not often linked to a particular point of view, a particular play of light? But also, and this seems to me to be of the utmost importance, to individual receptivity, which presupposes a conscious or unconscious artistic sensibility far more than it does a deepening of worldview. There are many who stand at the highest level of intellectual culture, people who can indeed be seen as the actual pioneers and bearers of the evolutionary interpretation of past and present, for whom that which we admire in historic monuments is not only incomprehensible, but virtually a thorn in their sides, just as, by contrast, there are also those who possess a full understanding of it without having the slightest idea about modern epistemology. Far less than a specific scientific and literary training, our relationship to historic monuments presupposes an artistic disposition and education, a conscious or

unconscious involvement in the artistic life and sensibility of our age in general. Alongside and sometimes quite independent of general factors, whether material, intellectual or sentimental, a certain aesthetic relationship to historic monuments plays an important role in the contemporary monument cult. With regard to the objective form and appearance of monuments it represents a subjective artistic understanding which is bound up with a specific age and culture and which, as we shall see, is very closely related to the general development of art and decisive for the content of the monument cult.

This factor must be seen as a fluctuating one from the outset, so it will make sense to look into its history and ask how the artistic relationship between the general development of art and historic artworks developed. The following is an attempt at a brief description of this development.

II. Antiquity

The heroic glorification of a long-gone Minoan art and culture in Homer sets a tempting train of thought in motion, one that will nevertheless remain futile until we are better informed on the period that separates ancient eastern art from classical art. Our problem first takes on palpable form once Greek art has come to maturity, and leads us to the surprising observation that, as with so many phenomena in intellectual life, a striking parallel exists between the modern age and antiquity, one that the short-sighted artistic dogmatism of the modern age only half recognized, if at all. One can here make the assertion that, in every period that had attained a certain proficiency in overcoming artistic problems, people started systematically collecting old artworks: a looking back that often derived particular nourishment from its emergence out of circles in which the legacy of a glorious past was not immediately available. How similar the Attalids and the Medicis are in this respect! But it was not just the collecting of old artworks that became popular in the Hellenistic period. They started to include monuments from past centuries within the framework of new artistic invention, just as this was to become possible and indeed common practice in the baroque art of the modern age. As in the last two centuries, it was the overall stylistic appearance of historic artworks – not merely a few isolated naturalistic and compositional qualities – that was perceived and emulated as something of particular charm in the imperial age. This resulted in a school of copyists and archaizing tendencies in art. Housing and public buildings were decorated with reproductions of old sculptures and paintings, just as they are today; sculpture galleries and picture galleries took on central importance; art academics became the leaders of artistic life. We have this constellation to thank for almost everything

we know about early Greek art, its works having been preserved for us principally in copies from that 'age of historical styles'. And just as the English Pre-Raphaelites tried to imitate Botticelli's clear compositions and linear rhythms, the artists of the imperial age did the same for the austere, strict style of Greek art's youth: old and long-since outmoded styles became the order of the day; artistic life was characterized by connoisseurship and artistic deception, the most variegated differentiation of taste, and the highest refinement alongside the most uninspired philistinism.

To the dogmatists of the nineteenth century these phenomena, as we have seen, were evidence of the decline of classical art, which had apparently lost all independent will and prowess under Roman rule. But having come to know of the incredible onward development of art in the imperial age, which was no less fruitful or important than the art of the heroic age, we have to ask ourselves whether this artistic universalism was not also based on new, positive artistic intentions.

We are only met with affirmative answers here. Old buildings were joined to new ones, as for example at Hadrian's temple to all the gods, in order to retain the old and to heighten the effect of the new – the good sense behind this fact is so obvious to us today that it needs no explanation. Old reliefs were installed in stately rooms and statues were set up in gardens and squares, not for antiquarian reasons but for the sake of new and particularly subtle artistic sensations. They discovered the charm of age and the wealth of artistic moments that lay hidden in these old monuments, and thus historic artworks became means of expression, just as they are today, for an artistic sensibility that saw its highest goal less in individual artistic problems than in an overall artistic harmony that was to be served by the art of the past and the present in equal measure. One need only recall the path that the art of antiquity had covered – that, for instance, which led from the mighty unison of the Pantheon to the overwhelming symphony of all the arts at Hagia Sophia – in order to understand how deeply this sensibility was rooted in the whole development of late antique art and how close in many respects it stood to the modern monument cult, only really diverging from it in its different relationship to nature. For the modern age went beyond the antique by elevating impressions of nature to the status of the highest artistic unity.

The command against the destruction of Rome issued by Theodoric the Great, the most erudite student of classical culture to occupy the barbarian throne, certainly stemmed from this late-antique artistic pantheism and not, for instance, from patriotic or historical motivations.

But there can be no doubt that this artistic admiration for historic artworks could not have outlived antiquity. It presupposed a highly personal understanding of art and a highly

developed artistic culture, and it is perhaps precisely this – the most comprehensive subjectivization of the preconditions for the enjoyment of art – that was one of the principal causes for the sudden and complete rustication of art that occurred in classically inclined artistic circles in most areas during the seventh and eighth centuries once these preconditions and their bearers had receded into the background.

III. The Middle Ages

An appraisal of the aesthetic relationship to historic monuments in the middle ages would appear to be uncommonly difficult. Clear literary accounts that might show us the path are lacking, and the guidance offered by medieval art is also only fragmentary. Nevertheless, a few facts can be established.

There are early medieval buildings that were for the most part constructed out of the remains of classical monuments, indiscriminately selected and arbitrarily put together – proof enough of the fact that the artworks of antiquity as a whole had become a lifeless and indifferent mass for the new world. Once the popes had abandoned the relics of the forum, parts of which they had occupied for a time, the rabble gradually came to roost in them. Layers of earth accumulated over the ruins and ultimately transformed the ‘centre of the world’ into a *campo vaccino*. The *bravi* held their trysts on the capitol.³⁸ Up until the seventeenth century the great monumental buildings of antiquity were everywhere used as quarries. The greatest of cities disappeared without a trace, where they had once been full of buildings which, judging by their materials and technical execution, had seemed destined for eternity. That which was fortuitously spared for practical, ideal, religious or historical reasons is all that has been preserved. It is precisely exceptions such as these, along with those early Christian religious buildings that were not subsequently renovated and have been preserved almost unscathed up to the present day, which prove that this disappearance was not caused by natural decay over time, but by a lack of interest in the preservation of historic monuments. To the rulers of the old world they were as useless and meaningless as a library to an illiterate or a rococo park to a peasant.

If people lacked any understanding for the overall artistic picture of the old ruins, new relationships to the individual peculiarities of classical form and content nevertheless began to develop. The notion that the antique only started to influence new artistic development in the Renaissance has long since been recognized as being erroneous. Medieval art turned to the artistic legacy of antiquity over and over again for two reasons.

³⁸ [*Campo vaccino* ~ cattle field; *bravi* ~ assassins or desperados.]

For one, the new artistic developments were everywhere based on antique traditions, antique visual ideas, residues and reductions of classical formal innovations, and, crucially, they were based on the most important elements of classical thinking as to the qualities that ought to be striven for in an artwork, such as, for example, the belief in the necessity of objectivity in the reproduction of nature or the striving for tectonic monumentality in architecture; character traits that differentiate medieval art from that of the uncivilized nations and seem to be a direct continuation of the art of the cultural nations of antiquity. But the historical association of principles and general aims that links medieval and classical art inevitably led to ever new points of contact with antiquity, even as the development of medieval art progressed.

The second source of such points of contact was Byzantine art, which, even if much of it represented fruitless repetition, had preserved and perpetuated the artistic creativity of the Roman imperial age in living practice, and also opened up new ways back to historic art for the artistic life of the Occident in regular waves of influence.

And thus throughout the whole of the middle ages there were a whole number of tendencies in western art, some of a general nature, some of local origin or limited to isolated branches of art, that rested on new artistic relationships with the artworks of antiquity. In its principal content the so-called Carolingian Renaissance emerged directly from classical traditions, while its new and widespread influence within central Europe brought about a recourse to monuments from times long past, something one can observe in every area of intellectual and artistic culture. It was not material worth alone that compelled Charlemagne to have the spoils of early Christian buildings brought from Ravenna to Aachen, and even if the attempts at restitution – which can be seen everywhere, from the monumental buildings of the imperial residence to the script reform – may have corresponded more to the great king's general cultural and political program than to his concrete artistic requirements, they nevertheless bear witness to the fact that a certain reciprocity had developed between artistic witnesses to the past and the new art of the middle ages – one that would never be completely lost again.

Nor can there be any doubt that, alongside the processes of emancipation that were taking place amongst the new nations, and in many cases tied up with them, one can observe a continual rapprochement with classical art throughout the whole of the middle ages; an ongoing renaissance of which the great Italian Renaissance represented but one stage; a renaissance which, for artistic culture as a whole in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was no less important than that of the fifteenth. This is manifested in both the overall development and in the local movements. Even if the derivation of the new Chartres statuary

from Provençal classicism has proven untenable, the new sculpture could nevertheless not have developed without a reawakened interest in the aims of monumental antique sculpture. And the extent to which the new architecture was indebted to the fresh discovery of late antique architecture is demonstrated by Pisa Cathedral and S. Ambrogio in Milan – the onward development rested no less on these monuments than the buildings of the Île-de-France.

A new architectural style emerged in Rome as a result of a time-honoured local development; a style that may to us seem a naïve diminutive of Roman models, but which bears witness to the great new influence that monuments of classical and early Christian art had begun to exert on their new environment. During the so-called proto-Renaissance in Florence, local factors linked up with a pronounced classical tendency, and to such an extent that people organized excavations in order to be able to properly adorn their new buildings with original antique elements. In order to create a museum of old paintings within the ducal chapel – which, as an architectural task, was itself indebted to late-antique ideas – the doges had it converted on the model of the Justinian Church of the Holy Apostles. And in Sicily under Friedrich II a state came into being in which one recognizes a conscious harking back to the antique, not just in its public institutions and the leading ideas of the administration, but also in the official art. The coins are minted after classical models and the public buildings are adorned with classicizing portrait busts. The remarkable Provençal sculpture and architecture of the second half of the twelfth century, which appears to be completely dependent on the many classical monuments that survived in Aquitaine, is likewise dependent upon this first wave of the Renaissance, which came to a provisional end with the first great Tuscan artist whose name and works we know, Nicola Pisano, and the great Italian duecento painters, Cavallini and Duccio.

Thereafter it is everywhere driven back by the triumphal march of the new art of north-western Europe, where the new nations' struggle for an independent artistic conquest of animate nature and inanimate matter led to a style which gradually came to replace all other tendencies as the fullest expression of the thirteenth century's new artistic endeavours. But a century later the voices of the dead ring out once more, and louder than ever.

But before we turn to the age of the 'revivification of classical antiquity', we shall attempt to explain the abovementioned relationship between the new medieval art and the older artworks in more detail, at least insofar as it relates to our theme.

When we go into its particulars we find that *it rests on partial discoveries pertaining to form or content and that it exhibits strong similarities with contemporary attitudes towards nature*. The entire development of medieval art was saturated with the desire to

establish artistic representation and form upon new and independent visual notions and formal solutions. But unlike antiquity or the Renaissance, these endeavours were based neither on a consistent study of nature nor on a consistent focus on definite individual formal problems, but on a variety of individual impressions, images from memory and attempts to lend the problems of representation and design a more vivid and effective form in one way or another. The old traditional compositions and building complexes were gradually reinterpreted and transformed, whereby people borrowed several innovations and transformations both from nature and its own invention as well as from the antique, which, taken as a whole, remained just as incommensurable and unfathomable as nature itself in the middle ages. In comparison to the broad horizon of an aged antiquity encompassing epochs and worlds and now hurrying towards its end, the medieval interest in monuments represents the discovery of childhood, which, in harmless impartiality, takes from the unsurveyable treasures that past eras had created that which it was able to understand from the perspective of its own new rudimentary visual and architectural ideas.

These, though, were not the characteristics and subtleties of artistic expression peculiar to classical art, which medieval man understood just as little as he did the individual poetic beauties of the Horatian odes or the incredible system of Roman law. As with the relationship to classical literature, this interest rested on material factors and subject matter, or on the general schemas of artistic form. Even where they took pains to reproduce this form faithfully, the similarities are as elusive and incidental as those between the Chinoiserie of the rococo period and its East-Asian models. They were only in a position to observe and imitate the very crudest and most obvious of differences between historic monuments and contemporary artistic production, or otherwise concrete individual specimens, such that, for example, the very simplest laws of antique statuary or individual painterly and sculptural motifs seem alien in their medieval surroundings when employed by medieval artists.

It is understandable that an interest such as this was less concerned with actual classical monuments than those of early Christendom and Byzantium, which were closer to the form and subject matter of medieval art. The only monuments of antiquity to arouse such artistic interest were those whose original iconographic or overall formal motifs had survived largely intact, this being the case most frequently with smaller artworks and sepulchral sculpture. Fragments and ruins as yet played no part; as in the early middle ages they remained dead objects, not worthy of note or protection.

A proof for the correctness of these findings is provided by the medieval reception of antique monuments. Religious, patriotic and historical interest; an enjoyment of curiosities and all things foreign; of travel reports and objects embellished by the

imagination – these factors occasionally resulted in attempts to represent them visually. We might remark here that this tended to happen in the absence of any genuine monuments, in quite capricious inventions and, insofar as one can speak of artistic form at all here, in inventions conditioned by medieval art, such that one only gathers what it is that is supposed to be represented from the accompanying designation. Sometimes the old monuments are characterized by specific and particularly conspicuous features, as for example a Roman building by its intercolumniations, arcades and columns adorned with decorative reliefs. We occasionally find such representations, which relate to the actual monuments as hieroglyphs and signs to visual representations, in descriptions, in world histories or in medieval paraphrases of the poetic material of antiquity. They were also employed in characterizing the setting of religious representations, for which a whole series of examples might be cited: from representations of the Holy Sepulchre in early medieval works of applied art right up to the Roman buildings in paintings of the legend of St Francis of Assisi.

But there were disproportionately more representations where such signal borrowing of specific monuments was lacking and where nothing other than the adjacent designation suggested an old building. Just as the protagonists and heroes of antiquity appear and behave as medieval knights in the medieval narratives and poetry, in vagabond songs and scholarly epics, the monuments that set the stage for such heroic deeds are also transposed into the style of the age. This was not merely poetic license, but the necessary result of the artistic relationship to antique art and its monuments in the middle ages as a whole. They were as blind to the language and meaning of these monuments, to their overall aesthetic effect and stylistic significance, as a savage would be to the artistic significance of a Gothic cathedral, and they had no idea what to do with them. This is why they instinctively transposed them, where they were required, into the artistic language of the present, and did so even when a specific monument was to be represented. We find particularly remarkable evidence of this in the sketchbook of Villard d'Honnecourt. In this only extant artistic memento of a thirteenth-century French architect we find, amongst other records, drawings made after antique and early medieval sculpture. They are not fantastical representations, but records of specific monuments – one is soon convinced of this on closer inspection and it is expressly underlined at one point in the accompanying text. Nevertheless, stylistically they are so similar to a series of Gothic figures that they would hardly stand out. It is just that the draftsman has instinctively transposed them into the Gothic style, just as the lion in the same book appears to have been styled in the Gothic, whilst it is expressly emphasized that it was drawn *al vif*. Here one clearly sees the extent of the gulf between the artistic perception and sensibility of the middle ages and the older artworks. While they certainly learnt from these,

and their accomplishments, now reduced to rudimentary norms and problems, were among the fundamental elements of medieval artistic development, the works of antiquity had nevertheless not yet experienced a resurrection that might have led to a conscious, widespread aesthetic cult of the monument, and in general terms, as in their specific individually and temporally determined forms, they still stood beyond the realms of living artistic sensation, beyond the artistic culture of the age, like an infinite, incomprehensible dream world.

15. The Museum Building on the Karlsplatz (1910)

Anon., *Der Museumsbau auf dem Karlsplatz. Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs, I* (Vienna, Leipzig: K. u. k. Hof-Buchdruckerei und Hof-Verlags-Buchhandlung Carl Fromme, 1910)

For many years no other question relating to historic monuments has engaged public opinion in Vienna nearly so much as the matter of the museum building on the Karlsplatz. Vienna has been divided into two bitterly opposed camps, such that the optimist could well believe himself transported back to that fruitful age of the artistic feuds that were fought out in Rome around the middle of the seventeenth century, or to that of the Parisian artistic controversy of the eighteen-sixties. What, then, is this current debate actually all about?

This much should be emphasized from the outset: the objective artistic qualities of the only museum project that seems to be under consideration in this present controversy are *not*, as a less than precisely informed observer might suppose, the actual subject of discussion. Rather, the far more pressing question here is whether a large and in itself highly significant building – and a ‘city museum’ would necessarily be just that – should be erected on the suggested site at all, in the immediate vicinity of the Karlskirche. So this is actually a Karlskirche question, not a question about the museum.

The Karlskirche – the most popular Christian monument in Vienna alongside the Stephanskirche – is dear to every Viennese citizen, indeed every Austrian, and rightly so, for artistically it is one of the most outstanding buildings in the city, and indeed the empire. It was conceived and carried out under Karl VI as the collaborative work of all the Habsburg crownlands, to a certain extent as a monument to the pragmatic sanction, the foundation of our state, and is thereby one of the most important visible symbols of a great historical development.³⁹ Those who are unfamiliar with the details of its origin nevertheless get an idea of the building’s grandeur from the association of its name with that of a prince so important for Vienna and Austria.

There are many who feel that this work is now threatened and who want to protect its present effect from any sort of danger that might present itself. But in what way would the construction of a museum on the proposed site pose any sort of danger? In order to answer

³⁹ [Besides solving the immediate problem of the lack of a male heir by making female succession possible, the pragmatic sanction of 1713 declared the Habsburg lands to be *indivisibilibiter ac inseparabiliter*.]

this question we should have to consider the particular effect the Karlskirche seems to want to achieve.

Now it has been emphasized often enough that the Karlskirche was originally free-standing, and thus meant to be seen from all sides. Indeed, we know that the original intention was to set it on top of a mound and that this original intention was only abandoned on account of the high costs. It seems the main front of the church was meant to be turned in the direction of the extension of the Herrengasse. Since we also know that even Emperor Karl VI had plans for an expansion and improvement of the city, whereby the Parisian boulevards erected under Louis XIV seem to have been the closest historical model, the complex may relate to this great project. In any case though, the church was not merely meant to be seen from the front, as the abovementioned idea of the mound makes amply clear. The rich *picturesque articulation on all sides* clearly supports this view. It is also clear that the charm of the elliptical plan of the cupola can only be properly appreciated when one is able to observe the church from a number of very different viewpoints.

Anyone familiar with the architectural sensibilities of the baroque age knows that it depended above all on rich painterly intersections and projections. To this end one need only recall the etchings, so important for Vienna in particular, by the baroque masters from the Galli-Bibbiena family and by Pozzo, where they present their masterful architectural fantasies from an angled viewpoint and in oblique foreshortening with surprising regularity. Such an endeavour was surely also a contributing factor in the designs for the Karlskirche, with its projecting and receding forms and its rich silhouette. But this spatial movement, this varying projection of elements on the front side, is not nearly so clear in a frontal view, where the forms tend to collapse into one plane, as it is in an oblique view, which only then reveals the cupola in depth.

But even if such perspectival shifts were not part of the builders' intentions, though no one familiar with the period would deny this, we would nevertheless still be entitled to want to retain this charm if it appeals to us today, precisely because it is without a doubt there.

And we should like to emphasize something else besides: the Karlskirche is so rich in forms that it actually exhausts the entire formal repertoire of baroque art, and manages to bring them together into a coherent overall effect.

At St Peter's in Rome, when they settled upon a Greek cross plan with four relatively short arms, the church was not originally supposed to have any towers. Having extended the nave to its present length, thereby forcing the cupola back from the facade, they then decided to give the latter two towers in order to heighten its effect. But for technical

reasons they again had to depart from the original plans and laid out the great colonnades as a sort of substitute, which made the facade seem higher and created a more distant standpoint from which the cupola would then stand out again somewhat.

But the cupola of the Vienna Karlskirche dominates in all directions, the towers and ‘Trajan’s columns’ are set to the sides, they work at once with and alongside the cupola. For all its richness, the Karlskirche is a finished artwork in itself. It never required subsequent artists to contrive new means to rectify incongruities that might have arisen from changes to the original plan, as was the case at St Peter’s in Rome. With the Karlskirche there is not even any need to create an artificial forecourt or a particular standpoint from which any deficiencies might then appear to have been obviated. There are no deficiencies to rectify here; one simply has to show what’s there. But preferably on all sides.

Now one may object that this is no longer the case at all, since the existence of the polytechnic on the one side already presents the church with a threatening rival. (Incidentally, the change of level brought about by the hapless urban railway and the regulation of the Wien river has also been quite detrimental). While the polytechnic was still at its former height it was naturally far less disruptive. It would certainly have been a good thing if the extension had been prevented. But it is hardly fair to say to those who now speak out against the development of the other side, ‘you should have done something about it when they were putting the extra storey on top of the polytechnic.’ Since those who talk like this also condemn the extension themselves, one could just as well ask why they failed to make a stand back then. One simply has to learn from past mistakes. And should one go ahead and make another mistake just because the first was not prevented?

This whole argument would only make sense if the only way to make good the mistake were to set a sort of counterpart down on the other side and thus make the Karlskirche the centrepiece of a symmetrical complex. In fact, this assertion only comes from one corner.

We therefore have to determine whether that purpose would really be achieved in this way, or whether this would not actually be of even more detriment to the church.

Let us begin with the second part of the question. We do in fact still have some very fine views of the church to this day: that which faces the front side almost directly from the corner of Lothringerstraße and the extension of Kärntnerstraße; the oblique view from Canovagasse; and above all the view from Schwarzenbergplatz and the section of Lothringerstraße that starts there. This last line is *the only one that allows the rich perspectives of the church to develop in all their fullness*. From here even the polytechnic, because it appears detached and oblique, is at its least disruptive. And the

Schwarzenbergplatz is one of the most outstanding squares in Vienna, so it must appear especially desirable retain its association with the Karlsplatz by way of this view. But it is precisely this view, from the Schwarzenbergplatz and the lateral extensions of the same, which would be almost entirely ruined if a high building were to be constructed on the site intended for the municipal museum. Granted, the view from Canovagasse would remain, but this is a very one-sided view and does not permit of any sort of gradual or varied development of perspectives. But the frontal view would also be completely altered by a large building in this location in that the church would to a certain extent then appear to be the central tract of a larger building complex, rather than an independent work, and would be degraded from a totality, an individuality, to the status of a subservient member. At present the church at least still has room to breathe on one side.

Anyone who has seen St Peter's in Rome will admit that the huge Vatican building on the one side does not actually spoil the view. But if one were to imagine the same building erected on the other side as well, then virtually everyone would admit that St Peter's had surrendered its individual existence and been relegated to part of a complex, even if the other building were done in rather different masses and forms.

This would be especially bad in the case of the Vienna Karlskirche, because it would look as though it had been moved into a corner between two buildings standing roughly at right angles. The side buildings would also dominate and seem somewhat larger due to their closer proximity to the approaching pedestrian. This may not be quite so evident from certain deftly chosen perspectives, but one ought to just step onto the square and imagine how things would actually look.⁴⁰

One will also perceive that the church would seem restless and petty if wedged in between two mighty buildings, whilst at present it still appears entirely unencumbered when viewed from the Schwarzenbergplatz, and from the Kärntnerstraße side it at least looks like a free offshoot of the townscape.

Developing the site to the left of the church would thus be detrimental both to the whole rich succession of lateral perspectives and to the frontal view as well.

Another argument that has been put forward in favour of the development – namely that the ugly houses on Maderstraße that are at present visible need to be covered up – hardly requires any serious rebuttal. The one house is really not so bad, though the other is admittedly awful. But does one erect a monumental building to hide two private houses? Is

⁴⁰ Given the widespread misuse of contrived viewpoints and manipulated perspectives it is most admirable that Oberbaurat Otto Wagner seems to have relinquished this technique and, apparently without any embellishment, shows the unfavourable effect quite clearly in his rendering, which was also published in an illustrated Viennese newspaper.

that not like the old story of someone buying oil paintings just to cover up grease spots on the wall? The municipal authorities ought to have the pollution scraped off the house on the corner, it would surely come away easily enough. But to be quite frank, the houses are so far away from the church and stand in so little relation to it that they really only represent a secondary consideration. Scraping the dirt off would nevertheless be a good thing. Perhaps the city gardeners could be of use here too.

From the perspective of monument preservation – and preserving a monument's effect is also part and parcel of this – one therefore has to speak out with the greatest resolve against the development of the site in question.

For us and other like-minded people, this is primarily a matter of warding off anything that would not look well. Allow me to quote a saying from a certain thinker: 'If a tiger were to jump at my throat, I should first seek to free myself without thinking twice about what to put in its place.'

We concede that the present prospect is not an especially happy one. But it is not our task to make positive suggestions; this would perhaps be an occasion to ask artists to submit their ideas. But in that case, too, the public must again be allowed to discuss them.

As we have said, our views are not directed against the artistic appearance of a specific design, but against the idea of any large building next to the church at all. There is therefore no reason for us to go into the formal particulars.

The controversy only turned into what seemed to be a campaign against a specific project because people so stubbornly and needlessly insisted upon this particular site.

All the same, certain quarters are claiming that concerns over the site in question only begun to be voiced after a particular architect and his project came to the fore. In response to this it need only be said that it was only after the contest between Schachner and Wagner, and after the models had been produced – something that was quite rightly instigated by the municipality at that stage – that people really began to concern themselves intensively with the question as a whole and were thus able to arrive at a more correct judgement. This certainly was not the worst result of those efforts. On the contrary, that was the intention.

Besides this, the delays have certainly not done any harm so far. New plans are being made all the time and they grant that 'justified concerns be taken into account.' And even the function they ascribe to the building has changed time and again. One could well say that to a certain extent they are only just beginning to figure out the building's purpose. For a long time it was supposed to accommodate the 'Modern Gallery', and then it was

supposed to be the ethnological museum. If that museum had been built it would already have been obsolete by now. And then again – and this is particularly important – the expediency of future extensions, which would actually require an adjacent garden, is hardly possible on the intended site. It is also quite clear that the one-off costs and the running costs of the museum are still not at all clear. The delays have thus certainly not caused any harm at least until now; in fact, one inevitably gets the impression that the prudent patience of the municipal authorities has kept them from taking any over-hasty steps. What has been learnt thus far will certainly not be wasted.

If the expansion of the existing municipal museum really cannot be postponed then a solution could certainly be found by making use of rooms or buildings owned by the city, and the state, for instance, would surely make any existing space available at a reasonable price. Even now, an alternative site for the new building would definitely turn up if one really looked carefully enough for it and if all the energy expended on conquering the Karlskirche site were turned in this direction.

A few years ago and again more recently even His Excellency the Mayor said that not all monumental buildings should be placed in the vicinity of the Ringstraße lest the visitor fail to get any idea of the size of Vienna. And it is like this in every city: even the South Kensington museum in London is by no means in the centre. A museum, however, could become the centre of new development.

As we have said, this question must remain for us a secondary one for the moment. The museum is certainly not so urgent that postponing construction for a few months or even years would lead to irreparable damage; this would be the result, though, if it were carried out on the contested site.

We believe we have considered the problem with complete objectivity here, just as those who share our opinions have done in the past, for one can hardly take it seriously when people say the whole problem only arose because a former minister did not want to allow the view from his apartment to be blocked off. Nor is this a struggle against a single person or his project. If that seemed to be the case then it was only, as we have said, because the building was to be carried out on this particular site.

For us this is merely a matter of saving the Karlskirche from the proximity of a building which would overwhelm it. The final form of the Karlsplatz and the problem of a site for the municipal museum of Vienna are two separate questions.

16. Saving Historic Vienna (1910)

Max Dvořák, 'Vorwort' in *Zur Rettung Alt-Wiens. Flugschriften des Vereines zum Schutze und zur Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler Wiens und Niederösterreichs. Bd. II.* (Vienna: K. u. K. Hofbuchdruckerei Carl Fromme, 1910), pp. 3–7

A group of authors wage common cause on these pages. For the most part they do not know one another, they represent diverse professions and no doubt also diverse parties. What unites them is their love of the *Heimat* in the most concrete and yet the most ideal sense of the word. 'I no longer remember my siblings. Over thirty years in exile I have forgotten my friends and relatives. But the one thing I ask of the gods is that they grant that I might look upon Venice once more, upon the picture of a *Heimat* sanctified by art and by history.' These words of a seventeenth-century Venetian exile perhaps denote most succinctly that which links the protests published here: the picture of a *Heimat* sanctified by art and history.

This picture was eulogized in literature and still truly loved and admired even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. It lived unconsciously in every heart, it was the root, the source, and the precondition of a universal artistic sensibility. Reverence for it went without saying, like reverence for one's family home. Despite the great economic upheavals of the fifteenth century, for example, and despite the great technical and artistic innovations that particularly characterize the seventeenth century, it was never destroyed or annihilated by force. Rather, this picture was modified and further developed so that it is now often difficult to differentiate between the old and the new. The town grew like a tree, unfolding freely but with regularity.

It was only around the middle of the nineteenth century that old towns started being destroyed. In part this may well have been the result of new circumstances, of new public and private demands for comfort and convenience in housing, streets, and squares – but only a minor part. The main cause lay elsewhere. Indeed England, the home of these demands, demonstrates more clearly than anywhere else that they can be met without the destruction of historic townscapes. But in central Europe people wanted to destroy them, or had at least lost all interest in preserving them.

In my hometown there once stood an old column. Visitors lauded it as an adornment of the town, though hardly any of the inhabitants besides the children who played beneath it in the summer were concerned with its existence. One day it was dismantled and removed for the sake of 'traffic considerations', an event which was celebrated by the town council and the local papers as a laudable act of progress and public welfare. Similar things occurred

more or less everywhere. People began to rail against the old, not out of malice, but in the conviction that the modern age, the wellbeing and reputation of the town, and the forward-thinking representatives of liberalism demanded it. Old gates were torn down though they stood in no one's way, the ivy-clad remnants of town walls were done away with without anyone knowing quite why, and old boulevard trees were felled, all in the name of the spirit of the age. Things that were once treasured and loved came to be deemed old-hat, a disgrace not worthy of the new generation, old rubbish that could be done away with at last. In the tidal wave that consumed central Europe after the Great Revolution – the struggle for new universal ideals and against tradition – all links to the indigenous art of the past were forfeited without the provision of any sort of replacement other than an aimless hankering after innovation and an often barbaric delight in destruction.

But the new, as a rule, was of poor quality and low value. This in itself was less a result of waning artistic ability, as is sometimes assumed, than a decline in the general level of taste and artistic culture. England and Belgium were still capable of building well at the middle of the century. In former times what was good was soon emulated everywhere, and this is as true of the present as it was in earlier periods. But back then the standards had slipped. The ability to evaluate artistic quality independently of temporal and regional conditions is only granted to a few men; the overwhelming majority need the support of an artistic tradition that directly precedes them. But in abandoning this tradition and destroying its monuments they also destroyed a highly evolved, universal understanding of artistic values. Of course, there were talentless artists in the past too, but now people began to privilege bad art, or rather a surrogate for art that was only nominally associated with artistic creation, and this had never previously been the case. There was the art of the speculators and contractors, the housing manufacturers, the foremen and tradesmen working to one or more templates, unable to lend their factory products even a trace of personal artistic form. There was the art of the engineers, who confused technical knowledge with artistic ability. On the one hand they created an art in which the only innovations were technical (and often not even that), whilst the artistic again became an insipid distillation of borrowed stylistic forms. On the other hand they had the audacity to deem only their own work important and to consider themselves qualified to refashion the towns on their drawing boards. There was the art of the theorists and antiquarians who gave advice to them all. There was the art of the bureaucrats who, once architecture had come to this, still had the nerve to incorporate it into their own administrative agendas. It was due to this development that so many old towns were so rapidly robbed of their former charm and simultaneously transformed into veritable

artistic wastelands. One can only hope that these architectonic entities (if one can speak of architecture at all) will disappear from the face of the earth as quickly as they appeared.

But eventually people came to their senses. They again started to love and marvel at the beautiful old towns and their alleys and squares. Thousands of pilgrims sought and seek them out in order to elevate themselves above the dreariness of their familiar surroundings. People came to see how absurd all the phrases about technical and other requirements were. The town's artistic past, the old landscape, and the *Heimat* as an embodiment of historic and artistic tradition had been sacrificed to these phrases, whereas people actually ought to have striven to make the new accomplishments subservient to the preservation and further development of these things, for the sake of a new beauty and a new artistic blossoming. A new architecture emerged, one that neither opposes nor slavishly imitates the old. Instead it follows the spirit of an artistic sensibility and looks for a connection to the thousand-year development which was violently interrupted around the middle of the past century. And people began to treasure the beautiful old buildings, alleys, and squares that were still preserved in their towns as though they were precious jewels. Thus the municipal council of Hildesheim, to give just one example, purchased every building on the town square in order to preserve them for all time.

None of this happened gradually. Even if it was the leading artists and art critics who first became conscious of what we have to lose, what we still have to preserve, and what we have to win back, this sentiment was transformed virtually overnight into a universal intellectual movement, one of the most intensive existing today. Love and admiration for 'the picture of a *Heimat* sanctified by art and by history' was never completely eradicated; it merely slumbered under the ruins that had been piled up on top of it by the Herostratism of false progress.⁴¹ But now it has been awakened everywhere with the elementary force it knew in former times and, removed from the struggles of everyday life, has united men in an idealistic endeavour that recalls the greatest heyday of the communal spirit.

Should Vienna shut itself off from all this? The city of great traditions and the greatest immanent sense of *Heimat*? That would be the beginning of the end for a glorious past. But this beautiful historic city is bound to be rekindled in every Viennese heart before too long. May it not be too late.

⁴¹ [Herostratism ~ see note above, p. 258.]

17. The Prospect of the Emmaus Monastery in Prague (1910)

Max Dvořák, 'Verbauung des Ausblickes auf das Emmauskloster in Prag', *MZK*, 9 (1910), 190–93

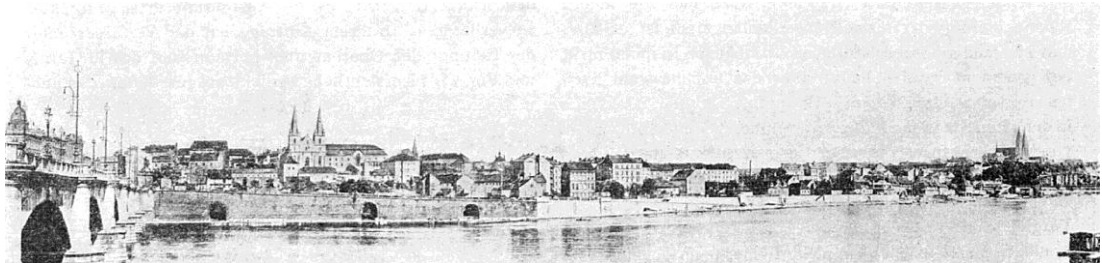


Figure 1. Prague. View of the Emmaus Monastery

One of the most important and difficult problems for monument preservation in Austria is the question of preserving the picturesque panorama of Prague, which is defined by the development of the townscape on the two banks of the Moldau [Vltava] and the hills that dominate the view. The preservation of this panorama, which has to be counted as one of the most beautiful of its kind, demands that the overall picture and its various levels be taken into consideration when new buildings are erected on the streets and squares that border on the Moldau. Buildings that are too tall would either conceal or otherwise destroy the townscape in part or as a whole. Retaining the world-famous view of the west bank and the Hradčany is an issue of the utmost importance, but gladly this question has not yet come up. Nevertheless, the same issue has already become highly acute in the case of the New Town, where new streets and rows of houses are being built as part of the regulation of the quays. This could turn out to be virtually disastrous for the townscape, as any visitor to Prague can see from the new rows of houses by the national theatre.

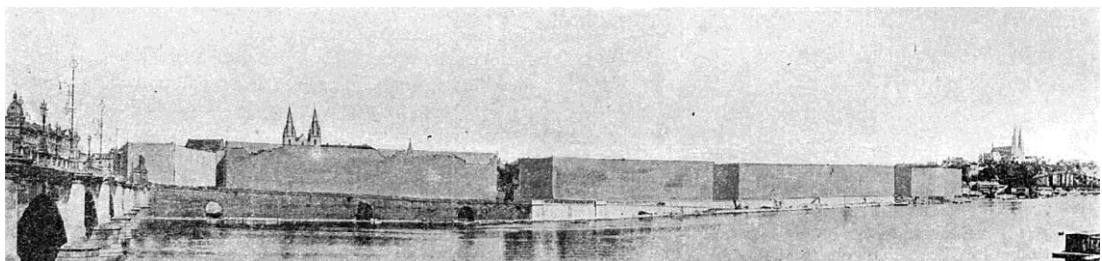


Figure 2. Prague. Original project for the development of the view of the Emmaus Monastery

For a long time now the C.C. has been fighting to save what can be saved, and this with the full co-operation of all those local groups whose heartfelt concern it is to preserve the historic and picturesque beauty of Prague. This is principally a matter of preserving the views of the Vyšehrad and the Emmaus Monastery.

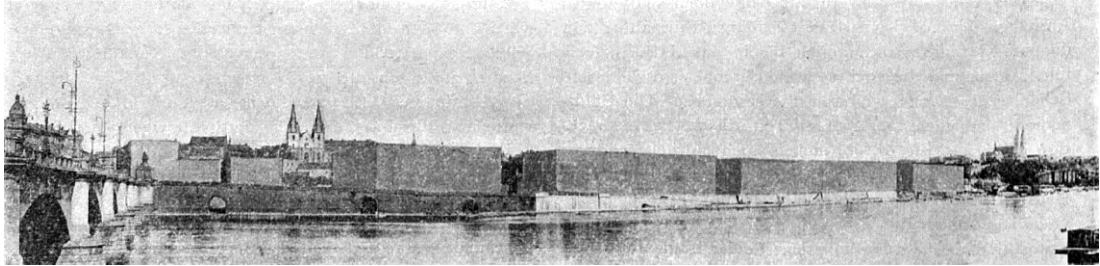


Figure 3. Prague. Development plan with a partial view of the Emmaus Monastery

With regard to the latter, the C.C. has found a highly energetic ally in the present abbot of the monastery, Father Alban Schachleitner, who tirelessly campaigns for the maintenance of the *vedute* that converge on the monastery.

Fig. 1 is an attempt to illustrate the magical effect of the present prospect. Fig. 2 shows a representation of the projected new housing blocks in silhouette and the awful destruction they would cause to the panorama. Fig. 3 presents a solution that has already been partly approved and would at least allow the monastery to be seen through a narrow gap, though this is admittedly a paltry substitute for the majesty of the former view. Finally, fig. 4 shows a solution designed by the architect Driak in co-operation with the abbot of the monastery. This solution would facilitate the preservation of the entire view of the monastery and could only meet with the greatest satisfaction on the part of the C.C.

The municipality of Prague would gladly approve the execution of this project if it were not associated with such a massive financial sacrifice (apparently more than a hundred thousand crowns), but it is prepared to do everything possible to avoid blocking the view by making up any financial shortfall in other areas.

The C.C. deems this whole affair to be of the greatest importance, not just on account of the particular case, but because of the principles that are at stake here. One can truly say that we have spent hundreds of millions on the adornment of our cities over last hundred years – without them getting any more beautiful for it. And given the lack of artistic culture that characterized the last century, it was virtually inevitable that the inner organic life of urban design would be replaced by an empty pompousness, a misconceived

monumentality, the hypertrophy of a desire to decorate that had no inner justification, and the stylistic poverty of monumental sculpture without artistic or conceptual content and without inner artistic riches. Today people are generally starting to recognize the artistic emptiness of our modern cities and are trying to remedy it in two ways: firstly, through a deepening of modern artistic taste along these lines, and then also through an emphasis on and to a certain extent the artistic discovery of the treasures that providence has preserved for us in the old emporia of beautiful urban formations. Of course, these are mostly just humble efforts and small campaigns, which is why it is of the greatest pedagogical importance when people do struggle to achieve the ends we deem desirable, when they try to build individual buildings or groups of buildings in such a way that the *vedute* of whole city districts are generously spared; for this provides succinct proof that the values involved do not just exist in the imaginations of a handful of art lovers, but are a precious common asset, the preservation of which has to be counted among the aesthetic demands of an entire culture just as much, and indeed incomparably more so, than everything they have done and continue to do for the modern 'improvement' of our cities.

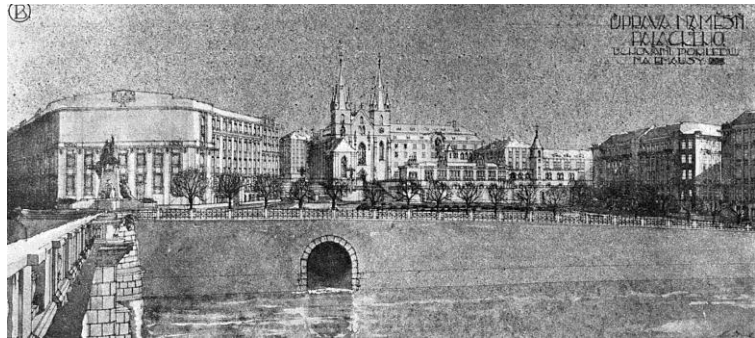


Figure 4. Prague. Emmaus Monastery, development recommended by the C.C.

18. A Law for the Protection of Monuments (1910)

Max Dvořák, 'Denkmalschutzgesetz', *Neue Freie Presse*, 26 November 1910, Abendblatt, p. 4

The law for the protection of monuments will be among the subjects for debate in the forthcoming session at House of Lords, and it at last looks as though a serious attempt will be made to get beyond academic and – parliamentary discussions. And indeed, given all the talk and official enthusiasm for piety towards monuments, for historic art, for state support of the arts and artistic education; for the elevation of artistic culture, for the broadening of historical sense, etc., as all those fine phrases go – this has to happen if, and I do not want to resort to strong words here, if they are to avoid the suspicion that all this talk is nothing more than a conventional lie on the one hand and a farce on the other.

Three years ago I visited Nona [Nin] with two artists and a Viennese archaeologist, who has since passed away. Two hours' drive from Zara [Zadar], at the foot of the Velebit mountains, this ruined Roman and early medieval town is to be thanked for a number of important finds held at the museum of S. Donatus in Zara and in various foreign collections. With careful exploration and preservation of the monuments it could have become a richly flowing source of scientific instruction, as well as a European tourist attraction. What we saw defies all description. A great heap of stones stood in the town square at Nona: the ruins of the antique temple that had stood there until just recently, when they destroyed it in order to obtain gravel. And they were not content with the antique building alone; ornamental classical statues had also been smashed into thousands of pieces and thrown on the pile, witness to the astonishing fact that there is a still country in twentieth-century Europe that uses Roman marbles to pave streets. And that is not all: two hundred paces further on stands, or rather, stood a wonderful Venetian church from the twelfth century, vaulted and built entirely in ashlar – a beautiful, remarkable, and well preserved monument of the Romanesque architecture of Dalmatia. In the year 1906 they blew this church up with dynamite in order to obtain materials for a public building. They had to use dynamite because the building was far too solid to be demolished in the usual way. One can state without exaggeration that a similar barbarity would not be possible anywhere else in Europe, not even in Turkey.

But for us in Austria this is by no means merely a regrettable exception. It is an example – if indeed an especially glaring one – of the way monuments are quite often treated even to this day. In the same vein, to select just a few of what is patently an abundance of

monumenta deperdita, two important Romanesque towers were torn down without pressing grounds just recently: one of them in Istria, the other in Salzburg. A splendid Gothic church in Moravia, which was of particular historical importance, was sacrificed to the shovel. And one of the most magnificent monuments of baroque art in Austria – a large, southern-Bohemian abbey – was turned into a ruin by the present owner, who had the lantern and the roofing taken down from the cupola just to sell the copper for a few crowns. One can hardly overlook the sheer number of precious interior furnishings or valuable paintings, sculptures, and so on that are destroyed year in, year out, or carried off abroad having been sold to dealers from what used to be public property. Neither can one ignore the number of historic artworks that are destroyed, and indeed on a daily basis, because of a lack of understanding or for the sake of insignificant material profit. And how much is devalued or utterly ruined because of flawed restorations? In recent decades whole hecatombs of historic monuments have been sacrificed to failed attempts at beautification or the base desire for material gain. German and Italian antique-shops are full of old Austrian artworks, and if goes on like this, Austria, having once been so rich in historic artistic treasures, will soon have to be counted amongst the poorest countries in Europe as far as artistic heritage is concerned. It sounds like a mockery: hundreds of thousands are spent on the museums – even though, as J. Grimm already recognized in 1844, they tend to ‘confuse rather than inspire good taste’ – and at the same time the monarchy is plundered and robbed of everything would represent the greatest pride and honour of public and individual life anywhere else, things that are capable of deepening and enriching a love of the *Heimat* and life as a whole through the artistic values of the past.

I am not giving any secrets away here; this sorry state of affairs is more or less universally recognized and sincerely bemoaned almost everywhere. And it is not a lack of goodwill that is to blame for the fact that we, unlike all the other states of Europe, have not long since had laws for the protection of monuments. Rather, people are worried about the difficulties that might stand in the way of such laws in Austria. So for example, they fear that the church authorities might have misgivings about more extensive public involvement with the assets that are entrusted to them. I am convinced that these misgivings from the church’s point of view are unfounded. It really cannot be perceived as a burden merely to demand something which is universally acknowledged as a self-evident duty *vis-à-vis* historic artworks, even by the majority of the clergy. And if conflicts have occasionally arisen over questions pertaining to monument preservation, as a rule these are more often the result of unclear situations or the possibility of a subjective, unregulated conception and treatment of the issues than of fundamental differences of opinion. A reasonable law that takes religious

requirements into account would not increase the number of disagreements and apparently onerous obligations; it would reduce them to a minimum.

A further difficulty lies in the difference of opinion over the competencies of the autonomous and central authorities, of the individual states and the empire. Thus a political issue. But this hindrance also diminishes in significance when one remembers that, in accordance with universally accepted views, the politically or artistically partisan standpoints of the various commissions are no longer to decide the fate of historic monuments. Rather, their fate is to be decided according to objective viewpoints and by the objective education of the responsible professional institutions, which are removed from all political influence. But political interest in the question thereby dwindles away to such an extent that it would be downright frivolous if one were to sacrifice the main issue – namely the preservation of artistic heritage – to any remaining minority. Like the salesman who argued for so long with his wife about who should beat the fur rug that the cockroaches devoured it, it could then quite easily come about that by the time the parties manage to get what they want – namely a monument protection law and monument authorities – there will no longer be anything left to protect.

And yet even if the difficulties and hindrances were indeed great, a way of overcoming them would still have to be found. This summer H. Delbrück published an insightful treatment of the political demise of parliamentarianism.⁴² I do not know whether he is correct in all the particulars, for I stand too far from political questions to be able to judge. But it seems to me, and particularly for us in Austria, that the cultural sterility of parliamentarianism is far more conspicuous than its political impotence, and represents the greatest danger to public life. A parliament that only attends to cultural tasks when favourable political constellations allow or once the problems have resolved themselves like outdated files anyway, a parliament that does not possess the will or the strength to enforce the demands of civilization and the unanimous conviction of every educated person in the face of subordinate difficulties; such a parliament eventually forfeits its right to exist. By passing the monument protection law quickly, the prospects of which seem good, the Austrian House of Lords would accomplish a deed of fundamental significance, one which would elicit happy echoes wherever cultural interests are properly valued.

⁴² [Hans Delbrück (1848–1929), German historian and politician. The reference here may be to an article in the *Preußische Jahrbücher*, which he edited.]

19. An Austrian Law for the Protection of Monuments (1910)

Max Dvořák, 'Österreichisches Denkmalschutzgesetz', *KJZK*, 4 (1910), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 161–64

The question of an Austrian law for the protection of monuments has reached a decisive point. The commission that was set up in parliament to advise on the bill has agreed on a draft prepared by Count Latour, which, as witness to the clarification of views from the standpoint of monument preservation, is important and interesting in principle and should also therefore be discussed in these pages.

A characteristic trait of the bill is its renunciation of any type of monument classification. This is to be greeted unreservedly, because the former classification systems were just as false as they were damaging. A scalar taxation of monuments rests on the presupposition that the history of art can be reduced to definite formal styles and alleged artistic values, which then enable the monument preservation bodies to define the significance of a monument for the state department with virtually mathematical certainty. But we have now long since been of the conviction that the scale, the doctrines, and the formulae according to which such valuations and categorizations were implemented stand in contradiction to actual developments. These developments were almost inexhaustibly multifarious and have bestowed, or, from the newly attained points of view, may in future bestow unexpected historical or artistic significance upon the most diverse monuments. In this way the predetermined limitation of protection to certain monuments or groups of monuments would from the outset be no less senseless than deciding to work towards the preservation of world fauna whilst limiting oneself to certain types and species and simply abandoning the remainder to extinction.

But there is more to it than that.

We desire and demand the preservation of historic artworks not just on account of their art-historical significance, but rather and no less because we consider them as an artistic enhancement of our surroundings, which, in many cases, are independent of art-historical significance or the absolute artistic value of the monument. Seen from this perspective, a picturesque old town wall is no less dear and valuable to us than a magnificent palace, and a village community has no less of a claim to the preservation of its evocative village chapel than the educated to the preservation of an important archaeological find. But precisely this monument value is a constantly fluctuating one, for it is dependent upon intellectual currents

and trends as well as the artistic sensibilities of the present, which tend to take on new artistic content from one lustrum to the next. Thus an evaluation form would be obsolete before it had been filled out. The variation and diversity of this monument value is admittedly very uncomfortable for state administrators of monument heritage, but in this discomfort also lies a most important source of vitality. When state-run monument preservation is given the opportunity to carry out its duties according to templates and formulae, or to limit itself to a few dogmatically selected monuments, it soon loses any relationship to actual developments and is more of a hindrance than a help. In other words, it cannot be allowed to fall prey to bureaucratization or academic sterility, and, just as the universities and the modern museums are built on the advances of education and universal culture, it cannot be an institution that opposes the intellectual forces of its time, but rather one that is borne along by them.

One could contend, however, that this renunciation of any classification stretches the realm of state intervention beyond all reasonable limits, and that it would therefore present the twofold danger of, on the one hand, unduly restricting an owner's free right of disposal over historic objects and, on the other, of one-sidedly foregrounding the demands of monument protection at the expense of other considerations.

The proposed law will obviate this danger in two ways.

Only publicly owned monuments (those owned by the state, autonomies, the church, entailed estates, etc.) are to fall under the rigorous terms of the law, whilst private property is to be protected more through the exertion of preventative, non-categorical influence, such as tax breaks and other ulterior measures. For property belonging to the general public, all the public obligations that monument heritage entails should and must be taken into account, whereas private owners are to be encouraged to observe these obligations, not least through the strict conditions to which public property is subjected. It seems to me that this differentiation is just as fair as it is opportune. Draconian measures against private owners have everywhere fallen short of their goals in the past. But monument protection and *Heimatschutz* no longer represent merely theoretical demands; they are everywhere and increasingly finding reverberations amongst the masses. If only the administration of public monuments is exemplary and up-to-date it can be expected with some certainty that the pious treatment of cultural heritage – gradually even for private property, and perhaps more quickly than one would expect – will spontaneously reach the point where it goes without saying.

A second limitation prescribed by the new legal bill is its consideration for the purpose of monuments. Living monuments are to be preserved for living purposes and

should be allowed to fulfil their mission unhindered. Such a concession to the requirements of the present would have been strongly criticized a few years ago; today it has to be welcomed. For current practice in monument preservation no longer stands in contradiction to the life and strivings of our times. We no longer want to awaken the old from the grave by negating the demands and values of the new, nor do we want to forge the present from the past. Rather, witnesses of historic art are to be included within the context of present developments, unaltered and reverentially brought to full expression as the precious treasures they are so that they again become part of our lasting cultural heritage, like the old poets and thinkers.

In this way, and in accordance with the fundamental views of the legal bill, the old, mechanistic and petrified practice of monument preservation is to be replaced by one which is animate and capable of development. Its highest goal is to make the law redundant over time, for it only calls for that which educated people perceive not as a compulsion, but as a desirable form of participation in the life and development of their times.

20. Monumente Deperdita: Finis Vindobonae (1911)

Max Dvořák, 'Monumente deperdita: 1. Finis Vindobonae', *KJZK*, 5 (1911), Beiblatt für Denkmalpflege, 188–89



The picture illustrated here, showing the Mehlmarkt in 1864, was brought to me by a friend as an historical document deserving of publication. Initially I was delighted to see this beautiful and interesting photograph, just as one is always delighted to find out about a newly discovered source or an unknown monument. But then I realised just how much this delight is based on sad resignation. Here was the beautiful Vienna of old, but now it only exists in old photographs. Its friends are gradually giving up on their efforts to save it because there is very little left that might be worth saving, and the steamroller of speculation is so powerful that any better intentions have to make way to it. Vienna has been through a similarly extensive transformation once before, when it was rebuilt after the second Turkish siege. But a comparison with this first modernization in the grand style sheds a glaring light on the shameful nadir of the present one. The new Vienna of the eighteenth century was largely based on the demands of a new art, whose grandiose monumentality and mastery of architectural composition, the likes of which the world had never seen before, inevitably had to explode the limits of prior urban design in order to attain its greatness. The cradle of this new Vienna was attended by the highest and most prodigious achievements of the art of its time; today it is accompanied only by the utmost triviality, banality, and vulgarity.

It is not so much the individual monumental buildings that give the artistic town-planning of the present its signature. Rather, and to a much greater extent, it is the conscious formation of the townscape in conjunction with its emergence through history, or, where this is not the case, then at least on the basis of a coherent artistic solution. It is a joy to see how certain imperial German towns, for example, have developed on the basis of just such an artistic program, which not only corresponds to all the demands of contemporary life, but is actually virtually determined by them. But in Vienna it is not so much a case of artistic renewal as of a desolate, chaotic destruction followed by new construction, where economic and social advantages – which are by no means actually considered – are merely used as a deceptive cloak and where the role of art is similar to that which it plays in the founding of towns in the American west or the Russian east. *Finis Vindobonae*.

21. Monument Preservation in Austria (1911)

Max Dvořák, 'Entwicklung und Ziele der Denkmalpflege in Österreich', *Gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz*, 1–3 (1911–1920), 64–74; and 'Denkmalpflege in Österreich', *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 131–37

It is easier to describe the development of monument preservation in Austria than it is the German development; easier and at the same time harder.⁴³ Easier because the development in Austria was always more centralized, more difficult because this centralization brought with it certain individual circumstances that are not always easy to explain. Of course, there were also particularized developments in Austria, but these developments did not play so great a role as in Germany. The main thing in Austria was always a central bureaucratic agency which, if I may say so, was always at the heart of the whole Austrian development. It is the history of this agency above all that has to be described if we are to obtain an overview of the development of Austrian monument preservation – an overview, moreover, which would from another perspective provide a highly remarkable contribution to the history of bureaucracy, if this were the place for such a thing.

The Central Commission was established in the year 1853 by the Ministry of Commerce. One ought not to think here of those mercantile tendencies that contributed so much to the foundation of the national idea and to the establishing of the notion that old and new art ought to come under the protection of the state. A great preponderance of bureaucracy developed in Austria after the storms of 1848, a bureaucracy which in many cases did not correspond to the actual historic spheres of activity, so that each individual ministry had to strive to broaden its remit, whereby foreign models naturally often replaced a gradual development. These were institutions created by a French architect, in the context of a highly complicated literary and artistic campaign, in order to obtain a suitable state-sanctioned framework for his artistic work.⁴⁴ To the Minister of Commerce at that time, Freiherr von Bruck – who, as you will know, so tragically came to grief as a result of his audacious plans – these institutions seemed a suitable means of extending the responsibilities

⁴³ [The transcript of this Salzburg address was originally printed in *Gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz* (1911), 64–74, and later reprinted with a few minor omissions in *ÖZKD*, 28 (1974), 131–37. This translation follows the latter. However, it is worth noting that the earlier transcript records Dvořák introducing himself to his professional colleagues with the modest disclaimer, 'I am a guest to monument preservation.' The closing words of his address were met with 'lively, sustained applause.']

⁴⁴ [Dvořák is almost certainly referring to Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet le Duc (1814–79).]

of the building department within his ministry, whereby, according to his address to the Kaiser, the preservation of historic buildings was to be placed in the hands of the state. To support this department a Central Commission for Historic Buildings was called into being, consisting predominantly of representatives from the individual ministries and thus having a purely bureaucratic character. This alone explains why its activities were initially quite minimal. In the first three years it essentially limited itself to discussions with individual governments as to what measures could be implemented for the preservation of historic buildings. At that time the Austrian Governor in Venice applied to the Ministry of Commerce, suggesting that the Grand Canal ought to be drained in order to preserve the Venetian palaces – a piece of advice that was thankfully not followed. But one also has to be glad that this first Central Commission was not prolific in its activities, for they would inevitably have been undertaken in the spirit of the state and judicial buildings of the time.

Regardless of this, the founding of the Central Commission was of the utmost significance, for at that time and even subsequently such an institution represented the only possible source of a transformation of the situation in Austria; of a concentration of the many existing, if poorly organized workers. It was a great stroke of luck that the first president of the Central Commission, Karl Freiherr von Czoernig, was more of an intellectual than a bureaucrat. Although a statistician, when he took on the presidency he sided with intellectuals within the new Commission, and he was soon able to help the new institution to an independent position of no minor importance. At that time, in the mid-fifties, Vienna was one of the most important centres for the development of German art history. Names such as Semper and Eitelberger demonstrate this sufficiently, and Freiherr von Czoernig sought support in these men, whereby the Commission began to transform itself from a purely bureaucratic agency into a scientific institute. The main emphasis was laid on publications, on Austrian art-historical research. The *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch* of the Central Commission was then the leading periodical for art history in Germany, distinguished by contributions from such men as Springer and Schnaase. The systematic research of Austrian art was initiated under Eitelberger's direction, and had it not been interrupted it would have taken on signal importance for research in the regional arts, just as another of Eitelberger's creations had: namely, the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry in its importance for expert museology. When Graf Leo Thun then came to take over the Ministry of Education, initiating that illustrious period of transformation in the Austrian education system from which Austria is still reaping the benefits, this increasing degree of independence also made it possible to obtain external recognition. The Central Commission was separated from the

Ministry of Commerce in the year 1859 and attached to the Ministry of Education as an independent agency.

The bane of the new agency's purely bureaucratic organization was that its initial development depended on certain individuals rather than a fixed program. In the middle of the sixties those who had up to that point been the decisive individuals stepped down from the Central Commission, for reasons that cannot be gone into here. Others took their places and a new course was set, one that is perhaps best characterized in the words of one of the members of the Commission at the time: 'Thousands of tasks await the Central Commission, for there are churches, castles, and palaces in a lamentable state everywhere, disfigured by extensions and additions, crying out for true-to-style restoration.'

Until that point the conservatory activity of the Central Commission had acted through measures to preserve monuments in a struggle against 'barbarity and uneducation,' as it was once called, whilst active initiatives were clearly lacking.

From here, from the sixties that is, the Central Commission was overcome by that great European wave of monument preservation, which was at once defensive and aggressive; a wave of restoration where restoration was not a means to an end, but an end in itself. More monuments fell victim to this unfortunate period than were ever destroyed by wars and revolutions, and there can be no doubt that historical interest and piety, sentimental or intellectual factors, played less of a role than the degeneracy of a certain artistic trend: the trend for historicizing styles. We are now so far from those events – and we have heard this once already today – that we are able to survey them in their entirety, and I think we can demonstrate quite objectively that these historical styles were but an intermediate stage, a mere episode in that great development which connects our contemporary architecture with the entire evolution of architectural problems that has taken place throughout the modern age since the Renaissance. In much the same way as in the Imperial Roman era, the incredible developments in the architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had already resulted in individual forms, constructions, and indeed entire buildings being incorporated into the new manner of composing masses. The continued endeavours in this direction enriched the painterly qualities of architectural invention and gradually struggled through to a new, tectonically strict and clear architecture. But in the context of a predominantly didactic and literary era, this gave rise to artistic tendencies that foregrounded antiquarian and literary elements, as it had in the fifteenth century with Leon Battista Alberti, temporarily obscuring the actual artistic problems completely.

In and of itself this historicizing art, had its representatives been true artists, would certainly not have done any more harm to historic monuments than the Baroque. To stay

with the history of the Central Commission we could here cite a number of brilliant remarks from the former cathedral builder Schmidt, who truly was a great artist.

But there was more to it than that. Alongside the art of the nineteenth century a pseudo-art and at the same time as a pseudo-literature emerged: a result of artistic unculture and the inartistic, factory-like production of art, which gradually replaced artistic problems with false stylistic doctrines, pattern books, and slavish imitations. People in Austria also subscribed to this artistic waywardness in the sixties, and set out on a ruinous program of monument restoration following concepts of style that were both historically untenable and devoid of artistic content.

The immediate result of this was the intellectual demise of the Central Commission. Its research activity dwindled to the antiquarianism that was characteristic of the many antiquarian associations of the seventies and eighties, which considered the history of art from the narrow perspective of local cultural-historical finds. On the other hand, an advantage of this development was that public interest in historic monuments was aroused, for the new trend for restoration was an extremely popular one and corresponded to the artistic mediocrity of the time. Thus what had until then been striven for in vain could now be achieved without difficulty: a Central Commission that had depended upon a staff of amateurs was reinforced with qualified staff. Austria was divided into around a hundred and twenty districts which were administered by voluntary conservators. These had to submit their reports and restoration projects to the central agency where they were examined by a committee of twenty, most of whom were artists.

This administrative expansion naturally led to the endeavour to obtain further rights for the Commission, and it was the second president in particular, Alexander Freiherr von Helfert, who did the Central Commission the greatest service in this respect. Freiherr von Helfert – and this is plain enough from his writings – was first and foremost a statesman and a politician. He was a newcomer to those specific artistic questions fundamental to the agency's efforts; an agency which, by a fluke of circumstances, he had been called to lead. At the same time, and with the greatest objectivity, he always left it up to the committee of the Central Commission to determine the principles according to which monuments were to be handled. He saw his principal task in the administrative and legislative regulation of monument preservation in Austria, championing these causes with an energy and tenacity that assure him a permanent place in the grateful memory of Austrian monument preservation.

Unfortunately neither these endeavours nor those of many exceptional men within and without the committee of the Central Commission, who went to great lengths for

Austrian monument preservation at that time, were able to prevent the continuing decline of the institution. It rested on foundations that had gradually shifted, but also it depended on a workforce that in the long run proved inadequate. For even if its functionaries could theoretically have been dismissed, this in fact only ever happened in exceptional cases, and thus its main stanchions were antiquarians and artists whose time could not be spent looking through decrees, for it was long since expended in other areas of life. The Central Commission was cut off from art, science, and, one could almost say, life itself. It was gradually overtaken by actual developments; not just by the overall European development of monument preservation, but also by changes in public opinion that occurred outside the Central Commission in Austria, in the individual parts of the Austrian Empire. This is demonstrated by the number of independent or relatively independent organizations that emerged at that time, such as the two conservators' committees in Galicia or the Archaeological Commission at the Prague Academy, which attained no small degree of individual importance.

It would be a mistake if one were to trace the great changes of opinion that characterize monument preservation over the last twenty-five years back to English and French influences alone. It was the development of the historical disciplines as a whole, independent of confessions of aesthetic faith, and tied up with a purification of taste, that engendered a new attitude concerning our obligations towards historic documents, and a sense of responsibility developed which prevented the worst banalities and brutalities of historicism. And what I want to call the new ethos of monument preservation developed in individual private organizations and with prominent individual figures before it did in the central agency, which led to conflicts such as the debate over the dynastic fortress of the Luxembourgs at Karlstein, and the debate over the great portal of the Stephanskirche in Vienna, to name only the most significant.⁴⁵ Out of this situation there developed in the nineties an almost universal opposition to the backwardness of the Central Commission as an authority, and it seemed as though leadership in matters of monument preservation would pass over to local private associations completely. The Society for the Protection and Preservation of Viennese and Lower Austrian Monuments, and the Club for the Preservation of Historic Prague earned themselves great credit in this regard. It seemed as though Austrian monument preservation as a whole would have to be carried over into the realm of private initiatives, which might have been advantageous in certain regions, but would have meant the total abandonment of monuments in others.

⁴⁵ [Dvořák is here referring to Karlstein castle, or Hrad Karlštejn in the present-day Czech Republic, erected by Karl IV from 1348 onwards.]

Then, at the beginning of our century, a transformation suddenly occurred. As so often happens with important matters, chance had a role to play. In the year 1901 the then editor of the *Mitteilungen* of the Central Commission died and the business of editing the journal was entrusted to my esteemed teacher Alois Riegl, who was far too profound in his nature to have conceived of this task purely as a business matter. He dedicated the last three years of his life to the reorganization of the Central Commission with such incredible dedication and with such zeal that it was as though he had sensed that his days were numbered. It was an unforgettable spectacle to observe the way in which Riegl's charming personality and glowing conviction enabled him to give the Central Commission a new ideal foundation in hardly any time at all.

It was down to Riegl, who shared Ruskin's radically conservative position, that the same Central Commission that had only recently negotiated restoration projects in the old sense of the word was now completely and utterly permeated with the new ideas, right up to the eldest committee member, and, overtaking regional developments in Austria, now came to occupy the most advanced position. The advantages and disadvantages of the centralized institution then became clear. Having been appointed Conservator General, Riegl strove untiringly to bring the new perspectives to bear upon every concrete matter both at the regional commissions and on his travels through the various parts of Austria. Within a short time he had managed to revitalize monument preservation throughout Austria, a new vitality that inevitably made the inadequacies of the old organization stand out all the more glaringly.

Since it was no longer a case of examining restoration projects, but of preserving monuments; no longer a case of submitting reports, but of carrying out, on the basis of detailed investigations, measures necessary for the preservation of monuments, the old committee system had to give way. The old committee ceased to function of its own accord and the whole burden of its business now lay on the one Conservator General, who would have had to have been a miracle worker if he was to be able to cope with it all. Therefore Riegl worked out an extensive organizational blueprint in conjunction with a law for the protection of monuments. His law for the protection of monuments was a very extensive one. It was to include every monument and every work crafted by human hands that had been in existence for more than sixty years, insofar as these were in public ownership. As the monument authorities that were to replace the old Central Commission Riegl proposed regional monument bureaus with regional monument councils and a state monument bureau with a state monument council.

I really need not expound upon how difficult it is to bring about any extensive legislative ruling for an institution in Austria, in particular an extensive legislative ruling that calls for large financial sacrifices, and thus unfortunately Riegl's efforts were initially unsuccessful.

After Riegl's all too early death the role of conservator general was taken on by Hofrat Neuwirth, by myself, and by Oberbaurat Deininger. We had to concede that such a radical change of circumstances was not thinkable at that moment, and thus we concentrated our efforts on gradually building upon the old form of the Central Commission, taking three principal directions. We endeavoured to recruit expertly trained officials to the Central Commission; we endeavoured to raise the scientific reputation of the Central Commission again, principally by carrying out the *Art Topography*; and we also endeavoured to revitalize the Central Commission's committee by calling up men who had made names for themselves in the service of art and science in Austria. Admittedly the recruitment of expert officers only progressed slowly, and only in recent years has it been possible to multiply the staff of officers to the point where today we are supported in the implementation of monument preservation by two secretaries, four assistants and a number of interns.

You have heard enough about the revival of monument preservation in Austria to be able to concede without any further ado that these two secretaries and four assistants, for all the support we received from the old voluntary conservators, could hardly have met the actual requirements of a monarchy as large as that of Austria – and all the more so given the interest in monument preservation that had developed five years prior to this, which was incomparably greater than that of the preceding age. Austria is the land of hidden forces, which only await their lord and master, as a certain Dane put it fifty years ago. Once awoken, the interest in artistic heritage here experienced a period of growth that was certainly not far behind the Imperial German one. Indeed, it was perhaps all the more intensive for the fact that there were no intermediate stages with us, no compromises. Rather, if I may express it thus, there were only two camps: a large regressive one, and a small but animate and progressive one, whereby there can be no doubt that the future, and indeed the immediate future, will belong to the latter.

In this way, though, the new impetus led to the venerable old agency proving itself ever more untenable, an agency which now, thanks primarily to Riegl, stood on entirely modern and ideal principles, but which nevertheless lacked the means of power to bring these ideal principles to bear upon its management. An unbearable protraction of routine business procedures set in; the autopsy was lacking, a knowledge of concrete conditions was

lacking, and thus people in Austria gradually began to look upon the Central Commission as an intellectually lofty but poorly functioning agency.

And yet the foundations for the new development had been laid, and through fortunate circumstances it was possible to build upon these foundations more quickly than one had originally thought.

It was above all the lofty patronage of our Protector, His Highness the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, who, with the greatest expert knowledge and the greatest energy, consistently threw his command into the balance wherever the demands of Austrian monument preservation were to be asserted. It was the sheer energy of this new presidency that saw to the reorganization of the Central Commission; it was the pressure of public opinion, which had shown time and again that the situation was untenable; and not least it was the service of individual conservators, who had likewise called for a reform of the Central Commission. Thus the reform was successfully carried out and finds expression in a Statute that was approved by His Majesty three months ago.⁴⁶

There are two principles upon which this reform is based: firstly the ideal unity of Austrian monument preservation along with the decentralization of business, and secondly the construction of a new organization on the basis of entirely scientific expertise; a structure no longer depending on voluntary functionaries but on responsible officials. These two principles were the result of lessons we had learned from the former development of the Central Commission. But they also depended on a conception of monument preservation that perhaps departs somewhat from the general one, so permit me to spend a few words in explaining it.

There can really be no doubt that state supervision of artistic heritage cannot limit its activities to merely arousing interest in historic artworks in order to be able to protect the most valuable of them from vandalism. Not that such acts of vandalism could then no longer occur; they will occur today as they did in the past, but they are more the result of utilitarian motivations than of a lack of understanding, which has been overcome. On the contrary: piety and reverence for historic artworks count among the most important currents in contemporary cultural life, so to try to awaken them now would be to carry coals to the Ruhr.

It would be a grievous error if one were to believe that all the dangers facing historic monuments could be dealt with in this way. As the past has shown, regressive dilettantism and regressive art can do just as much damage to historic monuments as deliberate destruction. And it seems to me that precisely in the broad proliferation of the idea of

⁴⁶ [See 'Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege', *MZK*, 10 (1911), 323–28.]

monument preservation, in the broad popular support that it has won, there is a very present danger: the danger of going astray again, and it would be a thousand times worse: the danger of a trite and formulaic conception of monument preservation. I would certainly be the last to underestimate the high moral and social significance of *Heimatschutz*, which sees itself called to contribute in the most active manner to monument preservation's expansion; but let us ensure that our enthusiasm, that our piety does not stop at an ivy-clad wall, let us ensure that *Heimatschutz* and local lore do not sink down to the level of the old antiquarianism and have us forget that typical phenomena were only the reflection of the great artistic movements, and it is to these that the understanding and the piety of the general public must be elevated.

In other words: state monument preservation has other aims than merely to be carried along by the movement as a whole; it has to lead this movement, it has to continue to educate this movement, it has a great pedagogical task.

Now you may perhaps object, or some of you may, that a monument preservation which is the object of systematic further education, of systematic instruction, if I may express it thus, is barely plausible, for it is conditioned by moments that cannot be reckoned with in advance. And yet just such an opinion has to be most stringently contested. He who struggles free of the slogans that have dominated monument preservation over the last years and decades, and historically surveys the development of the relationship between men and historic monuments; he will soon reach the conviction that that conception of monument preservation which we considered as a manifestation of the nineteenth century was not in fact first established in the nineteenth century. He will readily be convinced that an esteem for picturesque beauty based on traces of age and on the relationship of monuments to their environs was not first discovered by English Pre-Raphaelites or by French art critics. He will be convinced, furthermore, that even that deep unconditional respect for the authenticity of an artwork does not have its origins in this period, but rather that both are deeply rooted in the whole evolution of modern art and science, of human ideas, of human research and of human knowledge; an evolution that has taken place over the course of the modern age. He who wants to be clear as to what it is that interests and enthrals us in old towns, old buildings, and landscapes endowed with architectural accoutrements – he need only walk the path, to name but the final stage, that leads from Guardi to Turner, and from Turner to Whistler, whose works irrefutably demonstrate that the beauty of historic buildings and towns was not discovered by the art journalists of the nineteenth century, but rests on the entire development of artistic perception. And he who wants to penetrate the essence of our rigorous relationship to the authenticity of the artwork need only recall the transformation

that has occurred in our conception of historical truth and its relationship to these documents since the Renaissance and the Reformation. But once he has come to know this genesis of the modern cult of the monument, he will necessarily have to draw the conclusion that monument preservation can indeed be the object of an educational institution, and that this in turn will have to be built principally upon the modern conception of art history.

In place of mere inventorization, the *Austrian Art Topography* has already been established in the context of the developmental history of regional art. Now, in the context of the Central Commission, an art-historical institute for Austrian research ought also to be founded, one which would take on the task of gradually bringing the regional development of Austrian art to light, and which, secondly, would have the great mission of educating a qualified workforce; art historians qualified for the practical protection of Austrian monuments, just as the Austrian Institute for Historical Research does for the archival service. The administration of Austrian monument heritage should only be entrusted to qualified officials such as these in future. The emphasis of this administration will lie in the reorganization of the regional conservation bureaus, which will by and large be able to issue decrees independently and will have to tend to the preservation of their own monument heritage independently. Only questions of the most important and fundamental nature will be reserved to the central agency – that is, the general conservators and their secretarial support – who will also have to monitor the administration of the regional conservatories.

Not just historic art, but also modern art and the requirements of contemporary life are to find their place in the new organization, in accordance with the points of view that have been expounded by Hofrat Clemen. Every art historian serving as a regional conservator will have at his side a colleague in the form of an equally important technical conservator (who will also have received special training at the institute for art history). The expert opinions of these two regional conservators are to be considered in parity, and the final decision of the central agency is to be reserved solely for cases where these cannot be reconciled. But one hardly need fear that such disagreements will occur, because those who are trained to consider things from the viewpoints I have mentioned will soon concede that no disagreement can exist between an official schooled in modern art history and a technician who is in touch with modern art.

Thus we hope that this new organization will create a new foundation for the continued development of Austrian monument preservation. At the same time, we also hope that perhaps one of the most difficult problems facing Austrian monument preservation will be at least in part rendered meaningless, if indeed not solved: the problem of tendencies for and against centralism and decentralization. Within so complicated an organism as the

Austrian state, it is quite evident that different centrifugal and centralizing tendencies will assert themselves in the administration of monument heritage; tendencies of the individual states and of individual organizations; tendencies that represented perhaps the greatest hindrance to a radical legislative ruling on the problems here under consideration, right up to the present day.

I do not believe that these tendencies will disappear in the future, though I do believe that they will lose their sting if the controversy is detached from the struggles of the day and transferred to the neutral realm of scientific and artistic progress.

And then I hope for something else besides. New sources of education, new circumstances and ideas without doubt demand new institutions, and I hope – perhaps this is a utopia – that this new organization, resting on the consistent preparatory training of its bearers, on consistent assumptions and goals, will take its place as a third institution alongside those that provide an artistic education based on historical foundations, alongside art-historical teaching at the universities and at the museums; as a third institution which, because it will be based on the research of the individual peculiarities of the particular regions, could perhaps contribute the utmost to levelling the path to our highest goal: a new artistic culture.

The law for the protection of monuments has also made great progress in recent years. In the commission in the House of Lords that was assembled in Freiherr von Helfert's day a draft bill has been introduced by Graf Latour and discussed in detail by the special commission. Its adoption in the plenary assembly of the House of Lords was certainly only prevented by the dissolution of parliament. This draft depends on the same tendencies as the new statute of the Central Commission. Above all it abandons any form of monument classification, which would contradict our present modern views. It does not cover private property, and this not only because measures for the protection of private property, where they were Draconian, have always proven ineffective, but also because the law will thus not be perceived as an intolerable compulsion. The draft does however encompass, as I have said, all monuments that are held in public ownership, but limits the law with the highly important and modern proviso that monuments only come under the protection of the law insofar as this is compatible with their purpose. This limitation perhaps best indicates the character of our reform work. We do not want a monument preservation that stands in opposition to the present and its requirements, a monument preservation that wants to falsify the present with the past or to reawaken the past to a shadow existence. Rather, we want a monument preservation that seeks to set artistic heritage into the work of new developments like a precious stone. We want a monument preservation that is perceived as a good work

and a formative work instead of a compulsion; a monument preservation that grows up out of modern life and its precious assets, modern art and science, instead of contradicting them.

22. Protecting Monuments and Protecting the Church (1911)

Max Dvořák, 'Denkmalschutz und Kirchenschutz', *Das Vaterland*, 26 November 1911, Morgenblatt, pp. 1–3

On the fifth of the month a leading article treating the issue of the Austrian monument protection law appeared under this title in *Das Vaterland*. It took up a decidedly hostile position towards its subject, and indeed virtually represented it as an attack on the Catholic church, full of the spirit of Josephinism, if not Communism itself. In line with the accounts of certain provincial papers it spoke of an appropriation of church property that could all too easily lead to complete confiscation. Since these views have frequently been repeated of late and are now finding representation, from an 'exclusive source' so to speak, in the leading Catholic organ, which might give one the impression that this were an authoritative expert statement, it seems appropriate to speak out against them here.

First of all I would like to ask the following: who are these men who want to do such lasting damage to the Catholic church? The House of Lords advisory commission on the monument protection law was initially set up on the suggestion of Alexander Freiherr von Helfert, founder and long-serving president of the Leo-Gesellschaft, whose services to the Catholic church in Austria are so well known that it would be superfluous to go into them. After Helfert's death the vice-president of the Rightist Party, Count Latour, whose strictly Catholic disposition can hardly be doubted by anyone, took up Helfert's endeavours with the approval of the Conservative Party in the House of Lords and brought in a new legal bill whilst a reorganization of the organs of the Central Commission was being prepared, this under the new leadership of Prince Franz Liechtenstein, who also happens to be the president of the Leo-Gesellschaft after Helfert.⁴⁷ And I am not giving away any secrets when I mention the fact that these endeavours are not just endorsed, but fully and decisively supported by the Protector of the Central Commission, his Most Serene Highness the Archduke Franz Ferdinand.

Are these men really supposed to be enemies of the Catholic church, men upon whom one can foist the intention of plundering the church and undermining its authority?

⁴⁷ [The Leo-Gesellschaft or Leo Society (est. 1892 and named for pope Leo III) was an Austrian organization promoting Catholic work in the socio-political, academic and cultural spheres. In the 1910s its members numbered around 1700 and included, besides Helfert, prominent Catholic conservatives such as Franz von Liechtenstein, Cardinal Gustav Piffl, Heinrich Swoboda, Ignaz Seipel, Richard von Kralik, Karl Holey, and Ludwig von Pastor.]

But one could object that to err is human and that perhaps their well-meant efforts are based on an erroneous conception of the reciprocal demarcation of the rights and obligations of church and state. I do not want to rehearse our learned author's juridical distinctions here, not because their applicability to monument preservation is not easy enough to refute, but because they have long since been authoritatively refuted by a statement from the church which goes a long way back and which the author of the article in question now seeks to disavow after the fact. One may recall that the oldest monument protection laws right up to the *lex pacca* were decreed by the popes in the context of their state sovereignty, whereby, in disputed cases, the decision was devolved not to the ecclesiastical authorities but to a secular archaeological commission.⁴⁸ But what seems more important to me is the reference to that development which brings us right up to the present state of affairs and which started with the destructive frenzy of the French Revolution, whose repercussions were felt long after the event and were only warded off by the rallying together of every conservative and patriotic element. 'They have declared war on these stones and the ideas they embody', wrote Alexis de Toqueville to Count Leo Thun in 1844, and it was the leader of the French Catholics, Count Charles de Montalambert, who made the first clear and public demand for state care of church antiquities in the thirties of the past century. Have the church authorities ever contested this demand? Is it not rather the case that its basic idea – i.e., that the state authorities have to protect historic artworks from every danger as a precious asset – is meanwhile not only no longer disputed in any Catholic country, but that it has increasingly been strengthened in its tasks from decade to decade through the collaboration of Catholic academics and art lovers, many of them from among the clergy, in the formation of state institutions for the protection of monuments? It will be recalled that the enormous undertaking of the state inventORIZATION of artistic monuments, a glorious and lasting achievement of German science, was begun by strictly Catholic academics. Only naivety untouched by expert knowledge could impute anti-ecclesiastical tendencies to its Austrian branch. Nor has the legitimacy of state monument preservation ever been disputed in Austria. The Central Commission can look back proudly on a long line of religious collaborators who have stood alongside it in word and deed since its inception, permeated by the conviction that they can also do good for the church by contributing, under the auspices of the state, to the safeguarding of monuments of religious art from destruction or disfiguration.

⁴⁸ [The *lex pacca* (according to *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, 1908) was a decree of 1819 that forbade the export of artworks from the papal state unless the consent of an art commission had been obtained and a tax of twenty percent levied. This law was introduced in Italy as a whole in 1870 and superseded by a monument protection law in 1902.]

And all this is supposed to have been an aberration based on an objectionable notion of the state's right to intervene where ecclesiastical artworks are concerned? I do not think our author would go so far as to draw the ultimate conclusions of his argument by condemning any sort of public influence on the fate of the ideal assets that are preserved for us in every work of art, and thus annihilating at a stroke the fruits of almost a hundred years of cultural work, in the highest sense of the word, in the laborious struggle against unreason, self-interest, cold materialism and destructive elements.

But for anyone who would not go quite so far, for anyone who does not want to cause a rift in the historic relationship between the Catholic church and the efforts of the noblest and most cultured people of all nations in preserving the historic art of the church, the legitimacy and necessity of a monument protection law cannot be disputed, unless public monument preservation – and this has long been universally acknowledged – is to remain incapable of fulfilling its most important tasks, and indeed turned into an untenable, ridiculous fiction; into the laughing-stock of the uncultured and all those who profit from the sale and destruction of monuments. Austria is the last European state without a monument protection law, to the great detriment not only of science and art, but also of the Catholic church, and perhaps to an even greater extent. Next to Italy and Spain, Catholicism has nowhere produced such important religious art as in Austria, and yet nowhere else is this glorious legacy of the past so unscrupulously squandered and treated with anything like the same disregard as it is here. Year in, year out, artistic treasures from Austrian churches emigrate to the shops of antiques dealers in Munich, Berlin, and London, only to adorn the drawing rooms of some banker or other. Year in, year out, agents on commission plunder the Houses of God, leaving them bare and desolate. Certain regions have already been completely devastated in this way – a devastation that even the fiercest of enemies could not have wreaked. If it goes on like this Austria, having once been one of the richest countries in terms of its artistic heritage, will gradually be transformed into one of the poorest. This is not to level any accusation at individuals, for more often than not the fault lies not in malicious intent, but in a lack of knowledge and above all in a lack of clear, categorical regulations, which would then serve as a substitute for that knowledge, since it cannot be expected of everyone. How is a country priest supposed to know what's artistically valuable and what's not? How is he supposed to decide which of the art objects entrusted to him he may or may not alter if he's not to devalue them? That is not a matter for him. The fault lies first and foremost with all those whose task it ought to be to ensure that this state of helplessness and disorientation is done away with by binding prescriptions.

But the assertion that a monument protection law, the only remedy for this lamentable state of affairs, can be interpreted as an encroachment on church property rights has to be refuted with the greatest resolve. Such an interpretation is neither founded nor informed, perhaps not even sincere, for who could seriously believe that those proposing this law would want to sin against church property? What they are striving for is a law for the *protection* of church property, which, for the sake of future generations who will be more capable of appreciating this precious asset, has to be saved from the dangers – whichever side they may happen to come from – of the squandering and increasing devaluation it has hitherto had to suffer because it has not been esteemed highly enough. For where old religious artworks are concerned it is more than merely a matter of the individual's rights of disposal; they are the embodiments of higher values, artistic ideas, documents of past generations' religiosity and love of art, commissioned and created not just for specific individuals, but for the religious and artistic edification of every churchgoer in the present and the future. Property rights are therefore not as simple here as they are in the case of land ownership; they include both rights and obligations, obligations with regard to the general public and times to come, which suffer inestimable injury if historic artworks are destroyed or disfigured. 'A law', said Senator de Giovanni in 1872, 'which aims to safeguard objects of art and antiquity from the disregard of the ignorant, from the avarice of speculation, from the affront of inexperience, not only does not impinge on property rights, but it is also a just law because it guarantees to everyone that which belongs to him, a moral law, because it prevents deeds that are a disgrace to individuals and nations, and an instructive law, because it furthers the cult of great recollections and an appreciation for the highest forms of the true and the beautiful.'

The legal bill is also accused of failing to distinguish between monument custodianship and church custodianship and of concealing the inherent danger that liturgical requirements will in future be given too little consideration, even that churches will be transformed into museums without any consideration for their appointed purpose. It is difficult to understand this objection, since Count Latour's bill was put forward with the agreement of the Austrian episcopate and, in contrast to other monument protection laws, it expressly takes the position that the terms of the law may only be applied insofar as they can be reconciled with the appointed purpose of the monuments in question, which goes for both buildings and any interior furnishings that are deemed integral to them. This clause does not represent a concession, but corresponds entirely to the present conception of monument preservation, which seeks to preserve the life and high function of living monuments such as the churches. And when the legal bill says that an agreement with the diocese is to be sought

where questions of liturgical requirements are concerned, this does not mean, as the author claims, that the bishops are to be ‘cross-examined’, but rather that some sort of settlement is to be reached.⁴⁹ It is difficult to negotiate on these issues when mistrust is awakened and nurtured from the outset. If differences in opinion have arisen, they certainly did not derive from any desire on the part of the monument preservation authorities to deprive sacred artefacts of their purpose, either entirely or in part, or to leave them in a state that would be unworthy of the church and inimical to their religious functions. As a rule these differences derive from the variety of views as to what is to be deemed worthy and unworthy, beautiful and edifying, or disruptive and discordant. But for the most part, if not entirely, these are aesthetic questions, and throughout the nineteen centuries of its existence the church has always previously referred such questions to aesthetes. An old altar painted in tasteless, garish colours is not more ecclesiastical than one that still bears the harmonious colours of its fine old paintwork, and if anyone claims that the general public prefer an old work of art once it has been disfigured in this manner, then this is to be countered with the assertion that the church has always, in all former periods, considered only the very best artistry to be just good enough, and that it has never before condescended to the lowest register of taste; on the contrary, it elevated the people to a more refined conception of art and thus to a richer and deeper spiritual life. Do liturgical requirements and church custodianship demand, for instance, that a monumental paved stone floor be replaced by clay tiles which would not be good enough for a bathing facility; that the walls be decorated with paintings which would not even suffice for a hovel; or that beautiful old altars be replaced by works which correspond to the style and artistic level of a furniture warehouse? Such spoliation would make it difficult for anyone with finer artistic sensibilities to visit a House of God. This is not in the interests of religious life and thus not in the interests of church custodianship either, just as it also completely and utterly goes against the traditions of the Catholic church.

And it is not remotely true that these things are to be determined by the artistic standards of the lowest social strata, who may like the new for a while, because it’s new, but not on account of the art itself. This sort of botched artwork is not of the people; it is an art of the worst possible factory products, and the clergy often turn to its imitators and agents rather than, as they once did, to someone with sound artistic judgement. These differences of opinion have their source in the nadir to which ecclesiastical art has sunk far more than they do in any real conflict of interest between monument custodianship and church custodianship. The re-gothicizations defended by our author also have their origins in this

⁴⁹ [There is an amusing but untranslatable ambiguity here. *Einvernehmen*, as a noun, means an agreement, but, as a verb, to interrogate or cross-examine.]

nadir. They are not, as the author asserts, the best that our age can offer up to God, for the majority of these neo-Gothic churches – to which so many grand witnesses to the heyday of the Catholic church in Austria have irretrievably fallen victim – stand on the same cultural level as the factory products of the abovementioned art companies. Clearly, a developed sense of art cannot simply be decreed, but it certainly can be nurtured. And the monument protection law would be one suitable means of doing so, in that it teaches a respect and understanding for quality and safeguards the clergy against imprudent or inexperienced disfigurements of old churches and their furnishings. Many clergymen these days, and especially the younger ones, perceive this state of affairs and lament it deeply, such that one may hope, so long as no hindrance is set in the path of this tendency, that the basic problem will soon be done away with and a full agreement will be reached as to the goals of monument preservation and church custodianship. Then the odious comparisons between churches and museums will also disappear. I am not aware of a single case in which the Central Commission has left the image of a saint in an altar painting with half a head. But is it really necessary that old wall frescos, whose subject matter is often only comprehensible to art historians, be completely over-painted and coarsely completed such that their artistic value and importance as historical evidence are utterly lost? Is the church of S. Cecilia in Rome, for instance, restored only a few years ago at the cost and on the instructions of Cardinal Rampolla, any less worthy of liturgical use because its medieval frescos were left in a fragmentary state? Reverence for the received state of the historical document and for the ennobling traces of age will someday be an integral part of our artistic culture, and this ethos is so powerful that even ecclesiastical art and church custodianship will not be able to remain aloof of it in the long run. But the new heyday of ecclesiastical art will only come when it rejects corrections and forgeries of historic artworks, when it honours them as it used to and sets itself the task of providing generous initiatives for the creation of new works.

Certain objections were also raised with regard to the reorganization of the organs of monument preservation, and our author seems to have gleaned his information as to their underlying principles from the daily papers and the *Mitteilungen* of the Central Commission, but again, or so it seems to me, without precise knowledge of the circumstances. The author complains of an excessive degree of centralization, though the restructuring will actually remedy precisely this issue. He fears a certain bureaucratization, though this is to be obviated by the employment of specially trained art historians and architects (whose education, moreover, includes prescriptions pertaining to a precise knowledge of both the liturgy and ecclesiastical art). And where he speaks of a mixed society and of men who are hostile towards the church he overlooks the fact that the new functionaries at the monument

authorities will be state-employed civil servants who are sworn to carry out their office according to impartial, objective viewpoints. Where does the greater danger lie? In a monument office that is removed from all political influence, such as those that already exist in all other countries, or in unaccountable organizations that allow historic artistic treasures to be treated as the playthings of dilettantes on the one hand and party interests on the other? The former structure of the Central Commission was inadequate and in many respects practically disastrous; it was incapable of fulfilling its task and caused much disagreement and dissent. It is, however, neither smart nor fair to set hindrances in the path of reform by accusing the new institution of the shortcomings of the old, for it sets out to avoid these mistakes on the basis of honest effort and prior experience. One can certainly debate and discuss the planned reorganization, which is to be undertaken with the greatest deliberation and will take all good counsel and the best existing models into account. But he who rejects it out of hand without suggesting anything else in its place soon arouses the suspicion that he is not at all bothered about the fate of historic artworks.

It would be regrettable if certain religious groups were to pronounce a firm 'no' to endeavours that are a heartfelt concern and a cultural necessity for the most educated members of the Catholic church. This cultural necessity has already permeated the broadest strata of society and, after a traditionless period that flouted every pious value, it has awakened a new, universal respect and love for the legacy of the past, for the heritage of our fathers, and for a patriotism that consists not in empty words, but in an understanding for things that have emerged over the course of history and are sanctified by tradition. This spiritual movement is so strong that it will certainly lead to a monument protection law sooner or later, even in Austria. As to whether it would better serve church interests for this to happen with the collaboration and consent of the clergy, or without and against them, I leave that to the readers of this paper to decide.

23. The Recent Renaissance (1912)

Max Dvořák, 'Die letzte Renaissance', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 50 (1997), 9–21

To the casual observer, contemporary architecture might well appear to be a chaotic variety of tendencies and styles: one builds in the Gothic, the other Baroque, the one historically, the other modern; every landlord and property owner wants to have his own style, and architecture seems to mean an every-man-for-himself struggle.

But in fact these supposed tendencies and styles can be reduced an old, regressive architecture and a new, progressive one. I know master builders who, depending on the commission, build in the classical, Romanesque, Gothic, baroque, or the modern style to order, and thus have to incorporate the most diverse styles and the entire evolution of architecture within their genius (Seidl's National Museum in Munich). This, of course, is a farce, and in fact it does not take much effort to convince oneself that these various styles are only concerned with superficialities, ornament, and constructive gimmickry, as though one and the same man were hiding behind a variety of disguises.

And if we ignore these superficialities – most of which have their origins in specialist knowledge, textbooks, and pattern books rather than in artistic invention – and try to penetrate to the core of the matter, to the actual architectural style of our age and of the recent past, we find that around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a stylistic transformation took place in architecture, one that counts among the most important in the history of architecture and is certainly of no less importance than Gothic or renaissance architecture in terms of its universal historical significance.⁵⁰ I would like to try to describe this stylistic transformation and explain it historically, as far as this is possible within the confines of a short lecture.

In order to understand it, it is first necessary to remind ourselves of what constituted the essence of the former, surmounted architecture; that which filled out the second half of the past century and which we will call 'academic'. It would perhaps be advisable to start by considering the principal negative aspects that differentiate this academic architecture from the modern. These were: firstly, disregard for the purpose of the building; secondly, disregard for the building material; thirdly, constructional insincerity; and fourthly, a

⁵⁰ *Margin*: Ignore superficialities and penetrate to the core.

disregard for the tectonic problems of architecture and for the tectonic function of the built forms determined by the former.

Our beautiful Platz am Hof, which we are soon to lose, was once adorned by an unassuming building: the guesthouse 'Zur Kugel', which many of you will perhaps still remember. Its owner had it demolished one day and erected in its place this pompous palace, which can be designated as a parody of the great baroque palaces. You are all aware that this is not an isolated example. Slowly but surely our beautiful old Vienna is going to the dogs as a result of such developments, and whilst there can be no doubt that speculation and real or imagined benefits play a significant role here, one ought not to forget that academic architecture also contributed a great deal to this frenzy of demolition. It forged new conceptions of splendour and beauty, of dignity and style, to which the modest witnesses of older patrician art had to make way. And how could they have held their ground in an age when, in the consciousness of their own public importance, every Herr Pimpelhuber wanted to create a residence such as that of Lorenzo the Magnificent or the Doge of Venice? Such gentlemen were clearly following loftier examples, for even in the case of public buildings, be it as a result of false presumption or ill-advised artistic intent, every boundary between functional and monumental building had been blurred. Post offices executed after the model of Romanesque imperial palaces, whose little windows give the poor postage clerks tuberculosis rather than a regal self-consciousness; railway stations built like Gothic fortresses with crenellations and battlements, as though they were to be defended from travellers with projectiles and boiling pitch; public baths contrived as variations on the Alhambra; concert halls in the form of Gothic cathedral interiors; stock exchanges competing with the great hall of the Palazzo Farnese – these are examples you are all familiar with. But the extent of this blurring of boundaries between functional and monumental building can perhaps be corroborated by this tobacconist's shop, a harmless flourish that one will find in Vienna without too much difficulty.

It was an unavoidable result of this ostentation that buildings, in terms of their technical execution, had to pretend to be something they were not: Florentine and Roman palaces were executed in plaster; Michelangelo's *Aurora* and *Crepuscolo*, which were conceived in stone and for stone like no others in the world, had to put up with being endlessly reproduced in plaster and used as adornments to the doorways of apartment blocks. The lamentable, dismal shoddiness of our streets is based primarily on dishonesty in the application of materials, which went hand in hand with insincerity in the application of construction – which on the one hand consisted of concealing the real, and on the other of feigning the false. Buildings that had been executed in brick and iron beams – their visible

expression was for some reason deemed a disgrace – were plastered with Antique, Romanesque, or Gothic structural elements, whereas it would have been less bad to have used them purely decoratively, without affecting real construction. Never have so many colossal columns, giant caryatids, and heavy entablatures been applied in the affectation of a titanic clash of forces that was in reality nothing more than a farce. For the giant columns and giant caryatids had nothing to carry or support, nor could they have done, for they were made of stucco. As a result one soon gave up paying any attention to this shadow boxing, which had become more dull and tedious than a set of children's building blocks.

At the same time, the feeling for artistic invention and the composition of the building as whole began to falter, as did the feeling for the tectonic function of individual forms, and ultimately also that for artistic quality itself. There are certainly no eternal artistic laws, and it is possible that there will be periods that find academic art interesting because of this tendency. But in a period when housing developers had more influence on architecture than artists, and when the sheer volume of building activity had to replace depth and breadth of invention, these developments clearly resulted in phenomena that seem absurd, unbearable, or laughable to us today. One can use a column structurally or decoratively, in a tectonic or painterly manner, but for us today it smacks of the bizarre when one gives a fireplace the form of a colossal column or a machine the form of a temple. Statues can be modelled for viewing from close quarters or from far away, but one cannot understand why, having been worked up in detail for viewing at close quarters – like the statues that stand atop our parliament building – they are then installed at a height where one sees so little of the detail that they may as well have been buried in the ground. Eclectic art is certainly capable of producing significant work too, but we find it irksome today when styles from all over the world are compiled into pattern books and then mechanically applied alongside one another as though they were in an illustrated broadsheet, without any organic connection or higher unity. The same goes for copies of whole buildings that are transplanted to completely foreign surroundings without consideration for their original ideals and artistic meaning, such as the Berlin Cathedral on the wonderful old Museumsplatz. And as evidence for the extent to which the feeling for quality receded at that time, I need only point to the rear wall of this assembly hall, which was decorated with statues that would not even suffice to adorn a pleasure palace.⁵¹ And this in an age that had produced quite outstanding works of sculpture! One can only conclude that architecture had become content with work of even the poorest quality.

⁵¹ [Dvořák is apparently referring to (a slide of) the Viennese parliament building here.]

There is no doubt that this academic art was the last chapter of the great development in architecture which began with Michelangelo in the sixteenth century and which, beyond its various subdivisions, can be designated as the Baroque. This is evident enough in the great monumental complexes such as Semper's project for the development of the Museumsplatz, the genealogy of which can be traced back to Michelangelo's Capitoline piazza; in our monumental streets with their false sidewalls; an indifference with regard to construction; the endeavour to achieve a harmonization of the arts; and even in the adoption of the historical forms themselves.⁵² But whilst the incredible evolution of baroque architecture was always accompanied by the development of certain fundamental architectural ideas and problems, which infused its apparent capriciousness with a superior regularity, academic building was tied up with a thousand tasks, such that the content, the original artistic preconditions of this architecture, was lost, and the thousand modifications of its remains either had to be dragged on in the art of the building developer, where it putrefied completely, or reconciled to the demands of another world and society. This development is comparable to that which led from the baroque character tragedy to the trash novel via the sensationalist dramas of Dumas or Sardou.

However, the past century was admittedly more than just a century of sensationalist plays and trash novels. It also saw some of the greatest revolutions in intellectual life, in the relation of man to life and to nature. This can be summarized as follows. The real, that which is accessible to the senses and empirically known, became the principal source of intellectual life and the rule and measure of all things. Herein lies the significance of the development that began, in literature, with *Wilhelm Meister* and attained its highpoint in Dostoyevsky, in modern science when doctrines were replaced by experiment and investigation, and in modern painting when theatrical constructions were replaced by the reproduction of optical impressions. Sooner or later it had to come to the point where this realism would have to assert itself against the architecture of semblance and simulation, and it is characteristic that this first occurred where things are at their most real, namely in materials and construction. Twenty years ago Cornelius Gurlitt wrote that beauty is in the materials, and since iron was the characteristic material of our age people began to see iron buildings as the grandest and fullest expression of our artistic life. And there certainly is an elementary, enchanting effect in these great iron constructions, but it soon became clear that the attempts to create a new architecture on the basis of the new materials alone had been unsuccessful and had gone astray without producing results.⁵³ This design for an iron church teaches us as much, as

⁵² *Margin:* Prospects.

⁵³ *Margin:* Railway bridge at Edinburgh.

does the Maison du Peuple in Brussels, where iron construction is without doubt employed with skill and talent, but, and perhaps precisely for this reason, it clearly indicates the limits of development in this direction. Nevertheless, the result was that material and constructive honesty found ever more adherents and eventually became the criterion of decent upstanding architecture.

The upheaval that took place in the arts and crafts was of no less importance. There can hardly be a more interesting art-historical process than the transformation of the arts and crafts, which I can only touch upon here. After various similar continental attempts, the decisive impulse came from England, where, initially for everyday objects, people began to avoid any needless ornament and to appreciate simply functional execution in good, solid materials. Continental imitators, though, were not content with this new, simple, purposive form, and tried to convert it into a completely new art form. In doing so they sought to derive new decorative motifs from each concrete task in conjunction with the peculiarity of the material, whereby the needless formal exuberance of the past was admittedly often only replaced by a new formalism. But this phase passed, leaving behind a new objectivity as its lasting achievement; that degree of technical quality in craft production which has always been one of the most important preconditions for further development. This development had a great influence on architecture in that people also started to exchange the senseless, false, stick-on decorations for those that arose out of the working form and material logic – as the slogans ran – which may not have led to an entirely new architecture, but, as with the handicrafts, did gradually bring people back to an appreciation for good, solid workmanship and artistic invention in the execution of details.

Concurrent with this influence from the new applied arts, a change also came about in rustic architecture, where English influences were likewise decisive.⁵⁴ Who does not know the beautiful English country estates from lithographs or old illustrated English books? Their builders avoided any sort of semblance, and an inborn conservatism coupled with their noble-mindedness safeguarded them from transferring the extravagances of academic architecture to their country retreats.

These country houses were discovered at the end of the past century once the great transformation of architecture had begun. People realized with astonishment that architecture could be uncommonly effective merely by means of a functional disposition of the interior and execution corresponding to practical requirements; without false facades, without stuck-on gables and towers, and indeed without ornament. This discovery was like a liberation. Before long quite masterful buildings were being carried out on the continent according to

⁵⁴ *Margin:* Difference between functional architecture and monumental art.

this principle too, or rather, in this spirit, and the development moved so quickly, particularly in Germany, that there are regions there where this new rustic manner of building is quite widespread, so it will not be too long before our summer holidays can once again be a time of unadulterated joy.

This architecture also influenced architecture in the cities, where people had likewise begun to lay emphasis on functional disposition and execution, to build from the inside out, and to avoid all inappropriate and superfluous decoration. The incredible progress that was made in this respect can be demonstrated with a few examples. The patrician house and the commercial building once again became that which they had been before academic architecture: not false palaces, but simple utilitarian buildings where ornament and the application of monumental form was not allowed to overstep the bounds dictated by the character of the buildings. There was far more than just respect for materials and construction in this. A new ethical principle had been established in the transformation of functional architecture. It can perhaps be designated as the victory of truth and rectitude over doctrine and cliché, a victory akin to that which painting and literature had already achieved. Even the most trivial things, such as craftsmen's workshops and boiler plants, were artistically ennobled by this rectitude, like the unadorned peasants in Millet's paintings or Tolstoy's novels. And when people had thus started to see once more that architecture cannot be construed from old or new concepts of style and that architecture as a whole and its individual creations are the product of the times, of circumstances, of specific tasks and individual solutions, then they stopped considering the monuments of historic art as specimens of the style doctrines of academic art, to be converted, corrected, or completed at the architect's pleasure. This was truly an heroic age, in which basic architectural truths – the old and the new – were discovered or rediscovered, and we in Vienna can be proud to have played an early and intensive role in it: through our modern architecture, under Wagner's leadership in the living arts, and through our insightful art academics in the judgement of historic art.⁵⁵

This revaluation of values was certainly not a new architecture in the full meaning of the word, but merely a prelude to it. This becomes clear when we consider the attempts to create monumental buildings out of the new conditions.⁵⁶ Such attempts were certainly not necessary, for surely one can well imagine an artistic culture that is content with plain, simple, functional architecture. But the preceding development, which had been based on the

⁵⁵ *Margin:* A great procession / the revaluation of functional architecture / fundamentals of architecture in this reform.

⁵⁶ *Margin:* not a grand new monumental style.

antique, continued to have its influence, creating another architecture alongside the functional, whereby function – which was often just a pretext, or, as in the Greek temples, receded completely – was allied to a pure manifestation of architectural ideas, rising above the everyday like a sonata. Nevertheless, this additional something that took architectural design beyond functional purpose still evidenced a complete dependence on baroque and academic architecture, as this projected hall of fame for the new building of the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts shows – although it is certainly one of the most interesting creations of this transitional period – not only because the overall treatment of masses is dependent on baroque models (one need only think of the Karlskirche) and the deluge of decorative forms, but also, and far more, because the building proceeds from the assumption and conviction that the most important thing for a building is the form and material of the decoration – the old arts-and-crafts credo of Van der Velde transferred to architecture and interpreted as a source of monumental art.⁵⁷

After functional architecture had made this decisive break with the past the development proceeded in giant strides and a rapid succession of buildings appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century which, as though by a miracle, had suddenly discovered what people had looked for in vain throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

It is neither the material nor the construction, neither function nor well-crafted form – one barely noticed these things, for they had become commonplace – that lends Olbrich's Ernst-Ludwig-Haus in Darmstadt its character: the character of a lofty, pure monumentality.⁵⁸ The ornamentation is confined to the absolutely necessary: only the portal is accentuated by two mighty figures and a few adornments. The overall disposition of the building is also as simple as can be. The portal and the two corner projections emphasize the vertical construction; two heavy, continuous cornices accentuate the horizontals, but within these limitations there is a pioneering artistic act: nothing in this facade could be taken away or even moved a little without it meaning the disruption of the artistic effect, which consists of a harmonious, insoluble, and compelling unity, in the higher artistic sense of the word; of proportions, forms and surfaces, of the massive punctuated walls, and of the aspiring and burdening forces. This lends the building, along with its purpose, the content of an inner artistic regularity and sublimity, which distinguishes it from a merely functional building in the same way that a literary masterpiece is different to a newspaper report.

It is not new materials, construction, or details that confront us here and in other creations of the new monumental architecture, but a new feeling for the architectonic

⁵⁷ *Margin:* That a new architecture can emerge from the alteration of individual forms.

⁵⁸ *Margin:* Nor the ornamentation.

function of structural elements, for the artistic composition and working-out of structural matter, of which I would like to give a few striking examples.⁵⁹ It has been said of Olbrich's buildings that they were excessive creations of the imagination, so perhaps the new style finds its most striking expression in them. But other buildings emerged at the same time, which, having grown up entirely out of the new functional art, nevertheless elevate themselves to the grandest monumentality, as for example this museum in Mannheim by Billing, or this design for a theatre in Hagen by Dülfer – buildings in which great built masses and complicated complexes seem to have been treated with a similar harmony of proportions to that of the Ernst Ludwig building: rhythm between space and surface, mass and form, sculptural effect and tectonic structure.

The complete and utter independence of this powerful new architecture has given Germany the lead in artistic matters. Nevertheless, it seems quite inexplicable that it again started to employ historical forms and details here and there – clearly not in imitation, but free interpretation, as in this design by Bruno Schmitz for the completion of Freiberg Cathedral perhaps, which combines a completely modern monumental conception with a few reminiscences of Gothic art and clearly shows that our new monumental architecture can stand alongside the former monumental styles as an equal sister, for it accentuates the effect of the adjoining historic monument rather than disrupting it. One of the greatest founders of the new architecture took the re-application of historical forms furthest: Alfred Messel, whose buildings sometimes seem to be variations on buildings of former periods. Short-sighted commentators wanted to infer from this a return to the historical styles of academic art, whereby they failed to see that precisely the opposite is the case. Whilst the academic architects wanted to establish a new style through the study and imitation of old architectural forms, here old forms are incorporated into a new style as serviceable tectonic elements and reinterpreted accordingly, as happened in the Romanesque, in the Gothic, in the renaissance and baroque styles. It is not versatility that gives one the right to reinterpret everything created by past ages in the language of the present, but rather the re-appropriation of these styles from the perspective of a new higher unity. Despite its historical forms, the new tectonic sensibility of this museum complex is as new and pioneering as the Pazzi Chapel or the Sacristy at San Lorenzo at the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁶⁰

The secret lies in the creative act, which can and may incorporate everything created by preceding generations because the artist has mastered it anew, elevated it to new life and contemporary value.

⁵⁹ *Margin*: A new feeling / tectonic / composition.

⁶⁰ [The reference here is to Alfred Messel's 1907 project for the Pergamon Museum.]

Where did this new tectonic style come from so suddenly? We are all so deeply pervaded by the continuity of artistic development that we cannot accept the abrupt, inexplicable appearance of such a phenomenon and have to enquire after the relationships between the old and the new.

Before I answer this question, allow me to mention a fact of universal importance.

Functional architecture has existed in all times and for all nations, whilst architecture as a monumental tectonic art form – along with tragedy and sculpture, based on the study of the human body and its functional mechanisms; and painting, based on the objective reproduction of a section of nature – is the preserve of nations whose culture is based on classical culture.

Among the immortal achievements of the Greek spirit is the idea that architecture can be more than functional building, and that this ‘more’ does not consist in the mere accumulation of material and decoration, as it did for ancient eastern art, nor in the absolute size and splendour of the building, but on its organic organization and perfection and unity, in which the play of forces that move matter find expression in an artistically heightened emphasis which is at once an imaginative creation, a poem, and a living organism. This can perhaps be observed most clearly in the brilliant elemental creation of this idea, the Doric temple. Though it was understood as such by ages that were obsessed with construction, it was more than a mere construction. The Doric temple – with its stucco-clad and thus no longer merely material columns, their elastic and yet hard contours, with the burdensome weight of entablature and pediment, emphasized far beyond material necessity – was conceived with a wonderful consistency as an apotheosis of growth and gravity; the elemental forces of architecture.

This conception of architecture, though, was never completely lost to the classically educated nations insofar as it established certain conditions at the outset, aims and bounds for further development, similar to the objective reproduction of nature in the painting and sculpture of antiquity. It also remained a latent force, a source of ideas and inspiration, of renewal and new energy; a second world alongside new requirements to which one returned once architecture had reached the outermost limits of a certain development. So it was in the early middle ages, at the gates of Romanesque art, after the late-antique and early-Christian decorative styles had lost all interest in tectonic composition. And the same thing occurred with elementary force in Brunelleschi’s buildings at the beginning of the quattrocento, after tectonic composition had completely given way, on the one hand, to a one-sided verticality in construction and, on the other, to construction’s dissolution into ornament. This imitation of the antique was not engendered by external circumstances, as people once supposed, but

by a profound and independent artistic movement which suddenly brought about a new understanding of the tectonic beauty of antique buildings, and – what is infinitely more important – people tried to attain this beauty in new buildings which were entirely different from the antique in their disposition and execution merely because of their different purposes, whereby an entirely new architecture was introduced.

Such a renaissance of antique tectonic ideals has also occurred in the last decade.

This seems all the more incredible for the fact that one can hardly speak of any serious study of antique art on the part of its pioneers. But let's look a little further back. Does one not also see that which we have considered as the most important characteristic of the new monumental architecture – a new understanding for the values of tectonic art – in buildings that emerged a century ago? From the middle of the eighteenth century, and stemming from roots that reach even further back, one can already see in art and literature a tendency that we call 'classicist' and which, in contrast to the pompous, rapturous spatial and decorative art of the Rococo, began to long for the simple, strict, and yet overpowering tectonic beauty of Greek architecture, and to strive for this in its artworks. Winckelmann's writings became the gospel of this tendency, which was not merely a literary credo or a passing fashion for the imitation of classical models, but a profound transformation of art. This was underlined quite brilliantly and easily demonstrated with reference to works of art by Benndorf in his day. They certainly borrowed individual forms and motifs from classical models – and perhaps more faithfully and in more differentiated ways – but the buildings as a whole were just as little antique as those of the Renaissance. They combined a new architecture which was based on the achievements of the Baroque – thus above all the disposition of masses and individual invention – with a new mode of tectonic composition, organization, and formal perfection in the classical sense of the word. The classicizing works of Goethe and Schiller, which live on and are indeed more relevant than ever, and of which no one could contend that they were nothing more than an imitation of the antique, are the brilliant and immortal manifestations of the same thing we are confronted with in the works of the great architects who belong to that current which stretches from the beginnings of classicism to the end of the Biedermeier. To take but one particularly striking example: how close are the buildings of Karl Friedrich Schinkel to the new monumental architecture of the present? The Neue Wache, for instance? Not in the particulars, which are quite different, but in their fundamental conception of architectural problems. It is with sheer amazement that we read Schinkel's writings – as well as those of his contemporaries. Their aspirations for architecture were only fulfilled at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In other words, our new monumental architecture picks up a development that was interrupted midway through the last century – not, like academic art, in imitation, but by taking up the problems of those periods; problems whose origins are to be found in antiquity. It has come full circle. The consistent thousand-year development continues.

One could perhaps also ask how this historic culture came to be interrupted and why continuity had to be re-established. The development of art has never flowed as a uniform river, but branches off in many directions. Thus the performing arts and intellectual ideas, as opposed to formal classical ones, gradually came to the forefront over the course of the nineteenth century. Pure tectonics had to recede – all the more so given the complete transformation of the universal and material conditions of architecture – and the problem became far more complicated than it had been in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the desired goal could not be attained on the path of a mere imitation of the Greeks – art never returns to a former stage completely. Rather, a new tectonic style had to be constructed on the basis of every architectural value created since antiquity. Even the quattrocento Renaissance had a proto-renaissance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, its seed only coming to fruition once the Italian art of the fourteenth century had incorporated the achievements of the northern Gothic, whereby architecture seemed to falter just as it did in the second half of the past century. In the visual arts, too – particularly in sculpture, but also in painting – there is an evident desire for a grand style and formal composition that stands in sharp contrast to the unbridled naturalism of the past century. And who can doubt that masters such as Feuerbach or Marées form the bridges that connect the present with the classicism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? And if the call for a return to form rings out louder than ever in poetry today, it should be easy enough to demonstrate the unbroken chain of continuity between this neoclassical literature and the literary masterpieces and classical perspectives from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And perhaps in the not-too-distant future, and out of the chaos of academic architecture, we will be able to find men who represent the link between the old and new artistic cultures; the champions of the great renaissance of architecture which we have been lucky enough to experience.

Our joy might be tarnished by the reminder that only a few of them are involved in it at present. This will surely also change, but perhaps it would happen more quickly if our education were different. Nothing could be more to the point than a recent rectoral address by one of the most modern men in Germany, the principal of one of the most important technical colleges. One of the most important requirements for the future, according to him,

is the humanist education of our technicians.⁶¹ The cancer of our culture doubtless lies in the division of education in the years when students are most impressionable: from the tenth year on we have only specialist schools, and none for all-round education. This goes for our grammar schools too, where the classics are understood in a way that bears no relation to the task they ought to fulfil for mankind. In the schools – as in contemporary art – the antique cannot merely be a body of knowledge to be historically and philologically learned. It should encompass living cultural values and should teach us to pay heed to those classical cultural values that have retained their beneficent effect throughout the ages. The most important means to this end, though, is an artistic education that is not merely mnemonic and corporal, but also based on a visual understanding of reality. These are the words of the greatest classicist of the modern age: ‘My seeing is a way of thinking, and my thinking is a way of seeing.’ Once we have made Goethe’s profound maxim the universal foundation of our education system, then the new architecture, the new renaissance, will soon become the common good that it was five hundred years ago.

⁶¹ [Georg Wickop (1861–1914), architect, Professor at the Technische Hochschule Darmstadt, and monument conservator in Hessen.]

24. Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1914)

Max Dvořák, 'Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand', *MZK*, 13 (1914), 157–59

The Central Commission for Monument Preservation mourns at the bier of its protector. On 22 January 1910, His Royal and Imperial Apostolic Majesty deigned to nominate Archduke Franz Ferdinand Protector of the Central Commission, which already counted him among its honorary members and to whose tasks and work he had lent every possible encouragement over the years.

The amount Archduke Franz Ferdinand did for the Central Commission in the few years he presided over it as protector can only be hinted at in this mournful obituary and ought to be given extensive treatment on these pages at a later date. Indeed, the endeavours of the immortalized heir apparent on behalf of Austrian monument preservation were so intensive and thoroughgoing, and likewise so important for the history of state arts administration, that they will have to be treated at length. But under the shattering sense of incalculable loss the necessary composure is lacking.

When Archduke Franz Ferdinand took up the protectorate the Central Commission's internal organization was outmoded and unfit for purpose, whilst externally it was lacking in both power and influence. Men who were conversant with the development of monument preservation set the older staff on new intellectual foundations, but in the face of universal impiety and indolence the existing organization was incapable of waging a successful struggle for the new ideas. Any sort of legal ordinance was lacking and an expansion of the remit of monument preservation was long overdue, things that ought to have been among the obligations and prerogatives of the state administration. Neither a trained, accountable workforce, nor adequate financial means were put at its disposal, while ecclesiastical and autonomous authorities failed to support the endeavours of monument preservation effectively and for the most part even forsook or turned against it.

Archduke Franz Ferdinand brought an end to this ignoble and untenable situation. It was primarily thanks to him that the old Central Commission was transformed into a Monument Office corresponding to present requirements within such a short space of time, that it was furnished with the minimum financial requirements, and that recognition of and support for its endeavours and interventions were ensured.

For wherever there were old Austrian artworks to be rescued from destruction or safeguarded from disfigurement, whenever there were hindrances to be removed from the

path of monument preservation, Archduke Franz Ferdinand never hesitated to throw the weight of his authority into the balance.

A passionate collector and friend of the arts from his youth, like so many of his ancestors, untiring in his visits to old artistic sites, his own experience furnished him with a precise knowledge of the sorry state of Austria's once so rich and wonderful stock of monuments, as well as the dangers to which they are exposed. He considered it his life's calling and his duty to protect Austria's historic legacy from enemies both without and within, to lay emphasis on it again, and to stem the advancing spoliation and impoverishment of the empire, an area that was particularly close to his heart. He would not simply limit himself to general wishes and directives, but with characteristic insistency took the liveliest personal interest in every problem that needed solving, in every step that was to be taken or ought to have been taken. He would have everything, and often quite minor matters, reported to him in detail in order to be able to intervene when and wherever necessary, but also in order to keep himself directly informed as to the efficacy of state monument protection, the expediency of its organization, the suitability of its various organs, and the use of its funds. In doing so voiced his views and wishes and thus not only levelled the path for reform within the Central Commission, but in many cases blazed the trail too. This particularly applies to the administrative principles of the Central Commission.

In objective decisions Archduke Franz Ferdinand shared the radical conservative position of contemporary monument preservation in wanting to protect the entirety of traditional artistic culture rather than just the absolute art value of individual monuments, and in opposing as a devaluation any intervention that went beyond measures necessary for the preservation of the historic form and appearance of artworks. And in the practical implementation of its mission, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was not only a helper to the Central Commission, but also an instructor. After the proposed monument protection law had foundered due to parliamentary opposition, and proceeding from the view that poor target-to-result ratios within individual imperial institutions were attributable more to unwieldy bureaucracy and a lack of drive and initiative than to the difficulty of their tasks, he insisted, with an unbending will, that the activities of the Central Commission were not to be limited to officious dispatches and academic postulates; they were to assert the rights of Austrian cultural heritage through the constant supervision of monuments, taking the initiative, swift and energetic action, perseverance and resolve, and by avoiding all compromise. Any legal compulsion was thus to be rendered unnecessary by improved and proactive administration, and he saw the precondition for this in the Central Commission having as independent a position as possible in every respect.

The importance and beneficence of this program, which largely corresponded to the Archduke's intentions, became clear sooner than one could have hoped, for within the shortest space of time the Central Commission had obtained that authoritative influence over the fate of old Austrian monuments that had been denied to it for half a century. For as long as it remained a Cinderella amongst officials, a merely consultative bureau, it not only had to contend with the ruthless onslaughts of all those who valued private interests over public welfare, but also with a lack of regard on the part of those who, whilst not being indifferent to historic art, nevertheless tended to see the old Central Commission as more of a bureaucratic organ or a powerless and pointless official sham of monument preservation than as a vital cultural force. But once the new, proactive work had begun to take effect, the Central Commission automatically became the natural rallying point for forces which, prior to this, had been divided in their efforts on behalf of the protection of monuments. They developed into an institution which was more than a match for the particular complications and hindrances that monument preservation in Austria had to contend with, something which had once seemed quite impossible.

Before the fruits of his tireless efforts could ripen, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was stolen away from us by the grim malice of a scandalous crime that wanted to annihilate Austria's future with him.

We shall faithfully watch over his legacy and forever demonstrate the depth of our gratitude by continuing to build upon what was done for the preservation of Austrian monuments under his leadership; without hesitation or trepidation, internally strong and alert, just as his ardent young spirit would have had it: in the service of the general public and the State Idea. It was as their harbinger and protector that he fell victim to the assassin's bullet.

25. Collectors, Museums and Monument Preservation (1915)

Max Dvořák, 'Sammeler, Museen und Denkmalpflege', *MZK*, 14 (1915), 17–24

Fifteen years ago, as a young student, I had the honour of being invited to visit a famous art academic, who is now long since dead. I found him in an apartment that made a packed junkshop seem like a spacious gymnasium. There were antiques everywhere, not only on the chests and tables, shelves and mantelpiece, but simply everywhere, even on the chairs, windowsills, and on the floor, i.e., there was a dense mass of stuff gathered from junkshops, incrustated with dust, and stacked up in such a way that one could hardly move without knocking something over. This abundance impressed me at the time; later on I remembered it with a chill, and a few months ago I dreamt that the whole lot had collapsed on top of the wizened old man and buried him under the wreckage.

You will ask yourselves how this relates to monument preservation. More, I fear, than one would care to believe or admit – but in order to demonstrate this I will have to go a little further afield.

Historic artworks have had friends and enemies in every age. Historic monuments were protected out of a natural sense of piety, as an ancestral legacy, as witnesses to the communal and national past, or out of an inborn reverence for the incarnations of artistic creativity. They were plundered and stolen from enemy territory on account of their material value or as trophies symbolizing the humiliation of the opponents and their homeland. Compared with ours – a thousand apologies for this statement – these were healthy, normal circumstances. For historic art also has its friends and enemies today; the difference, however, consists in the fact that its friends often do a thousand times more damage than its enemies.

Gone are the times when churches were burned and statues shattered by the unbridled passion of the masses, and hopefully they will not return too soon. And we need hardly fear wars of conquest, for today one fights for colonies and world domination, not for goldsmiths' works or pictures by Raphael, which can be acquired in times of peace if one has the necessary funds.

If the dangers threatening artistic heritage have diminished on one front or another, this is not least because of the greater degree of public education, which has brought an understanding for the ideal values of historic artworks to broad circles. Not only have the art academics, in the narrower sense of the term, and the official advocates of public artistic

heritage, the monument authorities, earned themselves great merit in this respect, but so too have the artists and art-lovers, collectors and museum directors. The appreciation of historic works of art would hardly have spread so quickly and widely if men of an artistic sensibility and high intellectual standing had not in the past century begun to surround themselves with historic works of art instead of banishing them to curiosity cabinets. It is without doubt and not in the last instance these men whom we have to thank for the fact that a certain feeling has been able to take root, one which allows us to see the living, contemporary value of historic artworks. But *si duo faciunt idem, non est idem*, and the rage for collecting that now grips the whole world is no longer a fertile current nourishing a love and understanding for historic art, but, on the contrary, a flood of philistinism and speculation that threatens to suffocate the seed for which we remain indebted to the enthusiasm and the intentions of the genuine art-lovers and connoisseurs. Allow me to expand on this a little.

It will not escape even the casual observer that the demand for old artworks has reached an unprecedented level. There are a variety of reasons for this.

Over the course of the past century an awareness that old artistic treasures bestow nobility and dignity, joy and pleasure, penetrated into regions and circles that had played no part in the prior artistic development, but nevertheless wanted to partake of its blessings and thus moved heaven and earth to obtain historic artworks. America provides the best-known example, but not the only one by a long way, and perhaps not even the worst.

In comparison to the practice of taking outstanding individual artworks across the ocean, the parallel European phenomenon to me seems even more detrimental to artistic heritage: the acquisition of antiques here has gradually transformed itself into a concern that is conducted out of snobbery, as a sport or a dictate of fashion, rather than out of a genuine relationship to historic art or out of love and understanding. On one occasion, at the Borghese gallery in Rome, I was obliged to listen to two honeymooners discussing Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*. 'What use is such a picture actually', said the clever gentleman after a few enthusiastic noises from his companion, 'it wouldn't suit the dining room or the salon, no one would see it in the bedroom, and it is far too good for the hall.' And such people *buy* old pictures; not just individuals, but a whole category of such people, who are just as indifferent towards such pictures, or rather, even more indifferent, than they are towards the clothes they wear. And yet they cram their apartments full of 'antiquities' because it is the done thing and because one can thereby attain a certain cultural preponderance and purchase a gloss that could otherwise only be attained as the fruit of sustained cultural activity. But the great danger lies in the fact that this fashion did not stop at a certain category of people; that it gradually became quite universal and took on

pathological proportions. It finds ever more adherents, particularly amongst the well-to-do classes, not because of a deepened or broadened understanding of historic art, but because it became customary to furnish apartments with genuine or fake antiquities instead of genuine or fake Oriental carpets and Makart bouquets, or because people collected old art objects – like postage stamps or butterflies – for their rarity, out of ambition or vanity, merely in order to possess lots of a particular species, or lots of them in general.⁶²

This boundless collecting – which is not based on any real affinity for art, but only on convention, ostentation or mimicry, on pastimes or on rivalry – without doubt represents as much of a danger for the present as it does for the artistic legacy of the past. In the current haggling over antiques there is an unmistakable coarsening of public taste and artistic sensibility which undermines all respect for historic artworks. Nothing is sacred to it; it transforms the artistic legacy of past generations into market objects, into a price-list, into the mysteries of an auction catalogue, into an impulse purchase – or it is considered from the perspective of a well calculated speculation. The clearest expression of this is that this type of collector, who is an amateur merchant at the same time, is becoming all the more common and has unfortunately also spread to groups which, according to their profession and standing, ought to have been obliged to serve as the priests of historic art and not as its middlemen. But you will ask yourselves what all this has to do with monument preservation.

A great deal in fact.

Of course, a certain part of our artistic heritage has always come onto the market; from bequeathed estates, through impoverishment, or for other reasons. The sum total of artworks removed from their places of origin and deprived of their original purposes changed according to fluctuations in prosperity and also in connection with political and other events in the life of society and the state, but under normal circumstances it always remained a mere fraction of artistic heritage as a whole. And it was the fine and honourable task of museums and collectors, in the good, old sense of the word, to offer a safe haven to this flotsam and jetsam. However, the number of historic artworks coming into circulation via the usual channels is not nearly enough for the excessive present demand for antiquities, and thus they are artificially torn from the ground to which they owe their existence, then flung to the four corners of the earth. Anyone who has had the opportunity to familiarize himself with the current art trade more closely will know of the gigantic extent and sublime forms, which go beyond any ethical scruples, that the legal and illegal abduction of artworks and the associated artificial inflation of value have taken on. This is by no means just limited to privately owned artworks which once constituted the pride of the family and the concept

⁶² [Hans Makart (1840–84), celebrated Viennese painter.]

of home and which now have to roam in all directions, scattered to every part of the world, instead of being rescued for the public by museums. Rather, it includes public historic heritage too: artworks from the churches and other public buildings are being robbed virtually systematically. Whole hordes of agents scour the country year in, year out, buying up anything that is not nailed and riveted down, and indeed often just that: pictures, statues, paraments, church paraphernalia, whole altars and church furnishings, and even whole buildings in order that their frescos can be extracted. Nothing is safe from these agents; they leave no means that might lead to their ends untried. But it is not only professional dealers who take part in this hunt; unfortunately it is often also the collectors, who, either themselves or through middlemen, undertake this sort of pillaging in times of peace. One can assert without exaggeration that the sheer number of those who are involved in this work of destruction, in which many museums are also implicated, has now become almost inestimable. It hardly needs emphasizing that false art-lovers and their henchmen, who put on a feigned enthusiasm for historic art, are in this way accomplishing a calamitous work of destruction that cannot be lamented enough. The damage thus done to the public interest is inestimable. That which wars and periods of the worst economic decline were not able to do is being carried out via commercial channels: the artistic devastation of the homeland, the destruction or devaluation of communal and national artistic heritage. If, half a century ago, there was no one to draw up a schedule of publicly owned art treasures in, for example, our Alpine states or in the Adriatic regions, we can almost be glad of the fact. A comparison with what now remains would be too shameful, a survey of the losses we have suffered almost too shattering.

And here one cannot object that these treasures have not been completely lost because at least a large number of them must still be somewhere. First of all, we have indeed lost the majority of them, for only a few remain in Austria, whilst far more have found their way abroad. It is occasionally pointed out that many foreign works of art were imported to Austria over the same period, but even so – and irrespective of the fact that, purely quantitatively, this augmentation of Austrian artistic property does not compare to the enormous losses – the continuing artistic impoverishment of the country we are bound to by close emotional ties cannot under any circumstances be compensated for in this way.

For this is not merely a case of the absolute artistic value of monuments, but also of those deeply affective values that give an especial, irreplaceable significance to everything that gives us a sense of our forefathers' artistic endeavours. A part of our homeland, our being and our becoming, that is no less valuable than language is being wrested away from

us, carried off and squandered, and we must resist it even if there are no objections from the point of view of the public interest in art and science.

But in actual fact this art market also represents a direct depreciation of artistic and historical values. The majority of these antiques are works which lose a large part of their significance, both as artistic creations and historical documents, when they are removed from their places of origin and their original practical and artistic purposes. This certainly also applies to the most outstanding works of art: Michelangelo's *Times of Day*, outside the context of the building their creator erected for them, transferred to the museum of polyopolis or the collection of Herr Vandergeld, would become mere shadows of their former selves, just as the space for which they were intended would be relegated to the status of an empty frame. Yet this applies far more to all the artworks of second and third rank that constitute the collectors' main contingent, since their individual value is not great enough for them to be able to assert themselves everywhere of their own accord and they lose their soul as soon as they are torn out of their old surroundings. They lose their evidential strength as artistic documents, their meaning and vitality as artworks, and waste away in rented apartments amongst the most heterogeneous mixture of fellow-sufferers and bazaar products, like wild flowers brought back *en masse* from the woods and meadows by Sunday day-trippers, only to wilt away somewhere on a windowsill in the dreariness of the everyday. That which brought pleasure, lifted the spirits, and had its own artistic mission in old places and buildings is transformed into worthless dross; and the churches and chapels, towns and villages, for which such works were often the only artistic property, become empty and destitute, and in this way it is not seldom the case that they lose everything that once made them seem dear and important to us.

It would be unfair to hold the owners or administrators of old artistic goods solely responsible for such losses, for they can often be excused on account of their minimal familiarity with artistic questions. A far greater responsibility is borne by the intellectual instigators of such detrimental activity, i.e., all those who are involved in the pillaging described and are to be seen as its actual instigators.

Unfortunately these are not just the collectors, but often the museums too.

There are a variety of opinions as to the desired purpose and program of the museums, but no one can be in any doubt that they ought to serve the public interest. It is well known how much we owe them. Since the time when they came to be seen as an appropriate means for the proliferation of art-historical knowledge they have taken on an incredible degree of importance in making historic art accessible; they have become a priceless refuge for artworks that would otherwise have perished or been removed from the

public realm. Art history has an endless amount to thank them for, for they played a large part in the artistic education of recent generations.

But not all museums have such a beneficent effect. There are many public collections that bear no relation or only a semblance of a relation to tasks of this kind, or they align their conception of this task with aims that can hardly be designated as beneficial to the public.

In recent years I have visited numerous local museums and very often found a faithful reflection of what characterizes the widespread profiteering from antiques today: the same irreverence, the same mindless and heartless plundering of old artistic regions, the same misconception of the most fundamental requirements of a rational provision for the arts and of fruitful education in the appreciation of art.

This is certainly partly down to the poor or inadequate organization of our museums. Above all we have far too many museums, which in many cases owe their existence not to a real need and a purposeful program, but to motivations similar to the general rage for collecting. Most of them were founded without expert deliberation, out of imitation or the ambition of an important local figure, just as one might establish a harmless association or have a commemorative bench put on a promenade. In the same way, collecting was their first and only purpose. From this it is all too easy to explain why such museums are junk-rooms at best, like the apartment of the old art academic I mentioned. But quite often, and particularly where they are made to serve as lightning conductors for their directors' personal collecting ambitions, they are transformed into institutions for the expropriation of art, depriving former owners of their old artworks and old artworks of their former purposes, having originals replaced with copies, and encouraging the destruction of artistic culture instead of counteracting it. A thoroughgoing reform – primarily an eradication of every outgrowth of museology that has nothing to do with its scientific and pedagogical artistic mission – is all the more necessary here, since the costs of the disastrous work of the museums are in many cases met by public subsidy.

However, this is not merely a case of organizational questions. The pathological passion for collecting in our times also casts its shadow over the older and more important museums. They suffer from savage competition, get carried along with it, and implicate themselves more or less directly or indirectly, according to their means, in the widespread exploitation of Europe's historic art centres. Here, too, a remedy seems to me to be necessary and possible.

One often comes across the view that the 'development of the art market' presents the museums with new tasks which can be summarized as follows: they are to rescue

collections from the flood of the public art market through higher offers or better expert knowledge and activity on the part of the employees, this being important for their profession, for research, and for European civilization.

This is certainly desirable, but it begs the question as to whether the museums are thereby relieved of their duty to combat the actual cause of this unprecedented devaluation of monuments: the mercantile increase in market value. For purely practical reasons they ought not to neglect this duty. Even if positive fluctuations in the value of old artworks earn the museums some unexpected profits and some desirable assets, there can be no doubt that the antiques trade as a whole does not make the task of acquisition easier, but on the contrary, more difficult. In the long term they will not be able to hold out in the struggle against the multi-millionaires.

Inventory numbers are not the most important thing by a long way though. Through the active or even only passive participation in that which, from the perspective of general artistic interests, has to be seen as a questionable pillaging on the part of the antiques trade, the museums suffer in terms of their reputation, their work, and in terms of their importance in the efforts to deepen the understanding and love of historic art; losses that cannot be compensated through the augmentation of their collections alone. What use are the richest collections when the ideal value of historic artworks is everywhere and increasingly displaced by thoughts of the attained and attainable market price, and when the museums timidly follow this conception rather than rising above it?

The situation facing the museums is not an easy one and it will certainly not be eliminated by some sort of programmatic statement or even by taking the museums out of general competition completely, which would not prevent the malady and would only benefit those who feed off it. But what the museums must do, for their own as well as the public interest, is to work towards eliminating the deeper causes that created this situation: they not only have to remain aloof of any activity that might undermine the reverence for well-rooted monument heritage, they also have to intervene with the greatest energy against the damage and excesses of collecting which I have taken the liberty of describing. In this much the interests and aims of the museums come into close contact with the aims of monument preservation. This no longer merely hands down restoration projects and conservation recipes; it is a mighty spiritual movement whose ultimate goal is a deepening of the past century's antiquarian perspectives through more vital emotional associations and artistic affinities. The museums cannot remain detached from this movement if they want to retain their relationship to the spiritual needs of the present. Their conscience has to be stirred and a ruthless fight declared against all those who, under the guise of art and science, plunder

indigenous artistic heritage in order to derive material or spiritual profit from the broad branches of the tree of historic art. A normal, legitimate art trade is certainly not objectionable: it will continue to exist everywhere as long as there are moveable artworks of individual value. But the secretive or disguised art trade which has crept into every class in society and which, dominating our relationship to historic art, threatens to suffocate any noble feeling for historic artworks must be eradicated and a clear line has to be drawn between a desire to collect that rests on ethical motivations and is beneficial for artistic heritage, and such for which this is not the case and which has its origins in other motivations; in speculation, obsession, or philistinism.

The fight against art profiteering, in other words, will have to unite the museums, the genuine art-lovers, and monument preservation into a protective alliance; in the conviction that only by awakening a profound sense of responsibility with respect to artistic heritage can life be saturated with the artistic values of the past, without which the collecting of historic artworks would be as futile and foolish as blowing soap bubbles.

26. Schinkel's New Guardhouse (1915)

Max Dvořák, 'Schinkels neue Wache', unpublished lecture. Sommer 1915, Erklärung ausgewählter Kunstwerke, Nachlaß Dvořák 6, Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien.

Proceeding from a building that was created almost immediately after the Great Wars of Liberation, namely in the years 1816–17, I would like here to discuss a few general problems of a more general nature. The building is Karl Friedrich Schinkel's New Guardhouse in Berlin, a building in the Greek taste, as they used to say. Like the rest of Schinkel's buildings it was greatly admired by contemporaries, then made out as an artistic aberration⁶³ by subsequent generations, whereas we once again see it as the work of a great artist and as the product of a remarkable and significant artistic phenomenon. What many people in the past century rejected was the imitation of the ancients, which was taken for a lack of originality. They spoke of an academic antiquarianism that was incapable of creating its own art and was content to copy foreign styles. But having for the most part overcome historicism and eclecticism we are now able to do it justice historically and artistically – both in general and in each concrete case – and it may be of some use to consider Schinkel's works from this altered viewpoint.

And from the outset we can emphasize that there can be no discussion of copies or anything approaching actual imitations.⁶⁴ It would be easy enough to demonstrate this with reference to the old guardhouse, but it will perhaps be clearer still if we consider a number of his buildings.

Among the best known and most famous are the playhouse and the old museum in Berlin, works that are indeed adorned with classical columnar orders and Grecian detailing, but which in their overall compositions nevertheless have no more and no less to do with antiquity than, for instance, the works of Brunelleschi or the works of the great classicizing architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁵

What differentiates them from classical art?

1) The subjectivity of the ground-plan solution, which is not based on a typical solution, but on a combination of concrete functionality and individual artistic conception.

⁶³ *Interline:* and deemed boring

⁶⁴ *Margin:* there can be no discussion of copies

⁶⁵ *Margin:* the overall conception nothing to do with antiquity

The ground-plans of the churches, theatres, museums and villas by Schinkel and all the other classicists of the modern age have not the slightest thing in common with antique buildings.

2) The overall effect of the building is based on fundamentally different moments than those of antique architecture. In the latter, the columnar orders with their entablatures and pediments are the decisive aesthetic factor, the synthesis of all artistic values. In the former, they are only a peripheral phenomenon, a sort of facade, while the higher unity is provided by the grouping and handling of architectural masses. There are no objective rules here; again, this higher unity only comes about as the result of an individual solution.

3) Then there is the placement of the building within an overarching architectural or landscape context. We can see this in Schinkel's buildings even though they were seldom carried out as whole complexes or left unaltered, but it is still more evident in his projects, which – as is often said of his art – provide a truer picture than the buildings themselves. To a certain extent this goes for all modern architects, because unlike the architects of earlier artistic periods, whose significance tends to be located in the perfection of artistic paradigms, that of the moderns finds expression in their wealth of individual ideas and designs. And here we find the boldest fantasies, things the Greeks would certainly never have dreamed of – the scenic placement of complex architectural compounds such as Schloß Orianda, with grand perspectives and monumental groups of forms and masses that correspond to baroque and romantic conceptions of the heroic landscape.

And the same goes for all the characteristics that differentiate the buildings of these classicists from those of antiquity proper. They are based entirely on that development of architectural problems which occurred between the Renaissance and the nineteenth century and has to be counted as one of the most remarkable and powerful epochs in the evolution of architecture.

'But what about the historicizing character?' – one might well object.⁶⁶ This is actually no more recent, or is merely the result of antiquarian studies. The assimilation of an historical formal language borrowed from a former stylistic period goes a long way back, as does the stylistic imitation associated with it. It was the natural fruit of epochs in which coherent religious ideas and philosophical categories were replaced by the possibility of a subjective explanation of the world and in which, correspondingly, art was also left to subjective judgement to a far greater degree.⁶⁷ Indeed, regardless of whether it was intended or not, I would contend that it was the natural accompaniment of a complex culture in which various effective aspects of history were unified in the cultural consciousness. This was

⁶⁶ *Margin:* the historicizing character

⁶⁷ *Margin:* not a pre-existing artistic given

already the case in late antique art, with its imitation of archaic Greek statuary, with copies and collectors, with the renaissance of ancient Egyptian motifs. And it was certainly also the case in the modern era, from the fifteenth century on; from the moment when people no longer confronted antique art naively, but began to perceive it as something opposed and different to their own artistic development, and yet began to imitate it all the same. Their conscious turn away from gothic art and the emphasis they placed on the necessity of going back to antiquity already contained a certain historicism, and it is quite characteristic that barely a hundred years later, at a time when the antique style had still not asserted itself everywhere, the gothic style was then also rediscovered. It is a well known fact that when the unfinished gothic facade of S. Petronio in Bologna was to be completed around the middle of the sixteenth century one artistic faction expressly demanded that this be carried out in the gothic style. This older historicism, though, was based more on a systematic than the historical influence of past values and it proceeded from individual forms, the Orders. But once baroque art had heightened the visual sense for the overall appearance of buildings, granting a greater degree of free play to subjective invention in doing so, people immediately began to imitate artistic phenomena in their entirety. Borromini's conversion of the Lateran Basilica is characteristic of this, and on the other hand – to the extent that the concept of historical development,⁶⁸ in connection with the positivist conception of the history of mankind since the seventeenth century, increasingly came to influence their conception of the past – people increasingly began to comprehend and imitate former styles as historically differentiated concepts rather than objective categories.⁶⁹ In recent years the Gothicizing buildings of the baroque and rococo era have been brought together a number of times, most recently by Tietze, and it would be easy enough to find a parallel series of classicizing buildings that are far more than just Palladian, as people have tended to assert. Rather, these have to be seen as evidence of the onward march of the self-same historicism that is embodied in the Gothicizing buildings. Even Romanesque art and that of the ancient and modern orient was being imitated as early as the eighteenth century. Thus the historical character of buildings by Schinkel and his modern contemporaries was by no means new. Their historicism, rather, is one of the basic characteristics of the development of architecture in the modern era. The past century did not create it out of nothing, it was merely developed further and expanded on all fronts in line with the accumulation of historical knowledge.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *Margin:* the concept of historical devel.

⁶⁹ *Margin:* no longer as objective categories

⁷⁰ *Margin:* expanded on all fronts

But one could argue that Schinkel's classicism is not only based on historical, classicizing forms, but also represents a transformation of style, and that this transformation of style was based on the attempt to replace baroque richness and baroque irregularity with the rigour and purity of Greek forms, to recreate Greek idealism. And one could also demonstrate that this was a literary program, a literary program going back to Winckelmann, who, in his history of classical art, propounded the doctrine that what the Greeks created was absolutely exemplary and was to be striven for as the ultimate aim of art for all time to come, such that the new style of German art in the nineteenth century would not have emerged out of a real renewal of art, but from an external doctrine. It is now a number of years since Benndorf, in a quite brilliant lecture that has received too little attention, argued that Winckelmann's conception of Greek art cannot be considered as something purely epistemological, something brought to art from the outside, but that it was also a highly significant and influential manifestation of a profound change in artistic perception as a whole, a change that affected both literature and art. And when we study Schinkel's buildings more closely from this perspective, we will soon be convinced that their relationship to antiquity is not the primary thing, but rather the result of a new conception of art itself.

Schinkel left us a commentary on his work in his writings, where we find some quite astonishing teachings. He deemed the highest law in the invention of buildings to be their function; their physical and material function, but also their spiritual function. What he meant by material function is not difficult to discern. The fundamental effect of his works rested on the clear organization of masses. For the most part this grand monumental effect is based on infinitely simple cubic units whose arrangement is based not on grand aprioristic compositional ideas, as with the Baroque, or on a simple and stable tectonic law, but on basic forms that result from the solution of the task in hand.⁷¹ In baroque art these were obscured by grandiose facades, by the conventional concepts of certain building types, by a general pathos or gracefulness, in short by notions of style which sought grandeur and monumentality in an abstract notion of art. For Schinkel, though, this was always to be found in the problems at hand, and the artist's task was to abstract grandeur and artistic universality from them. There are no apotheoses of Christian ideas or monarchical sentiments in these projections of the new tectonic, which instead gives expression to the new social life, with all its obligations and the ethics these imply.

The simple straight lines with their predominance of horizontals, the clear relationships between form and plane, between ornamental form and functional form, the

⁷¹ *Margin:* basic cubic forms

harmony of proportion and articulation – all this has no more to do with antiquity than, for instance, the Renaissance. And these things, like the Renaissance, are the expression of a new tectonic.

At the same time though, these buildings certainly also have a spiritual content, and this is what Schinkel meant by spiritual functionality. Unlike preceding periods this spiritual content now no longer stands above and beyond its forms, but is declared identical with them, idealizing them and unfolding into the highest beauty and perfection. It is an idealism based on rational, philosophical foundations, similar to that which Fichte was preaching to the German nation at the time and which they sought in the art of Greeks, not because they were slavishly dependent upon it, but because – and this applies to both architecture and poetry – to artists at the time it seemed to embody that worldly abstract idealism which corresponded to the artistic volition of the age.

What art was looking for in antiquity never completely corresponded with what it actually was historically. In the course of artistic development it was loosened from all historical and geographical bonds, it was more of an ever-developing, ideal concept than an historical fact, a land of the imagination and, as such, the common property of all mankind. Its immediate heirs – and to a certain extent this also applies to Italian art – have long since relinquished any special claim to it.

The objection of antiquarian precision, unproductivity, lack of ideas, dogmatism? We shall have to spend some time dealing with these objections.

Not only was Schinkel an important artist, he was also an interesting writer, and when one reads in his works his statements on the essence of art one finds the exact opposite of what people accuse him and his school of.

One now has to ask, does this represent a contradiction between theory and practice?

What Schinkel demanded first and foremost was the elimination of subjective caprice and subordination to the pure idea, which was then to be embodied in formal beauty. This was an old doctrine of Platonic origin. It had been advocated by classicists since the sixteenth century and was associated with all classical architecture throughout the modern era. Its theoretical and practical program set out to replace unbridled fantasy with objective internal regularity. And if the older classicists had personified the tectonic tendency by opposing all those who ignored the tectonic rules, the basic character of Schinkel's art ran along the same lines. Just as his writings opposed anything conceived purely for the sake of appearance, in his buildings we also find a stricter tectonic, a negation of anything like the Baroque and the Rococo. In place of the powerful and violent movement of masses and

forms, a rapturous overall harmony, simple strict lines, and a refreshing rhythm of isolated forms, planes and masses.

And yet his tectonic intentions were still fundamentally different to similar endeavours in former periods. Empire art, like the Baroque, still essentially proceeded from the classical Orders, which were imitated, added, and brought together into whole compositions, which they then served as articulation or ornament, such that tectonic regularity was in essence a reflection of the relation between support and load, or between plastic relief in form and plane expressing this relationship.⁷² This was the result of that remarkable development which began in the Renaissance, whereby the new development in architecture proceeded from individual plastic and structural forms that transformed every building complex and, little by little, in a logical onward development that culminated in the richest and boldest of baroque buildings, proceeded to take on a completely new meaning. Whether these buildings belonged to the subjectivist or the classical tendency, they were always in essence plastic configurations, comprehensive harmonizations of plastic and tectonic forms which had to express at once the spiritual content, the rational elements of individual form, and the free creativity of design which in turn united those individual forms.

But Schinkel and his age turned away from all this. His tectonic effects were no longer based on the principles of the classical Orders, which had ceased to be the measure of all such effects.⁷³ The degree to which Schinkel consciously turned away from the system and doctrines of the older classicists is quite evident – to say nothing of his writings – from his wide travels in Italy, England and France, where he failed to show the least bit of interest in the buildings of his classical predecessors. For him they were just as old-hat as the baroque buildings elsewhere. But it is also evident in the fact that he used not only classical, but also Gothic and renaissance forms in buildings which, compared with the Baroque or early Romanesque, are just as objectively tectonic in their effects as those he executed in Greek forms.

If we now analyse these effects we find that they are based on basic cubic elements and overall forms, both in their external and internal spatial effects. The composition develops on the basis of relationships between blocks of masses that lend the smaller buildings the form of simple cubic volumes, whilst the overall forms of the larger buildings combine numerous such units whose border lines and surfaces are decisive for their architectonic appearance and from which their monumentality and tectonic effect is primarily derived. What is particularly striking here – along with the significance that

⁷² *Margin:* 1) Classical Orders, 2) relief style

⁷³ *Margin:* No longer on the principles of the classical Orders

unarticulated or only moderately articulated surfaces are given in comparison to the relief style – is the conspicuous predominance of horizontal lines, which dominate the impression and correspond with the overall configurations of grouped buildings and square solutions. There is a strong contrast here, not only with the animate lines of baroque art and the verticality of the Gothic, but also with the balance of verticals and horizontals in antique and classicizing art. Its play of forces was to be replaced by simply resting masses.⁷⁴ Plastic and tectonic form is not a precondition of this mass, but merely its articulation and adornment, even where intercolumniations are seemingly used with all conceivable fidelity: they are stretched across the frame of the blocks or transformed into ornamental form by the silhouettes of the same.⁷⁵

A few examples may serve to illustrate this:

- 1) The galleries,
- 2) Interior of the theatre,
- 3) The atrium of Schloß Orianda,
- 4) Design for a church on the Spittelmarkt in Berlin,
- 5) Acropolis,
- 6) A block building.

We are all aware of the influence that such block buildings, as they are now called with disdain, have had on both official monumental architecture and on apartment blocks, in that to us they seem the embodiments of a dullness and prescription which we tend to foist exclusively upon the artlessness of the building developers and industrialists,⁷⁶ although, as we see here, their origins are associated with a profound artistic transformation, just as the abominated and these days certainly obsolete straight streets can also be traced back beyond the rigidity of the technical ruler, which was merely an executive instrument, to their origins in an aesthetic demand for unbroken horizontals. From this grand development alone we can see that the new tectonic was more than just a peripheral or temporary phenomenon.⁷⁷ It was an historical event of universal and enduring significance which will one day surely be put in the context of a completely new developmental phase in the history of architecture, so we need to be quite clear about its significance.

Schinkel himself saw the ideal of the art of building in the spiritual and physical correspondence of each part to its purpose, such that every age, with its own specific requirements, would inevitably also have new ideals. This purposiveness, though, can clearly

⁷⁴ *Margin:* replaced by resting masses

⁷⁵ *Margin:* inserted into the frame

⁷⁶ *Margin:* the artlessness of the building industrialists pure and simple

⁷⁷ *Margin:* not a peripheral or temporary occurrence

not be thought of as a material one, and indeed it is highly questionable from a purely practical point of view whether his designs can be considered as having been functional at all – the subsequent arguments surrounding them hinged on precisely this question of purposiveness, as indeed they have done in all ages. This is most evident in fashion, which is mostly just a correlate of new artistic ideas, but in Schinkel's case we can also take purposiveness to mean something other than merely a material adaptation to new requirements, namely the artistic expression of a new age.⁷⁸ The religious and aristocratic pathos of the Baroque and the former classicism had become meaningless,⁷⁹ a masquerade at a time in the new life of the nation when subordination to the categorical imperative of a strict, secular fulfilment of duty coincided with a growing awareness of the force inherent therein and, simultaneously, with a thoroughgoing reorganization of all relations. It may be a while before we can fully understand the total reorientation that took place at that time in all internal and external conditions of life, which inevitably influenced art just as much as similar processes did at the end of antiquity or the end of the middle ages.⁸⁰ Neither the reduction of materiality to the play of support and load nor its conquest by abstract subjectivism can have satisfied an epoch which, fundamentally, was neither able to ignore material regularity nor to conceive of it as a one-sided, static formula.⁸¹ Instead it came to the conclusion that it contained profound secrets of a cosmic world order,⁸² the source of existence, of life, whose weight cannot be exhausted in the play of individual forces, but demands higher unities, whereby the overall picture of an architectural creation would not set out to overcome terrestrial and societal conditions through art, but to artistically raise them to a higher power and give them expression in the basic forms that are simply present in the effect of material weight, yet always in conjunction with the ever-changing products of life. This development could well be compared to the displacement of poetry by the social novel or of teleological speculation by the exact sciences.⁸³

In a certain sense this tectonic, with its block-like effects, comes close to ancient oriental and late antique Roman architecture, though of course it was quite different from

⁷⁸ *Interline:* and culture

⁷⁹ *Margin:* Religious and aristocratic pathos

⁸⁰ *Margin:* End of antiquity or end of the middle ages

⁸¹ *Margin:* Cosmic and social conditionality

⁸² *Margin:* Instead it came to the conclusion

⁸³ *Page insert:* 1) The new life of nation and state not in the beyond, not in the subject alone, but in cultural and social conditionalities. 2) On the other hand a new conception of the world. Reason was no longer adequate to the play of static forces; a deeper, cosmic order took its place and architecture became part of the universe, material in monumental primal form, reflecting fundamental elementary forms, bound to the soil and with burdensome horizontals with concrete cultural content.
Margin: Not through the play of forces [illegible], but bound to the soil in both primal forms and loads.

them too. Not only on account of the incomparably greater complexity and diversity of its subjectively conditioned solutions,⁸⁴ not only through its manner of placing works within larger contexts, but also – and to no less a degree – by virtue of its spiritual content. And it was this spiritual content that led the art of this period to antiquity.⁸⁵ It was based on the notion of a secular, spiritual ideality, and this in turn is based on the fact that, at high points in its development, the evolution of mankind has produced cultural values which, because they represent the purest expression of this spiritual purposiveness, can be seen as the lasting heritage of mankind. A nation such as that of Goethe, Kant and Fichte has to associate itself with this heritage if it wants to attain such lofty ideal aims. And because they saw in Greece just such a high point in the development of humanity, they sought to imbue art with the Greek spirit in order to bring mankind a step closer to perfection.⁸⁶

So this is no longer an antiquarian or dogmatic movement, but rather a new phase in antiquity's influence on subsequent periods, an influence that never ends and constantly takes on new forms: in the elementary philosophical and scientific education of the middle ages, in the intellectual rationalism of the Renaissance, and more recently as a source of spiritual ideality and conceptions of the highest level of human development. In reality it was never actually a model so much as a stimulating factor, influencing the development of the new nations by pointing the way at every stage of their attainments, allowing them to establish links to other, formerly existing cultural worlds and thereby to that intensive and unique evolution which differentiates those nations whose culture is based on this classical education from all others.

⁸⁴ *Margin:* Neither here nor in the beyond, in the social and [illegible]

⁸⁵ *Margin:* The ideal content did not lie in the material itself (Bötticher), but led beyond it, and it was this that led art back to antiquity again.

⁸⁶ *Margin:* Horizontality mastering [illegible] mass

27. The Conservation Catechism (1916)

Max Dvořák, *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Julius Bard Verlag, 1916)

INTRODUCTION

What is monument preservation? An example ought to explain it.

Anyone visiting the little town of N. thirty years ago would have taken no little pleasure in the charming appearance of the beautiful old place. The centre point was the age-old Gothic parish church with its baroque tower and beautiful baroque interior furnishings, festive and inviting and evoking a thousand memories.

And anyone with the time and inclination could have taken a closer look at many beautiful things: old panel paintings, artfully carved altars, magnificent paraments, ornate works in gold and silver which were safeguarded in the sacristy.

From the church one passed through a maze of little old houses which made the tall church seem all the more imposing on the friendly town square, where one could also have admired the dignified seventeenth-century town hall with its pleasant onion dome.

Impressively robust patrician houses closed off the whole: without false or superfluous decoration, and yet ornate; all endowed with arcaded walkways and of a limited height, deferring modestly to the overall appearance of the square which, in its closed unity and despite the differing dates of origin of the houses, would have evoked the sensation of artistic harmony in every artistically minded onlooker and, in every sensitive person, feelings similar to those evoked by the familiar spaces of an old family house. The little town was surrounded by half-dilapidated fortifications overgrown with twiners, and a pleasant and varied promenade followed their path, interrupted only by four stately town gates, offering a most picturesque aspect.

Having seen it thirty years ago, the visitor to this little town would barely recognize it today.

The old parish church has been 'restored'. The baroque onion dome has been taken down and replaced with a false neo-Gothic one, which fits in with the townscape like a scarecrow in a rose garden. The magnificent altar was thrown out on the pretext that it did not accord with the style of the church, and was replaced by crude, tasteless factory products which were allegedly Gothic, but actually devoid of style. Walls that were once simply

whitewashed have been covered in loud colours and senseless ornaments and in this way the church interior has been robbed of any vestiges of its high-appointed and dignified form. And when I asked the sacristan about the old vestments and goldsmiths' works, I could tell from his bashful mien that they had been flogged to some antiques dealer long ago.

Far worse still, however, was the devastation in the vicinity of the church. The little old houses had been razed and replaced by a so-called park in which a few sorry-looking bushes were withering away. In these surroundings even the once so imposing church had a dull and sorry look about it.

And so it went on.

The exquisite old town hall had been demolished; it had made way to a new building, which looked like a cross between a barracks and an exhibition hall. The good old patrician houses had to give way to abominable rental blocks and department stores, executed fraudulently, in cheap materials, and according to pattern books without a trace of any artistic sensibility. The town gates were demolished on the pretext that they hindered the – non-existent – traffic; the walls were torn down in order that the town might one day – perhaps in a hundred years – expand. In this way very little was left of the town's former beauty, without any sort of artistic substitute having been created.

It is the task of monument preservation to prevent such losses and devastation.

I. DANGERS THREATENING HISTORIC MONUMENTS

The most important task of monument preservation is to work towards the maintenance of historic monuments.

Whilst malicious, senseless, and widespread ravages against witnesses to the past no longer persist – something which was once quite common during wars and revolutions, for which reason public institutions for monument protection were established in the last century – the dangers threatening artistic heritage are nevertheless still great.

These arise out of:

1. Ignorance and indolence;
2. Avarice and deceit;
3. Misconstrued ideas about progress and the demands of the present;
4. A misplaced obsession with beautification and renewal, a lack of artistic education, or miseducation.

These principal causes, to which a constant loss of old artworks can be traced back, are not merely made up of the errors of individuals, but rather are a general phenomenon upon which more light must be thrown.

1. The Destruction or Deformation of Historic Works of Art as a Result of Ignorance and Indolence

The extent of the damage inflicted upon existing monuments by gross ignorance, year in, year out, is unfortunately plain to see almost everywhere. The days in which old archives were sold to the dealer for wrapping paper are gone, thank goodness, because an understanding for the value of historic documents has been impressed upon the broadest strata of society. And yet how far they are still removed from this in the realm of historic art! No museum in the world is big enough to contain everything which, out of ignorance of old church furnishings, altars, organ housings, pulpits, choir stalls, and paintings, has been burnt or sold to the second-hand dealer in Austria in recent years. Now, just as before, old statues are smashed or thrown out of the churches; murals are stripped down from the walls or painted over again after they are discovered; old town walls are used as quarries; and beautiful, well-preserved buildings, fountains, and shrines are needlessly destroyed. If one were to compile a list of all the historic artworks that have been destroyed due to a lack of understanding over just the last few years in Austria, it would be endless.

One may well be astonished at this when considering how much has been achieved in the proliferation of art-historical knowledge over the last five hundred years. Art-historical knowledge, by turning our attention to historic artworks, has certainly contributed a great deal, but it alone does not suffice. One cannot expect this knowledge of everyone and it must of course be of a more or less general nature and cannot extend to all the creations of provincial art, whose history in many cases is not known at all.

But what can be awakened everywhere, something that everyone can obtain for himself without specific study or special knowledge – if he only has the goodwill to do so – is reverence for everything that has become historic. This is not just a question of knowledge or, better put, almost not at all, but a question of the general education of mind and of character. People who ride roughshod over the keepsakes of their parents and forefathers and throw them on the rubbish pile, be they precious or humble, are coarse and callous. But at the same time they are enemies of their families, since they destroy manifest witnesses to those sentiments which, in the context of family life, lend a higher spiritual content to human existence.

But it is no different for anything that is able to maintain or awaken the memory of the historical past and thus a sense of belonging to a larger religious, political, or national community, to a church or a town, to a country or an empire. Works of art are first and foremost among these things; they are the visible expression of that which combines the past and the present in emotional life and in the imagination; they are an ancestral legacy, the honouring of which is a moral responsibility and should be second nature to everyone, like respect for private property. A priest who needlessly destroys works of historic religious art sins not only against art and science, but at the same time undermines moral powers which count among the most important stanchions of religious life. With an old altar, an old chapel, a thousand memories disappear – memories that were sacred to village and town dwellers alike, and held them steadfast through the storms of life. And similarly, a rich source of public spirit and patriotism is lost along with town halls, town gates, and squares. Whoever destroys such monuments is an enemy of his native town and of his fatherland. He harms the general public because public artworks are not created just for this or that person and because what these works embody in terms of artistic value, picturesque magic, memory, or other sensible content is no less common property than the creations of the great poets or the achievements of science.

Knowledge of this must be required of every educated person.

Along with unknowing or malicious destruction, indolent neglect also causes some of the worst damage to existing historic monuments. How often is it that beautiful old

paintings or statues, though not destroyed outright, are banished from the church to the attic, to a junk room, or to a damp vault where they rapidly go to ground as a result of grime, dust, or humidity? Unfortunately it is very often the case that old buildings, pictures, and altars are ruined prematurely – when they could still have been enjoyed by many subsequent generations – because the simplest possible measures to protect them from destructive influences or to arrest damage where it starts are forgone out of plain indifference. How many churches one finds where groundwater penetrates from below and rain penetrates the damaged roof from above, where the roof beams rot, where mildew spreads for want of ventilation, where altars come apart without anyone giving a thought to affixing the loose parts, such that the altar paintings, fluttering like flags in their frames, are burnt by the altar candles. Things which for economic reasons would not be tolerated in an even halfway orderly household are often found in Houses of God, and where buildings or works of visual art that are no longer in use are concerned it is often the case that not a single step is taken to save them from going to rack and ruin.

This too is an inexcusable dereliction of duty.

2. Damage to Historic Monuments as a Result of Avarice and Deceit

Greed and profit have always posed a threat to old artworks and they continue to do so today, far more than in earlier times. In former centuries historic monuments were destroyed mostly on account of their materials: buildings, for example, were used as quarries, statues were smashed for lime burning, and goldsmiths' works were melted down. Certainly this only occurs in exceptional circumstances today, though not because old artworks are any more esteemed, rather because experience shows that a much greater material profit can be derived from them when they are sold to dealers or collectors.

It is an easily explicable phenomenon: along with the conviction that old artworks are valuable on account of their artistic form or historic significance, the desire to own them grows, be it in order to enjoy them or, as is more often the case, out of the conceit and vainglory of being able to boast precious possessions. This is nothing new, for collectors were already paying very high prices for old artworks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but back then it was a case of a few dealers and a relatively small number of artworks, and these, for the most part, were homeless artefacts which had been in circulation for a long time. Since the past century, though, the antiques trade has grown to an extent and form that makes it one of the greatest dangers to artistic heritage. The dealers are no longer content with artefacts which come onto the art market by the normal channels, rather, they

go about systematically plundering historically artistic territories. There are two principal causes that contribute to this. The one is that countries and territories (those such as America, but also several parts of Europe) that played either no part or a very limited part in the historic development of art want to procure a higher cultural significance for themselves through the acquisition of foreign artistic treasures – works originating elsewhere. The second is to be found where social classes and individuals who have suddenly come into money through trade and industry, but who previously owned no historic artworks, seek to acquire them at any price: they buy up masterpieces of historic art – which are so highly ‘valued’ these days – in order to procure the outward splendour that corresponds to their wealth.

But this leads to old artworks becoming objects of speculation whose commercial valuation is determined by current demand. Art objects that are currently in fashion are subject not only to an unprecedented level of haggling, from which only the dealers profit, but, moreover, since the stock in circulation is insufficient, any and all means are employed to extort this precious commodity of historic artworks from proprietors or administrators: persuasion, guile, deceit, and force, and this goes on under the most diverse of pretences. Whole droves of agents criss-cross our country year in, year out, employing all sorts of tricks to achieve their goals. Knowing when church visitations take place they convince the inexperienced pastor that, if he is to give church dignitaries a worthy reception, he has to purge God’s house of all the old rubbish, which they would then be willing to buy – as a special favour. Or they affect patriotic motivations, whereby they assert that they have been commissioned to acquire artworks for museums and collectors of high standing.

And should they manage to uproot and carry off this or that artwork, only then does the extortion really begin. Publicity is played in every key and prices are artificially inflated, as they are in market speculation, whereby the original owner of the artwork, the final buyer, and the public are all cheated to the same extent. It is ignoble of the church to sell its old artworks; it thereby undermines its authority and ideal mission no less than if it were to make a business out of its religious tradition. But this sort of irreverence is often at once a simony (that is, the forbidden sale of sacred commodities) and something done for personal advantage as well as an irresponsible diminishing of religious funds. Along with the seller, the buyer is also most wronged, for he is not only fleeced and led a merry dance by the middleman, but in many cases he himself becomes an enemy of art, and not, as he believes, a friend of the arts, for he robs the artwork of a considerable part of its value, that tied up with its specific site or place of origin. He also encourages the absurd inflation, which only ever has a negative effect and is to blame for the plundering one witnesses today. Worse even

than the warring brigands of the past, the plundering carried out by these dealers is gradually turning artistically bounteous places and whole territories into artistically desolate wastelands.

To prevent this where possible is the responsibility of each and every person for whom patriotism and culture are not mere empty words.

3. The Destruction of Historic Works of Art as a Result of Misconstrued Ideas about Progress and the Demands of the Present

No less calamity is wreaked by the supposed antagonism between progress and historic monuments.

Historic artworks are still destroyed just because they are old and because they are not deemed worthy of the 'new age'. In the past century – and this continues even today – many were of the opinion that contempt for old monuments was a part of progress and proof of a liberal and philanthropic attitude. In many circles it was and is virtually taken for a civic duty and a virtue to clear up and do away with 'that old junk' – everything which recalls the past and its former political, social, or religious conditions, but also that which merely recalls a lifestyle permeated by art, whose traces then come to be felt as an unpleasant reproach. And thus old heraldry, statues of the saints, and memorial stones are regularly broken up or got rid of for political or other partisan reasons, and old town walls, towers, and gardens are destroyed just because this is thought to show that one is 'moving with the times'. *But in reality such acts of vandalism only attest to one's uneducation and cultural backwardness.*

More often still, individual monuments and indeed whole towns were and are sacrificed to the alleged demands of the age. The transformation of life that took place around a hundred years ago on the basis of new technology led to an idolatry of technical innovations which not only lets other considerations be forgotten, but often also exceeds the bounds of that which is purely expedient and technically opportune.

It is certainly true that old houses are in many cases uncomfortable as well as unhygienic. And yet it is neither necessary nor wise to tear them down one by one on account of this because as a rule they can be fitted out comfortably and in compliance with every health regulation for a relatively low price and because in many cases they have advantages that can only be obtained for new buildings at a very great cost, if indeed at all. Beautiful, spacious, and solidly built living spaces are very often replaced by cramped and restrictive ones in new buildings – not dwellings, but prisons with thin walls which offer no protection against cold or heat. And large, pleasant old courtyards with trees and lawns are

replaced by narrow, gloomy light-wells which are breeding grounds for disease. One cannot counter this argument with the assertion that new buildings can be furnished with the advantages that some old houses possess. That is out of the question, but then neither do these old houses need to be completely reconstructed; they can be preserved after the appropriate alterations have been made. And what applies to individual houses also applies to whole towns.

The tremendous revolution in living conditions and their technical preconditions have led to an unprecedented expansion of the great cities, and their taking on of an entirely new significance. The old capital cities and residence cities were what their names suggest, namely the cultural and administrative centres of a country; their external form defined by gradual historical development and purposeful artistic expansion. But the vast cities of the present increasingly take on the form of commercial centres where the majority of that which had been spared of the past is sacrificed to the current requirements of trade, such as means of transport and transport routes, office buildings, department stores, and cheap mass accommodation. This transformation came so quickly that often neither the time nor the trouble was taken to ascertain what was really necessary, and the old towns were blindly and senselessly destroyed only to be replaced by new ones. These for the most part were barely capable of being anything more than temporary interim solutions, like outposts in the Wild West, not only in artistic terms but also in terms of their practical importance. It would certainly have been unreasonable and short-sighted had one wanted to rule out any concession to the new requirements of the city, but much of the time far more was at stake: monotonous redevelopments where old parts of the city were destroyed by completely unnecessary new streets designed with nothing more than a ruler; or where much that might have been saved (with a little goodwill) was in fact wantonly destroyed forever. It has also gradually emerged that the previously assumed antagonism between the form of the great cities – corresponding to the actual requirements and views of the present – and the preservation of the old parts of the same does not exist and that in fact the two can be reconciled. At the same time, the questions that come up will clearly not be answered, as has so often been the case in the past, with talk about progress and the new age. Rather, these questions must be solved on a case by case basis, by experts and artistically sensitive people with the benefit of all currently available experience in city planning, preserving historic monuments where at all possible. *It is the duty of city representatives to see to this and to spare no sacrifice or effort where the fate of historic buildings and parts of the city are concerned, for they are responsible for these things too – not just for technical innovation.*

Every monument that is sacrificed without absolute necessity must be taken as a sign of incompetence or negligence within the city council.

In small towns and in the countryside one is able to observe all the more clearly how the supposed demands of the age are merely a matter of misconstrued and senselessly applied slogans, if not other, rather dishonourable reasons. In towns of a few thousand inhabitants – which are traversed by barely twenty automobiles per day, and where the pedestrians can easily be counted – old town gates, houses, and churches are torn down for the sake of ‘traffic’, and broad streets are laid out which make the once charming and homely little town seem a daunting and inhospitable parody of a metropolis. Houses modelled on urban tenement blocks are built in little market spots, taking away their once distinctive stamp. Such houses are not only ill-suited to the countryside, but as a rule they also represent a significant deterioration of living conditions. Just as moveable artworks fall victim to the antiques trade, so too countless old towns fall victim to such erroneous modernization as this, where it is forgotten that technical innovations are not ends in themselves, but merely the means to make the struggle of life easier and existence more pleasant. But they lose their justification where they fail to serve this purpose or negate other important vital interests and qualities of existence. It was a lamentable error if people believed that the new technical facilities were so important that they could be put right in the foreground with brutal disregard for all else, and that everything else should make way, for example, to a factory complex, a railway, or in order for the regulation of a river to be carried out, such that nothing remained of the old beauty spots on the riverbanks. *One can almost always achieve the same practical ends without such devastation. Public or private developers, councils, and authorities who do not concern themselves with doing so must be deemed neglectful of duty and detrimental to the general public.*

4. The Destruction of Historic Monuments as a Result of a False Obsession with Beautification

As with misconstrued progress, many historic monuments also fall victim to a false obsession with beautification, in ecclesiastical as well as in secular art.

In earlier times what was highest and most valuable artistically was just about good enough to decorate Houses of God. Today this seems to have changed into its exact opposite, for what is good is often destroyed in churches only in order for it to be replaced by poor factory products. The whole procedure usually happens in the following way. People start by collecting money for the ‘beautification’ of the church. When a hundred crowns have been

collected, price lists are ordered, and from these altars, icons, confessional boxes, and organs are chosen which are then sent for without the consultation of an artistic advisor. The old furnishings are destroyed or sold, the beautiful historic artworks often going on to decorate the salon of a millionaire, whilst, as an attempt at beautification and a substitute for the historic art objects, the House of God receives a piece of rubbish which, to anyone with the slightest idea about real art, can only be considered a shameful disfigurement and a witness to the artistic depths to which religious art has sunk. In addition, the walls are covered with paintings too poor even for a burlesque; the windows are glazed with hideously loud stained glass; and the floors are paved with the fire-clay tiles one sees at the swimming baths. This triumph of tastelessness – on account of which everything that the noble rivalry of preceding generations had created is destroyed –, this tastelessness is celebrated as a joyous event and a pious deed. *In reality such beautification represents a lamentable loss and – as good as intentions may have been – is a great error which seldom takes long to come home to roost.* For the sham gloss of factory products soon fades; the worthless furnishings are worked so shoddily that they fall apart in a few years; and artistically valueless decoration, after it has lost the value of the novelty, becomes insufferable even to those who were responsible for it. Such false beautification is usually defended with reference to the wishes of the population, who take a shine to it, or with the assertion that the old furnishings were far too plain and unsightly. The population rarely has any independent artistic judgment – they like the new because it is new – and even if the valueless new products should indeed find favour with uneducated people it is nevertheless clearly wrong to consider them alone if, as a result, what was once precious to artistically minded and educated people is destroyed. At every stage of its nineteen hundred years of existence the church has drawn the population up to the heights of what art has had to offer and did not sacrifice art to uneducation. Be they precious or plain, rich or simple, the old works of ecclesiastical art have style and character; when confronted with them one senses that artistic feeling, love, care, and consideration created them. The *genius loci*, the indigenous tradition, and the universal achievements of art speak from them, whereas the majority of artefacts to which they have to make way are not creations of a new ecclesiastical art, but barren and destitute art surrogates without character or artistic content, whose makers and salesmen seldom have anything to do with the Church or art, but who, like the antiques dealers, are only interested in doing business.

Municipal councils and private owners also wreak much havoc in their blind obsession with beautification. How many beautiful old town halls or other public buildings have been torn down in recent decades, only to be replaced with new buildings that are supposedly more ‘appropriate to the image of the town’, where the supposedly worthier

picture consists of a type of tenement block not designed by artists, but senselessly patched together by building developers who take forms and ornaments from whichever pattern books happen to be in fashion. While old patrician art was modest and fit for purpose – good regional craftsmanship – people today want urban palaces everywhere. Beautiful old patrician houses are sacrificed to them and, since people can find neither the funds nor the artists for real palaces, they mostly take the form of repulsive monstrosities of ‘building art’. As a result of this false pomp a dreary conformity takes the place of old indigenous art: destroying its works, robbing historic places of their beauty, and transforming them into artistically hollow, boringly ordinary cities.

It remains only to be said that the ‘modernization and beautification’ of the city is very often just a pretext, whilst the actual reason is the profit that building speculators derive from such deformation, to the detriment of the public. Everyone who takes the artistic character of their homeland to heart ought to reject this.

II. THE VALUE OF ARTISTIC HERITAGE

Having heard of the dangers that threaten artistic heritage it is still necessary to point out how very necessary it is, as much for ideal as for economic reasons, to combat these dangers everywhere and with all available means.

It is not, therefore, as is sometimes assumed, a matter that concerns only the educated classes and the art lovers. It is certainly of the utmost importance for art history that its sources, the monuments of historic art, are protected from ruin. And the destruction of outstanding historic artworks no doubt means an immeasurable loss to all those who have dedicated their lives to art. But at the same time this is a matter of something incomparably more important and has a significance for everyone, be they educated and artistically minded or not.

Our lives are permeated more than ever before by material endeavours and institutions: industry, world trade, and technical achievements dominate it far more than spiritual powers, so that backwardness certainly need not be feared in this department. And yet it is remarkable. The further the industrialization of life marches on, the more the conviction grows that these things alone do not constitute all of the necessities of life, and the longing for those pleasures and feelings that elevate man above the material struggle of existence becomes ever more powerful. No one would deny that electric streetcars, broad roads for automobiles, lifts and telephones, banks and factory complexes are very useful things and deserve to be introduced everywhere. But today one nevertheless also becomes ever more conscious of the fact that since man is not a machine his wellbeing does not rest upon these things alone. And alongside these material achievements it will not escape the careful observer that everything which cannot be measured on the scale of technical production or material profit gains in significance from day to day – from the generally intelligible beauties of nature to the depths of a new, earnest, and ideal conception of life. But along with these new ideal goods, historic artistic heritage also counts as one of the most important; as the source of impressions similar to those evoked by the beauties of nature, which elevate the viewer above the material cares and endeavours of everyday life.

These impressions can be of the most diverse types: they might depend upon the general artistic value of the monuments, upon their effect in the landscape, upon their relationship to the local scenery, upon the memories tied up with them, or upon the traces of age that ennoble them and, at the same time, awaken notions of becoming and passing away in the viewer. *The greatest value* of the enjoyment of historic artworks today lies in the fact

that it is not limited to specific groups of monuments or classes of people. A simple village chapel, an ivy-clad ruin, or an old country village can afford us as much pleasure as a proud cathedral, a princely palace, or a richly endowed museum. And this pleasure is accessible to anyone who is at all capable of spiritual pleasures. Not just individual works of historic art have increased in value; everything that art created in the past has become precious to us, and indeed not only as a sum total of historical facts or artistic models, but as one of the vital contents of our spiritual lives as a whole.

This perhaps finds its clearest expression in the rapidly growing number of visitors to old towns or towns which contain old monuments. Where the beauty of a place depends upon its monuments it is no less of an attraction to the public than the beautiful landscape of a region, and therefore the destruction of old monuments is detrimental to the general public on purely economic grounds. For nobody will seek out places and territories that have been modernized, developed as though to a template, and robbed of their monuments.

The artistic and spiritual impoverishment bound up with such devastation clearly represents a far greater loss than the economic one. Not everyone can travel great distances to seek out historic artworks lying further afield, and many people are denied of everything that historic art has to offer if the artistic monuments of their homeland are destroyed. If their surroundings are artistically impoverished their lives are impoverished also, and the close ties that otherwise bound them to their homeland are severed.

III. THE SCOPE OF MONUMENT PROTECTION

This new value that old artworks have taken on in our lives bestows a universal significance on monument protection. It is not only based on the endeavour to protect art and science, but is also as necessary from the standpoint of the universal requirements of the people as is, for instance, the provision of schooling. From what has been said though, it follows that monument protection cannot just limit itself to individually outstanding artworks, but must instead encompass everything that can be considered common artistic property in the sense outlined above. *And here the lowly often needs more protection than the important.* There can hardly be anyone who would be so foolish as to want to destroy paintings by Dürer or Titian, or to demand the removal of the Stephanskirche. But anything that is not illustrated a hundred times in the handbooks of art history or furnished with a star in the travel guides is everywhere endangered and needs protection because it is no less irreplaceable in its own right, has no less of an ennobling effect, than the world-famous artworks.

Just as monument protection cannot be limited to famous artworks alone, neither can it be limited to this or that style. In the previous century, when people began to concern themselves more assiduously with historic art, they usually let themselves to be led by a one-sided bias for this or that style, which, under the influence of the artistic trends of the day, they then declared as the only authorized one. Thus there were classicists, Gothicists, and Renaissance lovers who considered only the Greek, the Gothic or the Renaissance style to be beautiful and championed that one alone. But this one-sidedness on the part of the artists and art critics was doubly disastrous with respect to monument preservation. They never merely kept to their biases for a certain style, but damned the others as error and tastelessness at the same time. As the most recent of the historical styles and that which people have spurned in favour of the forms of earlier artistic periods the Baroque in particular was virtually universally condemned. This not only resulted in baroque monuments being excluded from monument protection – because of their alleged paucity – but their removal was also established as an artistic demand. Many baroque buildings, statues and paintings have fallen victim to this demand.

A second conclusion that people drew from this stylistic dogmatism was more disastrous still. Considering only one style to be authoritative, they explained that all later alterations or elements contradicting the original style would have to be removed from built works which had arisen gradually over various eras, had been extended or developed, or whose decorative programs and furnishings had been supplied over different eras. This view

resulted in some of the greatest calamities, particularly for religious art. Old church buildings were almost never stylistically consistent because most of them – either for practical reasons or because of efforts to make them more sightly – had been given new forms and new decorative programs departing from the historic core and had in many cases become the reflection of the artistic creativity of many generations and centuries. This was designated as disfigurement and in innumerable churches anything that did not correspond to the original style of the building was removed or destroyed and replaced with reproductions in that style. The most splendid and beautiful altars, the richest of stucco work, the most important sculptures and paintings were sacrificed to this false principle, which is particularly lamentable for us in Austria because for the most part our churches were given their rich adornment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In innumerable cases, under the slogans of the desired stylistic unity and purity, they also attempted to undo the structural changes that churches had undergone over the course of the ages, whereby additions from later periods were demolished and parts that had been developed were redone in the ‘original style’. Today it is generally recognized that irreparable damage was virtually always done to historic buildings in this way. But since such goings-on have still not completely disappeared, particularly amongst the clergy, it is necessary to point out how false the suppositions upon which they rest actually are.

Above all, it is wrong to take this or that style for the only correct one, for artistic developments that span thousands of years cannot be judged on the basis of a universally applicable formula. Rather they must be valued according to their artistic intentions and achievements, which were by their very nature different in different ages and in different countries. Art would not be art if, as the prophets of a certain style demanded in the past century, it had managed to create its works according to a recipe. It developed along with new requirements and views, as did language and literature, and it is either just arbitrary theory or unfounded prejudice if one only takes what emerged in a certain age as worthy of preservation, whilst declaring everything else – the embodiment of the artistic strivings and the artistic ideals of many centuries – as inferior and only worthy of destruction. It is an absurd conceit to designate the artistry which created works such as the Karlskirche in Vienna or the Collegiate Church in Melk as a worthless botch. Even if preference or more general interest ought to be devoted to this or that style, this is still a long way from justifying doing away with everything else, because what is allegedly not worthy of attention can become very valuable to another age, as we have in actual fact experienced with works of baroque art.

In this favouritism for particular styles reference is often also made to reasons that have less to do with artistic form than with other viewpoints, in which, for example, the Gothic style is declared more Christian than the Baroque, which nevertheless lacks any justification, for the baroque style was tied up with the greatest flourishing of religious life and, particularly in Austria, certainly has more to do with present Christian traditions than the Gothic, which emerged in the French middle ages.

The overwhelming majority of those for whom historic monuments are a joy and a pleasure know only a little about the historic styles and when looking on in wonder at a fine old church or a wonderful historic townscape they hardly consider whether the individual forms belong to this or that style. The effect of an historic monument upon the imagination and the mind does not depend on any stylistic law: it is called up by concrete phenomena that consist of a combination of universal forms of art with local and personal character, with the surroundings as a whole, and with all the means by which historical development has elevated the monument to the status of a landmark in those surroundings. Churches or other buildings, streets and squares which have gradually attained their artistic character and have retained it over the course of time, a character consisting of different stylistic elements – such things can be compared to beings with souls. But they lose all life and attraction and become boring pattern-book examples when the violence of stylistic unification is visited upon them.

So monument protection not only has to extend to all the styles of the past, it also has to preserve the local and historic peculiarity of monuments, which we are not authorized to correct according to any rules whatsoever, because on the whole it is through such corrections that we destroy everything that lends even modest monuments their irreplaceable value.

IV. FALSE RESTORATIONS

It is also wrong to believe that buildings can be given back their original form through so-called stylistically faithful renovations and reconstructions. This is impossible purely because, as a rule, it is not known how the original form was obtained, and one thus has to be content with something that approximates how it might have been done. But such an approximation can never replace what once really existed, because old buildings were not executed according to a mould like so many of the modern ones. Each one was a differently conditioned artistic solution; a solution that can just as little be reproduced as can a medieval man be awoken from the grave.

Even when there are one or two points of reference that suggest how the building was originally built, the reconstruction cannot replace the parts of the initial conception that have been lost over the course of time because an imitation can simply never replace the original. The effect of a work of art depends on both its general conception and its execution. As convinced as one may be that a column, pillar, or piece of tracery was situated here or there, the new column, the new pillar, the new tracery will nevertheless always look like a foreign element, because the originality which, as with handwriting, is manifest in every lineament can never be achieved by even the most learned of reconstructions. One sacrifices the genuine original created by latter times without providing anything other than a more or less clumsy imitation, which, as every antique dealer knows, is worthless. Anyone with any artistic sensitivity perceives such reconstructions as an illegitimate swindle and an unbearable and repugnant profanation.

Extensive renovations and reconstructions of historic monuments are therefore not only to be avoided on the grounds that they destroy valuable monuments of later periods, but also because they arbitrarily alter the form and appearance of the monument, thereby devaluing its effect both artistically and historically.

But the same goes for any restoration that goes beyond the bounds of necessity.

Naturally, the majority of historic artworks have not been preserved undamaged. Historic architecture exhibits various afflictions: walls become cracked or weathered, decorative parts of buildings get damaged, altars rot, the altarpieces darken and only fragments of the murals are preserved, turning to dust or crumbling away from the walls. *For the sake of the preservation of these monuments such damage must of course be rectified where possible.*

However, ninety per cent of the conservation measures in recent decades went beyond the bounds of necessity. So-called restorations replaced everything that was missing and renewed damaged areas rather than merely preserving the existing fabric. Castle ruins were reconstructed and transformed into sham castles. Missing or damaged architectural elements were supplied or completed; statues were reworked, replaced by copies, or repainted; old paintings were simply painted over rather than protected from further destruction. *Such restorations do not prevent the dilapidation of historic monuments; on the contrary, they ruin them in every respect.* When they are modified arbitrarily they lose their historical significance and become highly unreliable evidence of the artistic intentions and abilities of the past, more or less deprived of the value of originality. An historic mural that has been painted over is virtually worthless as an historic monument; it can be compared to a falsified document. Every educated person knows that falsifying historic documents is not permissible, and yet with historic art this practice is not only still accepted, but is in fact quite popular. The fact that artistic value is also destroyed by arbitrary and over-extensive restoration is something that hardly needs demonstrating. Works of historic art are turned into works of the art of the restorator, which is not always of the best quality and which, even if it were, could still never replace an untouched old monument, because it is the old and never the new that we want to admire in historic artworks. An old Gothic altar forfeits two thirds of its artistic value if the statues that adorn it are decorated, reworked, and repainted in gaudy colours, for such a radical restoration leaves behind almost nothing of the individual character that every genuine historic artwork possesses, that which sets it apart from imitations. But in most cases if this original character is destroyed, so is every other effect that an untouched monument exercises upon the onlooker. If an age-old church is restored to make it look brand-spanking new – with the interior furnishings padded out, gilded, and done up to nines; the walls plastered over and whitewashed; the roofing decked with Eternit – such a church loses almost everything that once made it seem so charming and valuable. After restoration it resembles a tedious new building: the poetry, the mood, the picturesque appeal that surrounded it disappear, and the result of the restoration, which often entails great costs, is not preservation, but destruction and disfigurement. *With an outrageous degree of negligence, such restorations were frequently entrusted to incompetent hands and likewise resulted in the demise of innumerable historic artworks. They are to be combated with the greatest resolve.*

But this is not to say, as is sometimes argued, that churches should be turned into museums. Historic artworks mean incomparably more to us than mere museum artefacts. They should beautify our lives *everywhere*. For precisely this reason it is necessary that they

be kept in constant connection with life and are not considered or treated as being detached or removed from the present. Therefore, if works of art are not to be deprived of their former purpose, all necessary work should and indeed must be taken in hand. How far one may go in doing so has to be left to the judgement of the appropriate institutions. However, it can be taken as a general rule that restoration may never be seen as an end in itself, but only as a means of safeguarding the present state and effect of a monument and piously preserving it for coming generations.

V. PUBLIC DUTIES

The dangers threatening historic monuments give rise to demands upon the general public which we would like to summarize once again here, for the greatest insistence is necessary in dealing with these questions.

Every artistic creation is a precious product of historical development whose preservation is in the interests of the general public. This imposes certain obligations on each individual, on municipalities and nations, and on church and state. *Conservation is to be counted among the duties of each and every educated person.* Anyone who sees historic monuments as nothing more than old rubbish that is to be done away with as soon as circumstances allow or turned to a profit in the lime pit, in new buildings, in the melting oven, or at the second-hand dealer, such a person – whichever stratum of society he may belong to – is a brute without culture or education. He is not to be judged or treated any differently than someone who violates the most elementary respect that every civilized person ought to have with regard to public intellectual property.

Conservation is to be counted among the duties of the municipalities and nations.

There can hardly be a single municipality or nation that is not proud of the indigenous artworks that have been assembled in their museums. These works are shown to visitors with an impressive level of self-awareness, and one would quite rightly be outraged in the extreme if someone were to pilfer or destroy these artistic treasures. And yet the museums, valuable as their contents may be, are only places of refuge for dispersed artworks, whilst the great artistic legacy of the communal or national past lies in those monuments that have been preserved on indigenous soil, rooted to the spot. Many people have been aware of this for a long time, at least where *foreign* art is concerned: they undertake long journeys in order to get to know historic artworks in the context of the conditions in which they emerged. And yet, this notwithstanding, the same people look on idly or fail to help at all when historic monuments are being destroyed in their own homeland, as though the monuments there were somehow less valuable than those in Italy or the Netherlands. They thereby make themselves guilty not only of a sin against public cultural property, but also – and quite particularly – against their home towns and their nation, which are robbed of far more this way than if the museum collections were to be smashed up or sold off. This is particularly true of municipal administrations and all the national welfare institutions. It is a pharisaism to speak of patriotism and at the same time to destroy or squander that which, besides nature, gives the homeland its manifest character: the works of the ancestors who inhabited it, the traces of the

artistic spirit that enlivened it and lives on in their image, in their monuments. With the exception of a violent change of language, nothing could be more damaging to a people's spiritual endowment than a violent destruction of its historic monuments. Monument protection is thus tantamount to *Heimat* protection – applied patriotism – and if public spirit, the *Heimat*, and national honour are to be more than mere empty words, it must be required everywhere with the greatest insistence, implemented by corporations and civic agencies, and instilled in every single individual.

Conservation is to be counted among the duties of the clergy, for general as well as religious reasons. Priests who destroy and sell off historic artworks without compelling reason follow the example of the iconoclasts who, under the influence of the French Revolution, raged against witnesses of the past. In doing so they risk being judged no differently. Their actions go against the public interest and counter to culture in an area of spiritual education where the church had led the way and had an ennobling effect in all former ages. On top of this they also damage religious life directly; by undermining the consciousness of historical continuity and offending those very sentiments which they actually ought to support as a source of piety and a deeper conception of life.

From what has been said it follows that the preservation of historic monuments also has to be counted among the *duties of the state authorities*. This is not just because, as universal cultural values, their protection is a state obligation anyway, but rather because historic monuments have to be counted amongst the most precious material and cultural commodities in the life of any given state. The most important spiritual stanchions of state authority and education are derived from the monumental witnesses to its own past that differentiate it from newly emerging political entities. State authorities which destroy old buildings or other monuments, or let them go to ground without compelling reasons, thus neglect their duties no less than if they were to squander other public or state property. And financial considerations cannot be seen as compelling reasons, for higher state interests are at stake here; interests that cannot be assessed in terms of economic savings alone. Indeed, these interests are so important that any state institution that acts against them or even simply fails to foster them must be designated as disloyal and dangerous to the general public.

According to the high importance of monument protection for public and especially state interests, state institutions have been created everywhere, employing state functionaries who are entrusted with the care of artistic heritage.

Instead of supporting these institutions, people often openly make their task more difficult. They are treated like troublemakers who meddle in matters that ought not concern them and want to limit owners' free rights of disposal. There are unfortunately still many

high-ranking people in society who tend to say, 'I certainly won't let conservator X or Y dictate what I ought and ought not to do.' But in this they forget that the public interest demands state intervention in numerous other matters; in questions of general building regulations, water rights, forestry, or hygiene for example. They take these incursions for granted, consider them as being entirely justified, and therefore they do not try their luck with them at all. They forget that it is not about conservator X or Y, but requirements and duties that a well bred and educated person should hardly need reminding of, like keeping good manners and morals in company for instance.

It is sometimes argued that views from the conservationist's perspective as to what ought to be done in this or that case are unclear, and that any decision is ultimately a matter of taste, for which there are no regulations.

This is completely untrue.

What is called for and must be called for everywhere is due respect for the historic monuments that have been handed down to us and the preservation of their historic form, appearance, and surroundings as far as possible. This is a clear, unequivocal demand, not at all dependent upon who puts the case. To have to be made aware of it even now is not particularly praiseworthy. Monument preservation was given legal status in most states long ago, and where this is not yet the case, as in Austria, it must be promoted all the more emphatically in order to compensate for the lack of legal compulsion with goodwill and good example.

This especially applies to those collectors whose passionate desire to bring historic artworks into their possession at any price – a price that can only be too cheap from the perspective of preservation – is the main contributing factor in the systematic uprooting of moveable historic monuments; out of the soil they came from, only to be scattered to the winds.

But a call also has to be directed to the artists. Unfortunately there are still very many artists, particularly architects, who consider historic art as their enemy, either because they want to emancipate themselves from it (as though this could not be accomplished by completely assimilating and thereby artistically surpassing it), or because they fear it as competition for their own work. And there are yet others who feign admiration for historic artworks whilst plundering them all the same; tarnishing them by poor imitation or deriving profit from them by careless restoration. All this is unworthy of a genuine artist and is as detrimental to modern as it is to historic art. Anyone who does not venerate all artistic creation will have to accept that his own art will not be taken seriously – like a market product, valued only according to price and demand – and anyone for whom the artistic

character of the artworks of the past is not sacrosanct cannot expect others to judge his own work by different standards.

In other words, and this not only applies to the artists, works of historic art must mean more to us than merely what they are in material terms, but they should also be more, far more, than mere antiques, stylistic models, or historical sources. They should be perceived as a living, integral part of our being, our development, our *Heimat*, our national and universal European culture and of our spiritual and ethical achievements and prerogatives. And they should be held up as high as the treasures of linguistic and literary development, to which they form a counterpart.

VI. A FEW POINTS OF ADVICE

1. General Advice

The general principles of monument preservation are as clear and simple as can be. As we have seen, they can be summarized in two postulates: i) the maintenance of monuments to the highest possible degree in their historic disposition and surroundings; and ii) in their genuine form and appearance. In practice these principles give rise to a multitude of varied tasks and duties which cannot be exhaustively covered by rules, but a few specific points of advice may nevertheless be useful.

2. Ruins

With ruins care should be taken to ensure that that which lends them their unique charm is not destroyed. This charm derives from the character of a building that has been subjected to the workings of time and from its picturesque appearance in the landscape. A reconstructed ruin is no longer a ruin but a new and at best mediocre building.

A few measures to prevent rapid deterioration: cracks in walls are to be filled, walls that have come off kilter are to be propped up, roofs that are in danger of collapsing are to be supported, parts that are coming away are to be affixed. But the supports are to be applied in such a way as not to disrupt the overall appearance of the ruin: when cracks and gaps are filled, the walls are not to be daubed with lime and the jagged upper parts of the walls are not to be levelled, but should be left in their irregular form. Vegetation is to be removed where it is damaging the masonry; otherwise it is to be spared. Any necessary additional structures are to be executed as simple, purpose-oriented buildings which defer to the overall picture without employing historicizing forms. Technical facilities which might result in earth tremors or undermining are not to be installed in the vicinity of ruins.

3. Maintenance of Occupied Historic Buildings

These need to be tended to continually, whereby extensive restorations can in many cases be avoided.

a) Damp proofing. Damp is one of the worst enemies of an old building and needs to be staved off continually. It is often caused by a lack of ventilation, particularly in churches, so care should constantly be taken to ensure adequate airing. Furthermore, roofs are to be

kept in good condition. Rainwater should be able to drain off freely and defective roof coverings are to be repaired or replaced without delay. Appropriate drainage systems should be installed where groundwater is the cause of the damp.

b) Repairs. Old buildings almost always require repairs of some sort due to wear and tear over time. Floorings get worn down, window and door frames weather, plasterwork crumbles away. Such damage should not be allowed to get out of hand, since rectifying small problems in good time can avert larger ones, save costs and contribute to keeping monuments in good condition. But repairs are always to be carried out so as not to have a disruptive effect; their form and materials should respectfully fit in with the historic character of the building.

4. Extensive Renovations

Quite special caution is called for where more extensive renovations need to be carried out. Although they may not affect the structural core of the building, they can nevertheless be disastrous for the appearance of the monument. This mainly applies to the renovation of roofing, paintwork and flooring.

a) Roofing. Not only the form of roofs, but also the material and the colour of the roofing contribute a great deal to the external effect of a monument, for which reason renovations should be carried out in the same materials and with partial use of the old roofing where possible. Inappropriate roofing materials such as Eternit are to be avoided.

b) Paintwork. Garish and inharmonious effects in the renovation of external and internal plaster or paintwork are likewise to be avoided. The tasteless practice of applying a loud coat of red or yellow paint to old houses or churches leaves such buildings disfigured for many years. For simple buildings, plain grey plasterwork on the exterior and white or grey paintwork on the interior will generally produce the most favourable effect. Buildings or parts of buildings executed in ashlar are to be left unplastered.

c) Flooring. With flooring as for roofing, it is best to carry out renovations in the same material as that of the earlier flooring. Cheap alternatives such as brightly coloured cement tiling should not be used for buildings and spaces that make any claim to dignity and monumentality.

5. Extensive Alterations and Restorations of Old Buildings

Specialist advice should be sought at all costs where the poor condition of an old building or other practical considerations necessitate works that will affect the form and substance of the monument.

But it would be wrong to believe that just any architect or builder can provide this advice, or that the use of historic building forms suffices to make an architect into a qualified specialist. The restoration and alteration of old buildings requires special experience and intimate knowledge of the principles and requirements of monument preservation. Therefore, in cases where restorations, rebuilding or adaptations that go well beyond the scope of simple repairs are to be undertaken, it is strongly urged that owners and administrators of old buildings contact the relevant state institutions for monument preservation. These are obliged to provide free advice as to whether and how the planned works ought to be carried out and to whom they might be entrusted.

This also applies to church extensions and additions to historic castles or houses, which ought not to be drawn up by just any developer. Rather, one should try to find projects that have been drafted with understanding and specialist knowledge of the type of task in hand; projects which inflict the minimum possible damage on the existing fabric and take the overall effect of the historic building and its surroundings into consideration whilst also ensuring that practical requirements are met.

6. Church Furnishings

Like the church building, church furniture also demands constant attention. However, this should generally be limited to careful cleaning, re-affixing of parts that are coming away and replacement of small missing parts. Bronzing and over-painting of statues or woodcarvings – practices that are unfortunately still popular in many places – are acts of vandalism.

But the no less prevalent alterations involving repainting and gilding of altars, pulpits and other furnishings are also to be condemned, for they degrade the objects and disfigure the church. Careful repairs usually suffice where old paintwork or gilding is concerned. Even where the condition of church furniture is so poor as to make it seem unworthy of the church or to call its continued existence into question, it ought not to be discarded prematurely as unserviceable or given to a painter for ‘a new lease of life’. Rather, it can be restored in such a way that it is capable of fulfilling its purpose without forfeiting its art-historical value and can then serve as an adornment of the church again.

Here too, enquiring at the institutions for monument preservation is the best way to avoid mistakes and errors.

It should also be mentioned that an old organ housing need not necessarily be destroyed on account of a new organ. It can very often be reused for the new machine. Similarly, one need not build a completely new altar if an old rotating tabernacle is to be replaced with a fixed one.

7. Sculptures

Reworking, repainting or applying new, polychrome finishes to works of plastic art devalues and disfigures them. Stone sculptures should therefore not be stripped back, but merely cleaned with a soft brush where necessary. It is not admissible to paint statues, plastic elements of buildings and stone or stucco decorations in oil colours or whitewash, since the effect of the material as well as the sharpness and intended effect of the forms is thereby lost. For plastic works in metal, care should be taken to preserve the patina. What was said regarding church furnishings also goes for wooden figures: they are half ruined when robbed of their old polychromy and gilding. In cases where sculptures whose essential parts have been destroyed or whose material substance has been compromised – through the weathering of stonework or by woodworm or rot in woodwork, for instance – advice should be obtained from qualified experts at all costs in order to prevent further decay and have the works restored.

8. Wall Paintings

The majority of medieval churches and grander secular buildings were decorated with wall paintings internally and often also externally, and much of this has been preserved under whitewash. Such wall paintings are not only of great historical significance; they are also important as valuable adornments of historic buildings. Therefore, when renewing paintwork or doing other work on the walls, care should be taken to ensure that potentially extant murals are not damaged. Should any traces of a mural come to light, its uncovering ought not to be left to a regular mason, and neither should it be taken on by the thrilled finder himself, as so often happens. Rather, it is necessary to notify the monument authorities, whose task it is to ensure that the uncovering and securing of the paintings is carried out by a trained restorator. One should also approach these authorities in cases where murals that have never been under whitewash or have already been exposed for a long time are to be cleaned or secured to the walls and protected from disintegration. To have old wall paintings painted over is to destroy their historic and artistic value.

9. Pictures on Wood and Canvas,

which ought to be protected from candle soot, large changes in temperature and humidity where possible, can be carefully wiped with a soft cloth from time to time. Other manipulations are to be avoided. But should the pictures evidence damage – should the wood crack, the canvas warp, the paint blister or flake off – these ought not to be entrusted to just any painter or dilettante, who tend to offer their services especially to the clergy and then quite ruin the pictures entrusted to them instead of saving them. Even some of the so-called restorators are not equal to all the difficult tasks and responsibilities that are involved in the restoration of old pictures. Thus the greatest caution is necessary here too; nothing should be done without the advice of the monument authorities.

10. Miscellaneous Applied Art Objects in the Church Inventory

Most churches contain a number of historic artefacts of applied art: works in gold and silver, liturgical vestments, lacework, carpets, lamps, candelabra and so on. As a rule these are much better than new purchases, so they should be kept in use for as long as they are in good condition. But if they have become so damaged as to no longer be serviceable, or if they have been withdrawn from use for some other reason, they should not be banished to the attic or the junk room, where they will soon waste away or be carried off. They should be actually be carefully kept under lock and key in suitable rooms. In this way little church museums will gradually emerge in the churches – to the honour of the churches and to the benefit of our common artistic heritage. Much that would otherwise be lost will thereby be preserved.

11. The Art Market

Besides private property, historic ecclesiastical property is the main source of supply to the art market. Every clergyman, though, should and must know that he is not entitled to sell off artworks of known value without the permission of the higher church authorities and without the obligatory notification of the state administration – and that he commits a dereliction of duty if he acts otherwise. Historic artworks are very often sold in good faith by clergymen in the opinion that they are of no particular significance. And thus the priests are deceived to the detriment of both the church and monument preservation. Every priest should therefore

make it a basic principle that the old art objects belonging to his church should never be sold or exchanged for new ones.

One should not dignify a buyer with credibility when he claims that this or that object is quite worthless, that he only takes it out of courtesy or because he merely has a particular interest in such artefacts. Neither should one be tempted by the large sums of money that are offered for apparently insignificant artefacts. One should not pay attention to the claims of agents who say that this or that artefact is unworthy of the church and could provoke disapproval during church visitations – this is something that art dealers are certainly not competent to judge. The things that art dealers and collectors want to bring into their possession are always of value; a value that the church loses permanently when it sells. One should never be swayed from the resolve not to sell anything from the church, even by influential collectors or church patrons.

The majority of this advice also applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to anyone who is responsible for non-ecclesiastical public artistic heritage, as well as for private owners who are now and then compelled to sell their artistic treasures by external circumstances. In this case it is in the public interest as well as their own (that is, in order to protect themselves from being flagrantly cheated) that they should offer any artworks they might have to sell to the Austrian public museums in the first instance.

12. New Decoration of Old Buildings

The greatest adornment of an old building, internally and externally, is its aged form and historic character. This has to be considered when undertaking any redecorations. The biggest mistakes are often made in the redecoration of old churches in particular.

a) Repainting of churches and new stained glass. The richest possible painting program and new stained glass that is as colourful as possible tend to be considered the most important aims when churches are to be redecorated. But instead of adorning an old building, these things actually cause some of the worst damage. As a rule, new painted decoration and new stained glass are artistically worthless in and of themselves; they are unoriginal scrawlings patched together from pattern books and they disfigure the church rather than adorning it. In addition, the understanding and feeling for the interaction of monumental spatial effects and monumental painting is completely lost to the general public. A rich ornamental or figural painting program and new, garishly coloured stained glass do not usually reinforce the internal effect of an old building as they once did; they rupture and ruin it. Therefore, a simple whitewash in one or more discrete tones and white cathedral glass in

the windows will almost always produce a more favourable and worthy effect than a rich figural or ornamental painting program or colourful new stained glass. Should one nevertheless believe it to be quite impossible to do without rich new painterly decoration on the walls or the windows, the designs should at least be commissioned from artists who do not work to templates. The artists should possess the requisite understanding and talent to create a work of independent artistic value, one which also accords with the overall monumental effect of the building and its historic character.

b) New church furnishings. Alongside consideration for the preservation of existing fabric, for new purchases the first rule should be to buy only good, solid things. Worthless dross and factory products do not belong in a House of God. This is not to say that everything purchased, even in humble circumstances, has to be expensive. Almost everywhere one will still find craftsmen who can provide simple country churches with furnishings that correspond to the means available, and whose work – as naïve or coarse as it may be – will never be so offensive as the characterless and destitute mass products that the art companies distribute to every point of the compass. In wealthier churches, though, where something more artful is to be created – something corresponding to the historic significance of great ecclesiastical art – one ought not to believe that this can be achieved with a few hundred crowns. Instead of buying something inexpensive, it is better to wait until sufficient means are available to commission works of lasting artistic value from outstanding masters.

13. Landscape and Townscape

a) In the country. The questions pertaining to the maintenance of historic landscapes – places which are threatened by numerous modern requirements – might well seem difficult and variously complex, and yet the principles that serve as guidelines for them are quite simple: the old should not be destroyed just for the sake of replacing it with the new. The historic layout of villages and towns, the form of their squares, the breadth and direction of streets should not be altered. Old town gates, towers, town walls and iconic columns should not be destroyed even if they do cause a few minor inconveniences. Old buildings should not be sacrificed to ‘traffic’ – it can cope just as well in the country without the need for such sacrifices. One should not ape the cities. Houses and public buildings should not be built with false pretensions; as sham palaces in all manner of styles. Rather, they should be as simple and practical as they once were by local custom, tested and grounded in longstanding traditions. Every new building should defer to the overall appearance of its site. And the vegetation that enlivens the scene and lends it its picturesque quality should be spared.

b) In the city. In large towns which are undergoing drastic transformations, indeed where the whole shape of the future townscape is at stake, one should consider it a natural obligation to ensure that these redevelopments are not left to chance, to material interests alone or to the discretion of the usual building departments or administrative institutions. Rather, they should be entrusted to men who are completely familiar with all the relevant requirements of city planning: both the practical as well as the aesthetic requirements, and the rights and requirements of monument preservation.

14. Where to Find Help and Advice

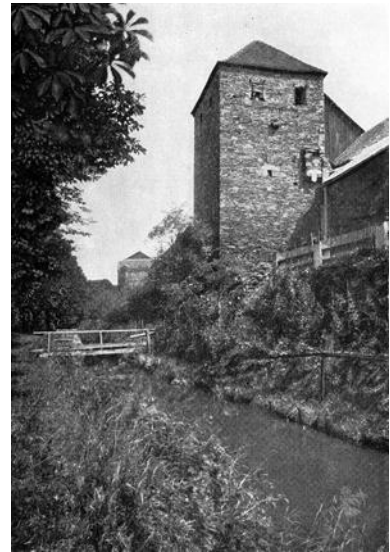
A state institution has been established for the protection of artistic heritage in Austria. This is called the Central Commission for Monument Preservation. It consists of a State Monument Office and the Regional Monument Offices and is supported by a staff of voluntary conservators and correspondents. These offices are duty bound to intervene in all matters pertaining to monument preservation free of charge, so one can call on them for advice and help at any time if necessary; be it directly or be it through the mediation of the conservators who represent the Central Commission in specific districts. Their names and addresses can be obtained from the district authorities.

EXAMPLES AND COUNTER-EXAMPLES

Figure 1. The town square of Braunau. Example of a well preserved old square.



Figure 2. Zwettl. Old fortifications. The picturesque surroundings of a town.



Admonitory Examples of Impiety

Figure 3. The charnel house at St Michael's on the parish square at Wiener-Neustadt. Demolished.



Figure 4. The old town hall in Brůx, once one of the most beautiful secular Renaissance buildings in Bohemia. Demolished.



Figure 5. The ceremonial stairway of the castle in Graz from around 1550, by the Italian architect Domenico dell' Allio. Demolished.



Figure 6. The former 'Iron Gate' in Graz. Demolished.



Figure 7. The demolished town hall in Eisenbrod, Bohemia, which was a beautiful monument of traditional wooden architecture.



Figure 8. A rococo ceiling from a house on the Dorotheergasse, Vienna I, demolished three years ago.



Figure 9. The former Villa Mandell in Graz. Fell victim to the building of the new technical college.



Figure 10. Ceiling painting from 1740 in the town hall of Wels. Destroyed in 1894.



Figure 11. The old-town Ring in Prague with the old Renaissance fountain, which was needlessly destroyed.



Figure 12. The former high altar of the parish church of Semriach in Styria, a baroque monument of beautiful proportions and noble forms. Needlessly destroyed.



Figure 13. The charterhouse at Gaming in Lower Austria. Example of an artistically and historically important building given over to destruction through utter neglect.



Figure 14. The portal of the former Seitz monastery at Gonobitz in Styria in 1903. Example of a neglected old building. The beautiful baroque portal has lost the central and right-hand statues, is weathered and damaged by vegetation, close to collapse and, moreover, disfigured by the ill-considered painting of the door.



Figure 15. Example. Old Renaissance house in Budweis disfigured by advertisements, an example of the most impious disregard for an old building, which completely lost its artistic effect due to this disfigurement.



Figure 16. Counter-example. The same house after the removal of the advertisements and display cases.



Figure 17. Altar painting by J. M. Schmidt in the parish church of Stein. After the rich baroque altar surround for which it was created had been wantonly destroyed, the painting – created by this great baroque painter for the main altar of the parish church of his home town – was supplied with a petty modern-Gothic frame in which the effect originally intended by the artist was completely lost. Moreover, it was terribly stretched and almost totally destroyed in the lower areas due to incompetent handling.



The Dangers of the Antiques Trade

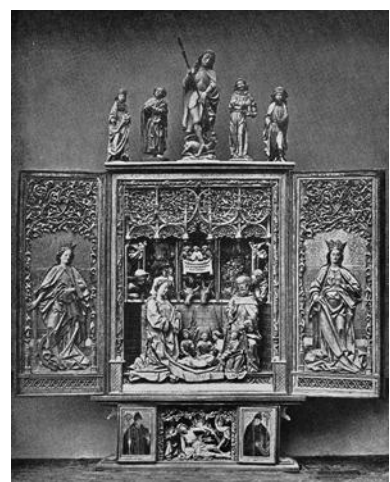
Figure 18. Gothic statue from Seckau, now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin.



Figure 19. Gothic Madonna from Salzburg, now in the Grand-Ducal State Museum at Darmstadt.



Figure 20. Late-Gothic altar from Tramin in Tyrol, now in the National Museum in Munich.



Notions of Progress and the Demands of the Present

Figure 21. Patrician house in Graz. Example of a modest old bourgeois house, of which innumerable similar have been destroyed in recent years in the large towns of Austria, though with a few adaptations they could well have been brought into line with the new demands.



Figure 22. Patrician house in Prague from the sixteenth century, designated for demolition, but, having been bought by an artistically minded owner, was reverently fitted out for the requirements of the present, whereby it suffered no damage though it was provided with every modern comfort.



Figure 23. Example. Graz, main square. A townscape that retains its now historic character in the essentials and therefore has a picturesque effect as well as possessing artistic value in terms of its overall form.



Figure 24. Counter-example. Vienna XVI, Thaliastraße. A new townscape of the form that is considered to be the ideal to strive for after most old-town demolitions. It is artistically worthless in and of itself, does not correspond to the current demands of town planning, and cannot even be taken as a halfway equal substitute for old historic townscapes.



Figure 25. Example. Gars in Lower Austria. Old street with unassuming houses from various periods, which make an individual impression in spite of their simplicity and create a homely streetscape.



Figure 26. Counter-example. Gars in Lower Austria. Modernized street. New building in the metropolitan apartment block style, without local character. It spoils the formerly harmonious character of the place without possessing any of the advantages to be gained from the old regional building methods.



Figure 27. Example. Sierninghofen in Upper Austria. A village with beautiful old houses and a self-contained historic layout that sits well the landscape.



Figure 28. Counter-example. Kraxental in Upper Austria. New houses that have no indigenous character and absolutely no artistic character, carried out without reference to what had come to be the historic form of the place, and without any connection to the landscape.



Figure 29. Example. Parsonage in Mutters (Stubaytal, Tyrol). This stately house is a good example of a building which, though commodious and comfortable, neither stands out from nor impairs the simple scene, but it is an adornment to it.



Figure 30. Counter-example. School building in Neuzeug in Upper Austria. A characterless template building which, with presumptuousness and a lack of independent artistic value, transposes the apartment-barracks type to the countryside and has a discordant and offensive effect when combined with the simple village scene.



Figure 31. The old Dietrichstein Palace in Brunn.

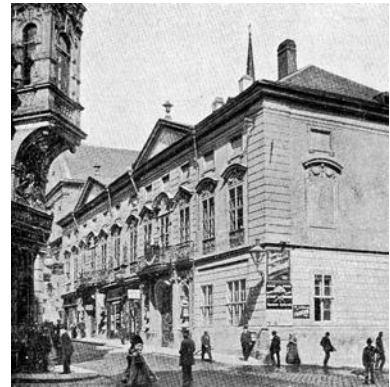


Figure 32. Summerhouse of the demolished Dietrichstein Palace in Brunn. These beautiful buildings belonged to the Brunn Regional Fiscal Directorate, which, despite the Central Commission's protests, had them cleared in order to make way for more commodious office spaces, something which could also have been achieved through adaptations and extensions.



Figure 33. Example. Old, beautiful and characteristic farmhouse in Spitz in Lower Austria.



Figure 34. Counter-example. Hunting lodge in Garsten in Upper Austria after a conversion whereby a valuable indigenous house was transformed into a placeless suburban villa.



Figure 35. Example. The old village gate in Steyr from the fifteenth century. A characteristic monument of medieval town fortifications, torn down in 1891.



Figure 36. Counter-example. Shows, in its current form, the site where the village gate once stood. Besides the loss of a venerable building, one sees that the demolition has achieved nothing but a gap in the townscape which is as ugly as it is pointless.



Figure 37. Example. The former Linz Gate in Salzburg, an outstanding work of monumental architecture from the seventeenth century. Not only the dominant work on a splendid square, but also a valuable and irreplaceable part of the old artistic townscape of Salzburg as a whole, which is so consistent despite having emerged over the course of different eras.



Figure 38. Counter-example. The square after the demolition of the Linz Gate. Without any practical purpose other than the loss of a valuable built monument, the removal of the gate resulted in the artistic ruin of an entire city district.



Figure 39. Example. The old mountain gate in Neustadt-an-der-Mettau, which was torn down in the year 1905. True, it was not a building with any special adornment or pretension to artistic form, but with its neighbouring buildings and bulky weight its presence was a powerful and effective motif in the townscape.



Figure 40. Counter-example depicting the situation after the removal of the gate, whereby an interesting group of buildings was destroyed and everything that had once lent this part of the townscape its charm and value was also lost.



Figure 41. Example. Old tower in the palace gardens at Pettau, in beautiful landscape scenery.



Figure 42. Counter-example. The so-called Heathen Temple in Znaim, a Roman rotunda that counts amongst the oldest built monuments of Moravia, was surrounded by brewery buildings such that it now stands in the middle of a factory complex. This is no less of a barbarity than, for example, if one were to surround a Greek temple with factory buildings – a barbarity for which there can be no excuse at all, for there were surely plenty of other sites for the brewery in Znaim.



Figure 43. Example. The surroundings of the Heiligenstadt church in Vienna before regulation. A beautiful old cemetery with rich vegetation combined with the church to form a picturesque scene.



Figure 44. Counter-example. The surroundings of the Heiligenstadt church in Vienna after regulation. The church has lost the greater part of its charm and value as a monument due to false restoration and a street layout that gave no consideration to preserving the aspect of the place.



Figure 45. Example. The Wyschehrader cliffs at Prague before the regulation of the Moldau. With bastions corresponding to its character, the steep, fissured cliff, rising directly from the surface of the water, was a strong and highly effective termination to the view across the Moldau in Prague.

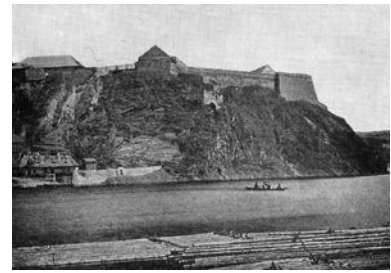


Figure 46. Counter-example. The Wyschehrader cliffs in Prague after the regulation of the Moldau. The new quay and tunnel complex is detrimental to the former effect because – and actually without pressing reasons – they forced a dreary wall between the cliff and the water, disfiguring them as well as the entrance to the tunnel with fussy built forms that are inconsistent with the former impression of the landscape.

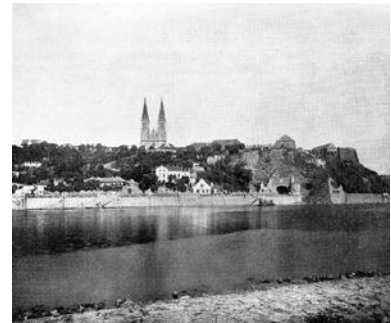


Figure 47. Example. The Gradi terrace in Gravosa. The old building, which enlivens the riverbank architecturally in the most charming way, was to be removed for the construction of the tramline from Ragusa to Gravosa. As a result of the monument authorities' intervention, the building was preserved without inconveniencing the tramline.



Figure 48. Counter-example. The New Gate in Steyr. When installing the bridge the townscape was not taken into account and was thus seriously impaired.

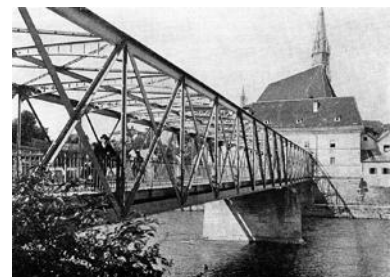


Figure 49. The old Monastery of St James in Ragusa. Extraordinarily significant for the history of Ragusa and important for the townscape as a picturesque termination to its most beautiful promenade, it was to have been sold by the town council to a limited company, which wanted to erect a grand hotel in place of the old complex. A valuable monument would thus have been destroyed and the whole view of Ragusa would also have been disfigured. The efforts of the monument authorities were successful in preventing this.



Results of the False Obsession with Beautification

Figure 50. Example. The high altar of the Franciscan church in Pilsen before it was dismantled. Now disfigured by false restoration, the beautiful church once contained splendid baroque furnishings which were destroyed over the last twenty years. The last grand remnant was the high altar. This was also removed, replaced by a provisional altar, and only reinstated after repeated interventions on the part of the State Monument Office.



Figure 51. Counter-example. A new altar in the Franciscan church in Pilsen, and likewise an instance of the sorry and artless efforts to which the baroque furnishings had to make way.



Figure 52. Example. The church of St James in Laibach in its former state. The church was a noteworthy and important eighteenth-century building with a beautiful and effective facade.



Figure 53. Counter-example. The church of St James in Laibach after restoration. The external appearance of the building has been arbitrarily altered in false materials and according to the common art of the building contractor, so that a valuable monument has needlessly been replaced by a worthless botch.



Figure 54. Example. Parish church in Slatinan (Bohemia) before the extension. A modest Gothic building with baroque additions, valuable by virtue of its local peculiarities and its relationship to the history and artistic character of the place.



Figure 55. Counter-example. Parish church in Slatinan (Bohemia) after the extension, which was used as an excuse to re-Gothicize the building, whereby the age, truth, nativity and propriety of the building were substituted for a new work in an arbitrary neo-Gothic which lacks all the aforementioned merits.



Figure 56. Old wooden church in Zembrace (Galicia).⁸⁷



Figure 57. Old wooden church in Kroscienko (Galicia). Both churches were to be destroyed, like so many of Galicia's wooden churches, which people want to replace with stone buildings because of the false obsession with improvements. Both buildings were saved by the intervention of the monument authorities.⁸⁸



Figure 58. Old wooden church in Uście (Galicia).



Figure 59. Old wooden church in Gródek Jagiellonski (Galicia). The same goes for both these churches as for those in figs 56 and 57.⁸⁹



⁸⁷ 1918 edition: Zembrzyce.

⁸⁸ 1918 edition: Old wooden church in Kroscienko wyczne (Galicia). Both churches were destroyed, like so many of Galicia's wooden churches, which have been replaced by stone buildings because of a false obsession with improvements.

⁸⁹ 1918 edition: These churches were also to be destroyed, but were saved by the intervention of the monument authorities.

Figure 60. Example. The interior of the parish church at Pfarrkirchen (Upper Austria). A well-preserved baroque church interior.



Figure 61. Counter-example. Parish church in Wilten (Tyrol). A baroque church interior which was disfigured by modern stained-glass windows.



Figure 62. Example. Separate houses, numbers 20 and 22, on the town square in Steyr. The two houses were outstanding works of Gothic and baroque architecture in Upper Austria, valuable and interesting both for their general artistic value and as monuments of regional developments and characteristics. They fitted into the overall image of the square harmoniously, and counted amongst its jewels. The municipal representatives had them torn down in order to replace them with a new building.



Figure 63. Counter-example. Shows this new building, which was executed in a mixture of Gothic forms and elements of the apartment houses and villas of the nineteenth century, without artistic sensibility or consideration for the peculiarity of the task, the regional character, or the overall image of the square.



Figure 64. Example. The old town hall in Pardubitz. It was a masterpiece of Austrian rococo art and its facade, adorned with figurative stucco, was a work of uncommonly rich fantasy and purposeful decoration. Moreover, it was significant as the most outstanding creation of a particular artistic conception of the facade, one that certainly came from the general principles of rococo art, but nevertheless experienced a most interesting local metamorphosis in the destroyed municipal building and a few other related buildings. The former town hall of Pardubitz was the most interesting witness to this tendency. They destroyed it and its likewise beautiful neighbouring buildings without pressing grounds and to the immeasurable detriment of the town, which has not only been robbed of a precious work of art, but has also forfeited the glorious, artistically unified overall effect of the main square as a result of this demolition.



Figure 65. Counter-example. Showing the new town hall in Pardubitz; an uninteresting template building of a thoroughly generic nature, which cannot possibly replace the outstanding former work of art, stamped as it was with local and personal character. The new building destroys the overall image of the old square because it fails take it into account; it is foreign to the simple patrician functionality of the remaining buildings and their local character.



Figure 66. Example. The Powder Tower in Prague in its old form and surroundings. Though damaged and mutilated over the ages, the tower was nevertheless a monument of rare power before the restoration; uncommonly effective by virtue of the unaltered originality and purity of its formal aspect, with an overall appearance ennobled by time. This, together with the annexed buildings it dominated, made for a wonderful overall picture.



Figure 67. Counter-example. The Powder Tower in Prague after restoration and in its current surroundings. The extensive restoration deprived the tower of much of its former historic and artistic value. As a result of the destruction of its annexes and the construction of an imposing new building in its immediate proximity, the Powder Tower completely lost its dominating position and now looks like an historicizing addition to the irreverently erected neighbouring building.



Figure 68. Example. The main square in Fulnek in Moravia. The simple, closed and consistent square has the town hall's tower as a naturally dominant element.



Figure 69. Counter-example. The main square in Schluckenau in Bohemia. The unilateral, closed, consistent effect of the square was destroyed by the showy metropolitan forms of a new building.



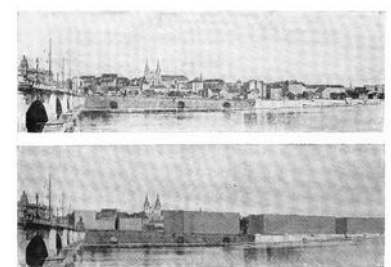
Figure 70. Example. Salzburg. View of the old town from the Caroline Bridge, before the construction of the regional law courts.



Figure 71. Counter-example showing the same prospect of the town from the same position after the construction of the regional law courts. The splendid panorama has totally disappeared and one sees only a scant remainder of it, the stronghold of the High Salzburg, rising above the roof of the 'monumental state building', which sets a charmless apartment-block facade in front of the beautiful view.



Figure 72 and 73. Example and counter-example. View of the Emmaus Monastery in Prague before and after the planned development of the banks of the Moldau, which allowed for the greatest exploitation of building plots, but would have irrevocably destroyed the picturesque cityscape of this district.



The Dangers of Style Dogmas and False Principles of Restoration

The Worthlessness of Reconstructions, Copies and Imitations

Figure 74. Example. The parish church at Stein-an-der-Donau before restoration. The church possessed a rich and beautiful decorative program of baroque furnishings that were valuable enough in themselves, represented a significant monument to the heyday of Austrian art in the eighteenth century and constituted the rich and imaginative aspect of the church interior.



Figure 75. Counter-example. The parish church in Stein-an-der-Donau after the restoration, which destroyed the old baroque decoration and furnishings. The new furnishings are artistically worthless factory products of minimal technical value which disfigure the church and already look like worn out and dilapidated warehouse products after just a few years.



Figure 76. Example. The right aisle of the parish church of Enns before restoration. The simple whitewash emphasizes the slim, light, architectonic construction of the Gothic architecture and, in unison with the modest monotone flooring, lends the church a harmonious spatial effect, into which, despite the difference of style, the beautiful baroque altars also fitted most happily.



Figure 77. Counter-example. The right aisle of the parish church of Enns after restoration. The new paintwork impairs the effect of the church in the most palpable manner, since the impression of slender growth is destroyed by the gridding of the walls, the coloured stratification of the columns and the heavy adornment of the vault canopy. The spatial effect also suffers as a result and the new paving in coloured cement slabs likewise stands in contradiction to the earlier, simple monumentality of the building, such that the original effect of the church was not only not reinstated by the restoration, but on the contrary, was spoilt by it. The new Gothic furnishings are by no means a worthy substitute for the baroque ones and, despite their Gothic forms, do not represent an enrichment of the building, but an additional artistic devaluation.

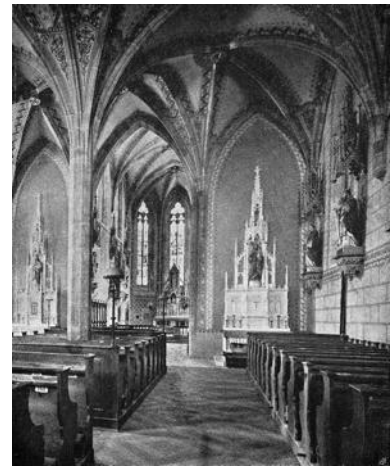


Figure 78. Example. The old high altar in the parish church at Hohenmauth in Bohemia; an outstanding work of Austrian baroque art, masterfully composed for the Gothic choir. It had already been taken down in order to make way for a modern Gothic one. As a result of intervention by the monument authorities the altar was saved and re-installed.



Figure 79. Counter-example. New altars in the parish church of Telfes in Stubai (Tyrol). The old baroque altars were destroyed and replaced by new ones in a false Romanesque style, which are of minimal artistic value and give no consideration to the overall effect of the church interior.



Figure 80. Example. The Collegiate Church of Klosterneuburg before restoration. The church was a vast torso built over a number of centuries, a faithful reflection of the monastery's past.



Figure 81. Counter-example. The Collegiate Church of Klosterneuburg after restoration. The traces of this historical past were obliterated and the church was forcibly transformed into a modern Romantic and Gothic building.

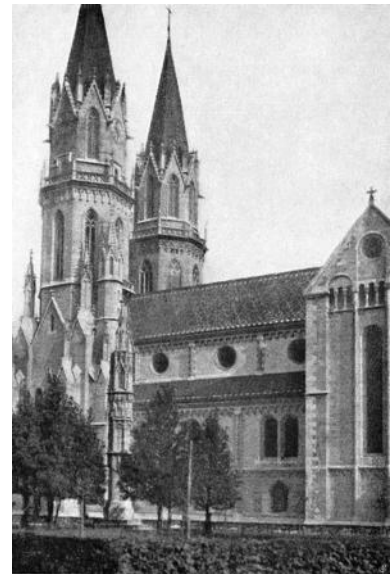


Figure 82. Example. The decanal church at Chrudim before restoration. In combination with their surroundings, the incomplete tower facade, massive and weighty, with its Renaissance termination, baroque portal and baroque stairway, offered the onlooker a picturesque and, architecturally, an extremely unique and interesting picture.



Figure 83. Counter-example. The decanal church at Chrudim after restoration. This picture was destroyed by the extension of the towers and so-called stylistic unification. The church has been virtually obliterated as an historic monument, for it had to make way to a new building in the conventional Gothic forms of the end of the last century.



Figure 84. Example. St Stephen's in Eggenburg. Surrounded by simple patrician houses, the church seems to dominate them as the ideal and artistic centre-point of the town and is heightened in its effect by the immediate proximity of the houses.



Figure 85. Counter-example. Klagenfurt Cathedral after clearance and restoration. After the houses framing it had been demolished, this church, which was also disfigured by an Eternit roof, looks as though it has been set down in a wasteland and has lost much of its former significance.



Figure 86. Example. Karlstein castle before restoration. This castle, which counts among the most important historical and art-historical monuments of Bohemia, underwent a number of alterations through the ages, but its main parts were nevertheless well preserved; its forms were just as impressive from an historical point of view as it was artistically effective as a monument.

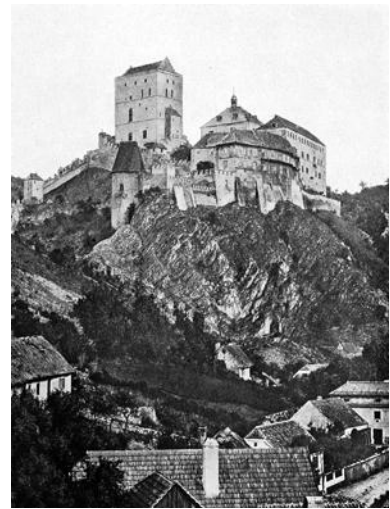


Figure 87. Counter-example. Karlstein castle after restoration. The castle's characteristic authenticity was ruined by the supposed 'reconstruction' of its original state and, to the detriment of its historic and artistic value, the complex was turned into a false antiquarian parody of an old castle.



Figure 88. Example. The Wawel palace in Krakow in its historic state, which, in its various parts and forms, embodied a history of construction spanning centuries, conferring upon it the value of an incomparable document of the national past, as well as the beauty of an historical formation ennobled by time and the artistic work of many generations.



Figure 89. Counter-example. The restoration project for the Wawel palace in Krakow (rejected by the monument authorities), which would have sacrificed everything the centuries had created for an alleged reconstruction of the sixteenth-century castle, or, in other words, the real historic and artistic original for a false historic architecture of the present.

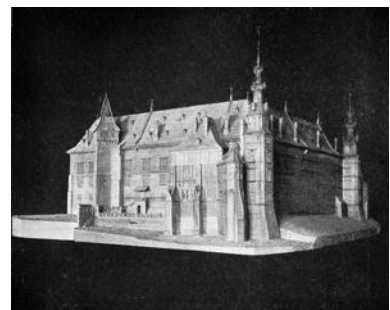


Figure 90. Example. The old town hall of Olmütz before restoration. In its historical form the town hall was a beautiful and effective building, as much for its historic character as for the contrast between the grand lines and planes of the main building and the rich disposition of the tower section.



Figure 91. Counter-example. The town hall of Olmütz after restoration. Since they were not satisfied with the received form of the building, they 'reconstituted' it, whereby its historical character was spoilt and the former artistic appearance was destroyed by an unsatisfactory attempt at false stylistic uniformity.



Figure 92. Example. The old-town fortifications of Nimburg before restoration. The ruins of the fortifications, weathered and framed by vegetation, had a picturesque and weighty effect by virtue of their authenticity, traces of age and integration with nature.



Figure 93. Counter-example. The old-town fortifications of Nimburg after restoration. The reconstruction destroyed the magic of the ruins and what it did create comes across as an idle and boring building-block charade.

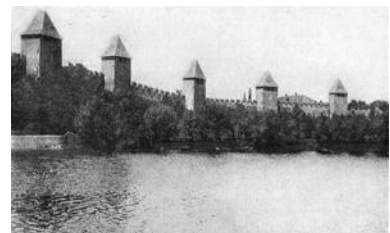


Figure 94. Example. Schloss Rametz in the Tyrol in its earlier form.



Figure 95. Counter-example. Schloss Rametz in the Tyrol after alterations that changed it into a false castle, whereby an old monument was destroyed – along with the beautiful unity of an historic view and the surrounding landscape – only to be replaced by a characterless creation of the restorer's barren art.



Figure 96. Example. Gothic fresco in the parish church of Schlan (Bohemia) before restoration.



Figure 97. Counter-example. Completely over-painted during restoration, the fresco in the parish church at Schlan in Bohemia can no longer be considered as a monument of historic art; instead it looks like a parody of it.



Figure 98. Example. An old patrician house in Prachatitz decorated with sgraffito.



Figure 99. Counter-example. A poor modern imitation of this house, likewise in Prachatitz. A sense for the meaning of forms, for the energetic disposition and plastic effect of the facade, is missing in this imitation, which, in its architectural form, is a conventional modern apartment-block facade. In this regard, the sgraffito decoration gives one the impression of an inorganic and architecturally meaningless painting.



Figure 100. Peasant house in Hažowitz at Rožnau (Moravia): saved as a result of the monument authorities' intervention. Example of a simple village building with style and character, which cannot be categorized under any of the prevalent 'styles'.



Miscellaneous Examples and Counter-Examples

Figure 101. Example. Lorch at Enns, charnel house. Kept in good condition.



Figure 102. Example. Palace entrance in Achleithen (Upper Austria). Kept in good condition, without superfluous or damaging 'beautifications'.



Figure 103. Example. Parish church in Sallingshart (Lower Austria). A well-preserved and looked-after old church complex.⁹⁰



⁹⁰ 1918 edition: Sallingstadt.

Figure 104. Example. Parish church in Marbach (Lower Austria). A village church of characteristic form, well preserved and in good condition. The overall picture is enlivened by the grand old tree.⁹¹



Figure 105. Obernberg-am-Inn (Upper Austria). The Gurten Gate. Example of a good restoration. The gate was simply secured in its old condition – without any historicizing additions or attempts at novel embellishments.



Figure 106. Counter-example. The Green Gate in Pardubitz, which was disfigured by various attempts at embellishment and spoilt by the destruction of its former surroundings.



⁹¹ 1918 edition: Marbach-am-Walde.

Figure 107. Example. Holy Cross church in Bohemian Leipa before restoration. In this form the little Gothic chapel offered a prospect as charming as it was venerable. The picturesque effect of the boarded roof of the main building, enlivened by traces of age and the effect of its shadows, contributed a great deal to this prospect, harmonizing with the overall character of the old church, the piers and annexes, and the plant growth of the cemetery in the immediate vicinity of the church.



Figure 108. Counter-example. Holy Cross church in Bohemian Leipa after restoration. The boarded roof was replaced by an ugly Eternit roof, whereby the shadows of the overhanging part of the roof were eliminated. The latter was provided with inappropriate dormers with little towers, the buttresses were hidden under stone slabs, and the vegetation around the church was forced to make way to a so-called park. The beautiful old picture of the church was thus completely destroyed.



Figure 109. Example. The vestibule of the Holy Cross church in Bohemian Leipa before restoration.



Figure 110. Counter-example. The vestibule of the Holy Cross church in Bohemian Leipa after restoration shows how the restoration also obliterated every picturesque detail.



Figure 111. Example. The Hartenstein ruins in Lower Austria before the extension.



Figure 112. Counter-example. The Hartenstein ruins in Lower Austria after the extension. The old castle was transformed into a sanatorium, whereby it was arbitrarily and impiously disfigured and completely devalued by buildings which, under the pretext of reconstruction, transformed the ruins into an historicizing apartment-block building.



Figure 113. Example. Old church in Hötting (Tyrol). Characteristic alpine townscape, enlivened by an interesting church tower.

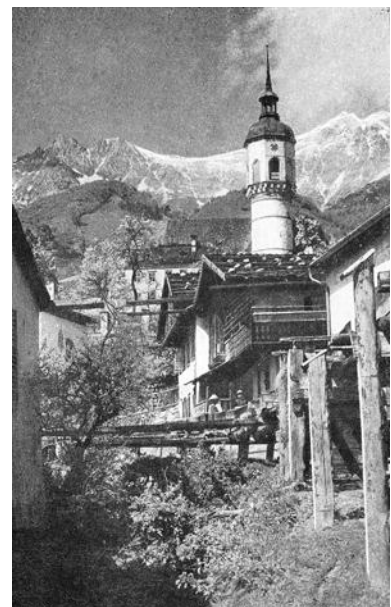


Figure 114. Counter-example. Project according to which the church at Hötting was to be converted into an orphanage and its surroundings regulated, to the enormous detriment of the overall picture.

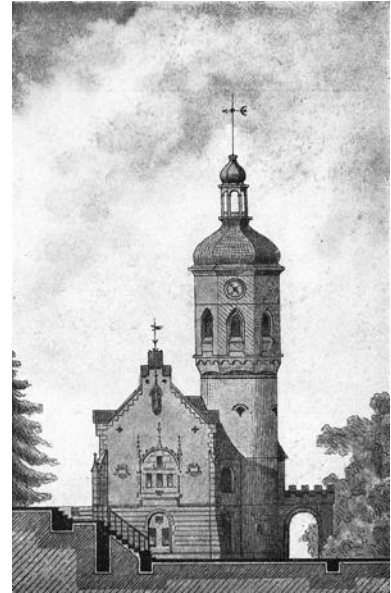


Figure 115. Parish church in Schenna (Tyrol). By virtue of its weighty robustness as much as its expressive contours, the old Gothic building with its steep church roof and massive bell tower fitted in just as well with the townscape as it did with the montane scenery. The church had to be extended because it was too small for liturgical requirements.

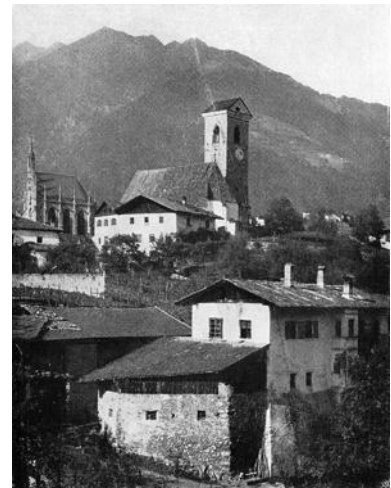


Figure 116. Project for the extension of the parish church in Schenna, entirely fulfilling the new liturgical requirements whilst also preserving the old building intact and successfully tailoring the extensions to the building's former state and to the village and landscape.



Figure 117. Example. A St Margaret in the vestibule of the south portal of the town parish church at Steyr. (With traces of old paint).

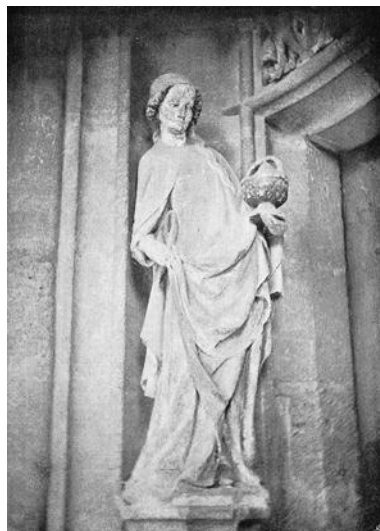


Figure 118. Counter-example. The same statue after a restoration where it was so heavily reworked that its former character was completely lost and the monument was historically and artistically nullified.



Figure 119. Example. Wooden Gothic statue in Suchental at Wittingau. Although damaged, the statue in its old state is beautiful and effective.



Figure 120. Counter-example. Wooden statue in the Franciscan church in Pilsen. As a result of over-working and new painting the statue has relinquished much of its naturalness as well as its historical and artistic value.



Figure 121. Example of an incompetent restoration. Early Christian ivory reliefs of the utmost importance – the remnants of a reliquary chest – were dug up in the region of Pola. A museum official wanted to reconstruct the chest and glued the reliefs to a framework of newspapers and a cigar box. This procedure, an idea of which can be gleaned from the illustration, might have resulted in the complete destruction of the ivory sculptures, because the wood buckled.

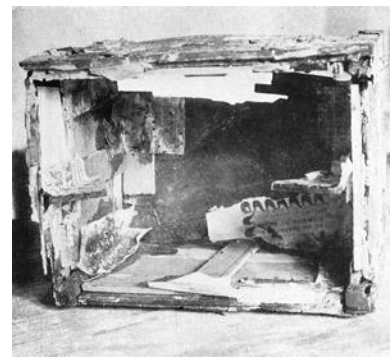


Figure 122. Counter-example. The ivory chest of Pola, competently restored. The ivory reliefs were rescued and carefully affixed to a suitable support after an unimaginable amount of work detaching them from the cigar box.



Figure 123. The district courthouse in Horn. Example of a miscarried facade restoration. The facade was formerly decorated with sgraffito. Part of it was discovered under a whitewash in the condition shown in the illustration. Not content to piously conserve these remains in their received form, they renewed them completely and arbitrarily covered the entire surface of the facade with new additions.

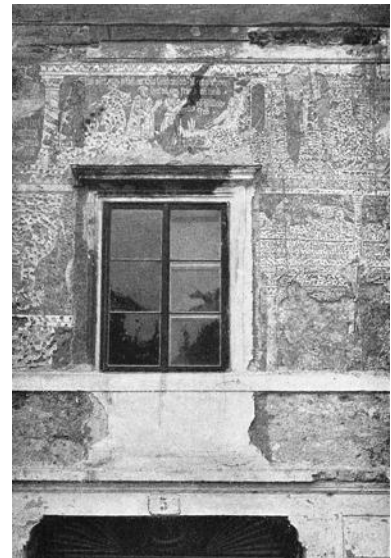


Figure 124 shows the house after the exposure of the sgraffito, which has thus far only been restored in its uppermost parts. One can see here how grand and monumental the effect of this beautiful Renaissance house would have been had the sgraffito just been secured rather than renewed and completed.

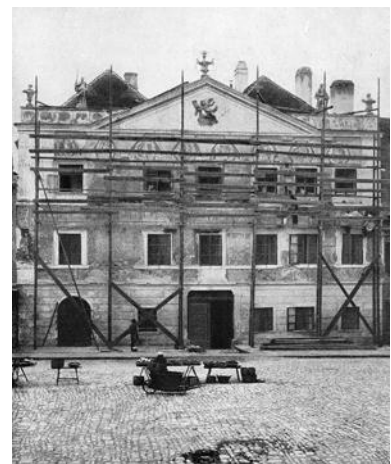


Figure 125 is instructive as to the outcome of this miscarried and all too extensive restoration. The new sgraffito decoration (for very little is left of the old) destroyed both the historic and the architectural effect of the facade, for it neither fitted in with nor deferred to the architectural form like the old sgraffito, but stepped up to compete with it. The last remains of the old picturesque decorative program were thus adulterated and disfigured by the new sections of sgraffito, which contradict the character of the building.



Figure 126. Altar painting by Francesco Bissolo in Lagosta (Dalmatia): textbook example of a picture spoiled by impious handling. The left part is coarsely over-painted, the right part burnt by candles, the colours rubbed away or missing in many places, the panel has cracked and the painting is covered with dirt.



Figure 127. Example. The town parish church of Steyr, which is simply whitewashed, allowing the architectonic forms to have their full effect.



Figure 128. Counter-example. The Bürgerspitalskirche in Salzburg. The effect of the building was spoilt by paintwork which, with respect to artistic value, is no better than common domestic painting, since the fiddly ornaments, their distribution and the painterly treatment of the piers and walls were carried out without any consideration for the structure or the artistic significance of its individual parts.



Figure 129. Example. Muljava in Krain. High altar of the parish church. Example of a baroque church furnishing that has a rich and artistic effect in the simple village church despite being a somewhat coarse, provincial work.



Figure 130. Counter-example. Ursuline church in Innsbruck. Interior furnishings consisting of awful wallpapering and characterless market products, installed in place of altars with paintings by Pozzo and Carlone.



Figure 131. Example. Klausen in the Tyrol. Beautiful old townscape.



Figure 132. Example. Hallstatt in Upper Austria. Well-preserved old townscape.



Figure 133. The new post office building (by Theodor Fischer) in Hall in the Tyrol. (The house with the tower and the corner house). An example of a new building which fits in well with the old streetscape.

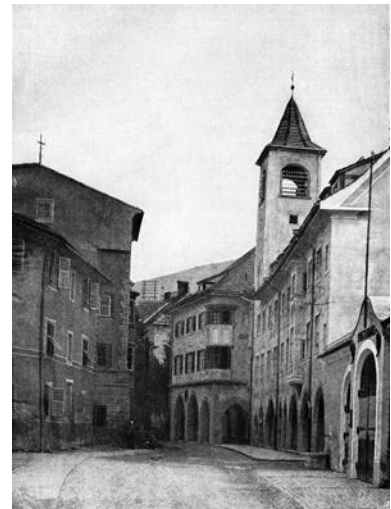


Figure 134. Example. A row of houses in Sterzing. Beautiful old country houses.



Figure 135. Example. Wayside icon at the Quenghof in Steyr. A simple monument, nevertheless valuable to the overall aspect of the landscape.

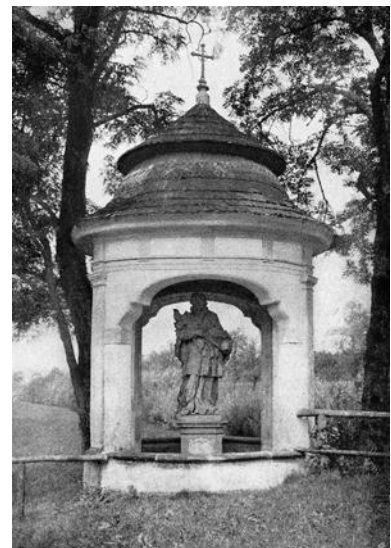


Figure 136. Example. Wayside icon in Ernstbrunn (Lower Austria). The tree heightens the picturesque effect of the sculpture.



Figure 137. Example. Parish church in Bergheim (Salzburg) in its surroundings. An historic and naturally grouped townscape dominated by the church.



Figure 138. Counter-example. Ričan in Bohemia. View towards the village. The old, beautiful unity of village, landscape and ruins was destroyed by a school building.



Figure 139. Counter-example. The Melk bastion in Vienna. New buildings were carried out without consideration for the old cityscape.



Figure 140. The old and new town halls in Friedland in Bohemia. Unhappy with the old one, they built the new town hall in the nineties. Then, as shown in our illustration, both buildings stood next to one another for a short time before Friedland's beautiful old symbol of the past was finally taken down.⁹²



⁹² 1918 edition: figure 140 added.

28. Duino (1916)

Max Dvořák, 'Duino', *MZK*, 15 (1916), 53–58

An historic castle by the sea has been shelled.

In the stream of horrors that surrounds us, and given that all the destruction and devastation caused by wars over the last thousand years has been outstripped in the short period of just two years, this is hardly more than a minor episode. How many bastions – in the actual and the figurative sense of the word – have been destroyed? How much historic cultural heritage, humble and rich, more or less significant? How many sites of historic tradition, of deeply rooted vital associations, of ramified memories? And yet in the chronicle of incomprehensibly powerful events that are taking place around us it seems to me that light ought to be shed on the case of Duino in particular.

Having grown up hand in hand with the remarkable character of the landscape, with the prosperous bay of Sistiana and the Karst cliffs that border it before plunging into the sea, the ruins of the old fortress on the Ròcca dei Duinati and the new palace of Duino once dominated the prospect far and wide, especially from the sea. Both historically venerable and densely woven with legend, this monumental landmark of the northern Adriatic coastline had emerged over the course of time at a place where paths and cultural currents from east and west, from north and south, converged at the crossroads. There was a prehistoric settlement, later a Roman fortress, then a medieval castle, and finally a palace in the renaissance style. Property and sovereign rights were divided between north and south. The patriarchs of Aquila, the German Kaisers, the Venetians, and then the Habsburgs exercised the latter, and as owners, after the autochthonous 'dynasts' of Duino, came the Lords of Walsee, after these, and after a period in which the palace was administered by Austrian governors and custodians, the Counts de la Torre from Lombardy arrived with the tidal wave of Italian cultural expansion in the second half of the sixteenth century, and they in turn were followed by German stock after the middle of the last century.

And the buildings changed with their owners. The core of the new palace stems from the end of the fourteenth century. At that time the new requirements of comfort and luxury that were being brought in with the nascent Renaissance may have impelled the new owners to build a new residence in the vicinity of the old hilltop fortress, which from then on seems to have served only as an auxiliary building until it was bombarded by the Venetians exactly four centuries ago, just as in the present day the new palace has been bombarded by the *italia*

unita. The architectural character of this new palace exhibited the traces of various centuries. What is basically still a medieval fortress complex with its sparsely articulated cliff-like masses is brought together in a remarkable and highly effective conjunction with buildings in which one recognises the spirit of the architecture of the Renaissance in the tendency toward homeliness and regularity, and then next to this there are baroque forms in the sort of heavy, proud splendour that Scamozzi loved, statues in the manner of Bernini, and ornate stucco ceilings in eighteenth-century rooms that contain a wealth of artworks. The overall view, especially in conjunction with the landscape and vegetation, was uncommonly picturesque and could be counted among a number of quite unforgettable impressions.

We are all the poorer for its loss. And the circumstances that accompany this loss make it especially *lamentable*, not just from our perspective, but from that of humanity in general. In this terrible war many works of art have been destroyed *out of unavoidable necessity* – our enemies know this as well as we do, and we deplore it no less than they do, even where their monuments are concerned. But this is hardly the case at Duino. The palace was neither a military position nor an observation post or a safehouse: unoccupied, it was guarded only by a custodian and lay peacefully behind the front, far from any military position. And in spite of this, unmoved by the beauty of the prospect, they opened fire on it one day and then again later, pointlessly, until the old buildings collapsed.

Certainly, one cannot normally expect soldiers to have any knowledge of art history. But this was not a factor in the destruction of Duino either. In former times there were aesthetic values which were independent of any theoretical knowledge of art and were more or less determined by the general state of the spiritual and emotional education of an epoch or a nation. In these we find the measure of a given polity's actual relationship to art, and this is not something that can be taught or affected; it is an unconscious given, just as societal decorum and personal tact are the result of a universally attained cultural level. Art today may well have become more abstract an element of education than ever before, but it would nevertheless be erroneous to believe that it is no longer capable of producing impressions that have an elevating and ennobling effect, impressions that are universally accessible and independent of learning and social standing. Just as our worldview is now infinitely more differentiated than it ever was, so too its reflection, art, has a seemingly less unified character than in former times and is often associated with subtleties that struggle to find even indirect resonance in the public understanding. But at the root of every artistic process there is a coherent artistic sensibility, even in the present. Its most important characteristics, besides an immersion in the secrets of the subjective life of the soul and an awareness of the world, are an admiration for the beauty of nature and the forces of nature as

manifestations of cosmic laws and the great backdrop of historical events. Compared to this, everything commonplace or merely materially palpable disappears and is replaced by a fantastic far-sightedness, and out of the antithesis between the endlessness of the powers that hold sway in that realm, and the limitations and conditions of individual existence, there arises that spiritual elevation which represents the most important, universally comprehensible content of artistic sensibility. Works of art, monumental witnesses to the past, are in this context transformed into something that goes beyond their particular artistic value, into manifestations of that beauty and sublimity which rests on the effects and elemental forces of nature and the fact that the fate of mankind is associated with them. And whilst it is more difficult than ever to make the complex questions of a groundbreaking work of art or a profound work of literature accessible to universal understanding, and though they can never become common property to the extent that they were in times when formal problems completely coincided with universally accessible spiritual content, impressions based on this beauty and sublimity nevertheless find resonance everywhere, with naïve observers no less than the educated, which is why one can speak of a real artistic culture in the current sense of the word.

The culture of a people is to be judged according to its relationship to those values that represent a defeat for what art as a whole has become for the present, and at present the values of the sort described are undoubtedly among them. It does not matter how much one knows about Botticelli or Holbein, about Gothic cathedrals or baroque palaces, but if an overall picture such as that of Duino, where nature and history were unified in enchanting harmony, is unable to awaken in people any other feeling than the most inordinate destructive rage, then those people are coarse and uncultured.

The tale that has the poet of the *Divine Comedy* mourning the loss of his fatherland on the little cliff-face below Duino may well be a work of the imagination, but what significance this legend takes on as a parable of what has happened in our day! In a tragic sense a new Italy has come into being: – all of us, all those who are familiar with the old Italy, watched the emergence of the new with foreboding; an Italy foreign to those minds which had once transformed it, after Dante's words, into a garden of the world. It is a remarkable irony of history that for the Italic descendants of the people who constructed their global hegemony on a political will to power in conjunction with a brilliant talent for the institution of legally regulated systems, and, moreover, blazed new trails for all time to come with regard to the organization of nations into states, the political development has proceeded almost entirely contrary to, and *not* in agreement with, the highest ideal spiritual goods of the nation. In the middle ages and the Renaissance the latter was largely retained as

a benediction on the spiritual life of Italy and all of Europe, but in the past century political aims won out to the disadvantage of the spiritual wealth and the spiritual fertility of Italy. One might attempt, from the watchtower of universal spiritual significance, to draw a comparison between present-day Italy and the Italy, not of Dante and Petrarch or of Michelangelo and Ariosto, for instance, but that Italy which, thanks to the significance of its leading men and their ideas, still played an important and self-evident role in the spiritual contest among European peoples as recently as a hundred or even just fifty years ago. Where is the Italy of Vico, Parini, Manzoni, Cavour, or Carducci? Lawyers, civil servants and career politicians have become the leaders of the nation, they coined the phrases that dominate it and it is here that one finds the root of the casuistry of a procedural system that has long since been obsolete, the narrow horizons of a civil service that has become an end unto itself, and the empty pathos of a parliament unlike any other in Europe, which, instead of a fruitful and animate spiritual development, represents an adeptness – constructed on the most superficial of political and social theories – in partisanship, in influencing the masses, and in the realization of personal ends. There are certainly men of higher significance too, but their influence on the fate of the nation has been lost in the storm of political platitudes. Like Dante six hundred years ago, they have emigrated and made way to philistines who speak of a return to Latin culture without having any inkling that they embody its downfall, the downfall of that post-classical Italian culture which grew up not in opposition to, but in competition with spiritual life north of the Alps, and even then not with its kindred Latin spirit, but on the contrary with heterogeneous elements that rested on the influence of the new Nordic peoples, whose progress it took up and worked through for itself. Under the influence of political developments in Italy these ties were loosened, resulting in an increasing detachment from Europe's general spiritual development, and this political transformation had to be purchased in exchange for a loss of cultural significance. – This state of affairs is also the cause of the Italians' behaviour towards both their own artistic property and that from abroad. There are people with and without artistic sensibility everywhere, just as works of art everywhere fall victim to avarice and stupidity, and yet, whilst the educated classes of the rest of Europe have demonstrated a common and consistent increase in their appreciation of ideal spiritual goods over the last hundred years, an appreciation deriving from an artistic relationship to nature and to historic art, in Italy we see that the lack of understanding for these things has by no means decreased; on the contrary, it has become an ever more conspicuous characteristic of modern Italian society. A country that was still universally loved and admired half a century ago – not least, in Hehn's words, on account of 'the inborn artistic sensibility of the population' – is actually now

witnessing a massive decline in the average level of artistic sensibility. They do indeed prize and protect their monuments – like figures in a calculation of the wealth of the nation. They boast of the ones they deem worthy of such treatment, they deal in, describe, and photograph artworks for foreigners, for they are part of the state budget and the tourist industry. But a selfless and cheerfully edifying devotion to the fervour of a purely artistic enthusiasm (such as that which nature and historic art arouses in modern men north of the Alps) and the inner obligation and piety that goes along with it – this is seldom found in Italy, even in educated circles. Like some of the redeveloped old-towns one occasionally finds north of the Alps, the banality and virtually repulsive tastelessness of the new Rome has technical and hygienic demands to thank for its new form, but worse still it can also be taken as a true reflection of the general level to which art has sunk in present-day Italy. Similarly, the leader of the most radical contemporary Italian art movement, who recently sounded the battle-cry, ‘Away with the Raphaels and Michelangelos, away with all the old rubbish that stands in the way of our genuine, new Latin culture!’⁹³ is clearly not just an isolated babbler, but the actual herald of views which, admittedly largely subconsciously, have long been prevalent in Italy and which explain why this beautiful castle on the Adriatic, whose history and appearance was shaped by both north and south in equal measure, was pointlessly and wantonly transformed into a pile of rubble; why unworthy heirs to an illustrious past have committed a crime against precisely that culture which is so often invoked by our opponents and – both in terms of ideals in Italy in general and in terms of material on the northern Adriatic coast in particular – have destroyed a monument that was a symbol of this past.

⁹³ [Dvořák is paraphrasing the Italian Futurist, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876–1944).]

29. A Letter to Colleagues in Italy (1919)

Max Dvořák, 'Ein Brief an die italienischen Fachgenossen' in Hans Tietze, *Die Entführung von Wiener Kunstwerken nach Italien: Eine Darlegung unseres Rechtsstandpunktes* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1919), pp. 3–9

It was no fine impulse, gentlemen, that moved you to demand the Viennese pictures and codices. For the spiritual motivation behind this requisition of foreign cultural goods originates with you; your government would hardly have arrived at the idea of abusing its power in this way without your advice. And I want to tell to you in all openness why your actions were unjust, not only according to the law – about this there can be no doubt – but also no less from the standpoint of those unwritten laws that are proper to a loyal and noble attitude, as I would like to show, and which cultured nations hold up just as highly as the written ones.

'Alla terra madre d'Italia' – so ran the dedication with which an Austrian researcher headed up his critical edition of Lorenzo Ghiberti's commentaries shortly before the war, giving expression to sentiments that have tied us to Italian art for many decades and for which your homeland has much to be grateful.

From its very beginnings, since Winckelmann and Rumohr, the highest goal of German art history, insofar as it was not concerned with Greek monuments, has been to investigate the content and historical meaning of the evolution of Italian art, even when this was to the detriment of indigenous art.

You know this as well as I do gentlemen, but I would nevertheless like to remind you of a few facts, facts that help to show up your actions in their true light.

When Neapolitan monasteries gave a series of manuscripts to the Imperial Court as a gift because they were no longer of any value to their owner, and later, when a number of paintings were brought to Vienna from the dilapidated and barely supervised picture depots of Venice, from which, as Ludwig informs us, so much had disappeared without a trace – these are the artworks you now want back – at that time your country was poorly equipped to research its historic art and to understand the significance of its former efflorescence. The solitary slender volume that still connected you to that efflorescence was a mere provincial history rooted in the traditions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art literature, uncritical and lacking any sort of higher perspective. And the best art-historical work of that period in Italy, Lanzi's history of Italian painting, was likewise hardly anything more than a collection of such provincial histories. The idea of the Italian Renaissance as both a high

point and a turning point in the intellectual history of mankind did not attain its significance for historical thought because of those sorry epigones of Vasari and the other old vitae writers. You have the German intellectual Jakob Burckhardt to thank for restoring your historic art to its former glory.

It was only in the second half of the past century, after the direct or indirect influence of Burckhardt's writings had set in everywhere, that people started to take a more general interest in the history of Renaissance art, although characteristic differences can be observed here. Thus the French were always concerned above all with the glory of their own past, and the efforts of French art historians, if we exclude the archival research of the likes of Eugen Müntz, were primarily aimed at claiming sole credit for the renewal of art after classical art had run its course. It was above all Louis Courajod, the most important of French art academics, who tried to posit the Renaissance as a creation of French genius, and his teachings have been maintained by his students and successors up to the present day.

The English and American relationship to Italian art, while apparently more congenial, was actually far more one-sided and self-interested. Like the French, the English also laid claim to Italian art; not for the English past – this was clearly not possible – but very much so for the English present. It became the source of a refined enjoyment of art, either that which Ruskin preached to the travelling public or that which the bustling merchants converted into so many commodities, into wares, whereby, thanks to economic superiority, the fruits of a foreign artistic culture could be transplanted into English castles and palaces. This was subsequently emulated by the Americans, though their financial means were greater still. The ignominy of our times developed as a result of it: the appalling art trade, whose costs had to be borne above all by the artistic heritage of Italy.

That which made its way to Austria is hardly worth mentioning in comparison to what the English and the Americans abducted. In Vienna, though, they strove all the more to expand the scientific understanding of Italian art. It is certainly no coincidence that Wickhoff's history of Roman art and Riegl's considerations on the development of the Italian Baroque, works which represent the pinnacle of Austrian art scholarship, demonstrated Italy's contribution to the universal evolution of art in periods whose significance had not even been recognized by the Italians themselves up to that point. Whereas the old archaeology took the artworks of Roman antiquity for mere imitations of Greek models, it was Wickhoff who, for the first time, demonstrated the force and brilliance with which new artistic ideas had broken through in the creations of Imperial Rome. And whilst the Italian Baroque may well have attracted interest beforehand now and then, it was nevertheless only through Riegl's studies that it was permanently won for the present and the

future, as a fruit of Italian artistic development that was just as valid as all of those that preceded it. I give these examples because they are representative of a number of other cases. It was in Austria, at Eitelberger's suggestion, that they began publishing the old Italian authors again systematically; it was in Austria that the false theory on the backwardness of Italian art in the middle ages was initially contested and that the first scientific catalogue of a collection of Italian drawings was published. We have an Austrian to thank for a monumental six-volume corpus on Early Christian and medieval Roman wall paintings and, just before the war, a large-scale undertaking was established by Austrian academics for the publication of collected archival materials and written sources on the history of baroque art in Rome. And for the rest, for more than half a century the efforts of almost all our Austrian colleagues have been concentrated more or less on that which ought to have been your task. Many names and studies could be enumerated here. But the above is quite enough. I want only to touch upon one more issue, as painful as it may be to you.

Namely your works.

The understanding of problems and the methods underlying your work have far more in common with Austrian art-historical research than with that of the French or the English. This is no coincidence, and can be explained by the close ties that once bound us together. It is no exaggeration for me to assert that you have learnt and adopted much from us, not just in terms of scientific results but of the entire organization of art-historical work. You were not just our scientific allies, but also our pupils, and now you throw hand grenades that will explode the doors to our museums and libraries.

You can hardly appeal to any sort of principles here, for it never occurred to you to demand the return, for example, of the precious Leonardo manuscripts from the French; that which was stolen by Napoleon and is your lawful property.

Nor can your actions be excused with reference to patriotic duty, for the pictures you have taken from us mean nothing or very little to you. The majority of them will only find their way back to the vaults of a picture storage magazine. You have better Cimmas, Tintoretts, and Paolos than the ones you have stolen. But to us they are irreplaceable. One is tempted to believe that you, the official representatives of historic art, have become the advocates and prophets of that group of your artists who see any admiration of old masters as an aberration. They expect the redemption of art to come from the destruction of such works, and now it seems you want to try out their program on us.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ [The reference here is to the Futurists.]

No, there are no grounds on which you can base your argument, neither legal nor ideal. It was the opportunity pure and simple that tempted you to recommend to your government a course of action that one would generally tend to designate as plundering.

It is true that there was also plundering in your towns in Friuli. It is quite a different thing though, for poor, half starved soldiers, in contravention of discipline and orders, to take basic necessities from abandoned private houses in order to prolong their lives, than for intellectuals who ought to embody the conscience and the noblest characteristics of the nation to use official force to compel a defenceless nation to hand over artworks, causing artistic and cultural damage out of vanity or in order to pander to the rowdy mob.

While we were on your territory nothing could have been further from our minds than the idea of exploiting our successes in this way. In this respect I know the attitudes of art historians and friends of art in Austria quite precisely, and I know there was not a single one among them who would even for a moment have thought of laying a hand on your artistic heritage, not one who would not always have taken the position that your artworks were to be protected from any damage or export with every available means, and just as much as our own. In your books and essays you showered us with defamation and slander during the war, whilst we never carried out a campaign against your art, culture or science. We kept to the spirit of one of your greatest sons, the politician and art historian Morelli, when he expressed himself in the following fine words: ‘The German and the Italian nations seem – and more so than other nations – divinely appointed to sublime art and pure science, and remained unified in respect to one another even in times when the desolate machinations of the powerful found it expedient to hurl the bloody firebrand of discord between them.’⁹⁵

That this spirit has been lost to you, gentlemen, means not victory, but defeat.

⁹⁵ [Giovanni Morelli (1816–91), Italian politician and art historian, best known for his eponymous method of painting attribution. Interestingly, Morelli had himself been involved in drafting legislation to prohibit the export of Italian works of art.]

30. Monument Preservation (1920)

Max Dvořák, 'Denkmalpflege (Vortrag, gehalten am Denkmalpflegetag in Bregenz im Jahr 1920)', *Mitteilungen des Bundesdenkmalamtes*, 2–5 (1920–23), 93–97

In monument preservation, as in art, we possess a bridge to a better future, or rather we have done for a long time without being aware of it.

What do we understand by the term monument preservation? The answer will vary depending on whom one asks.

An enthusiast will answer: 'Monument preservation is an active impulse that has its origin in a new, emotive relationship to the artistic and cultural legacy of our past, and its end in the protection and animation of this legacy.'

The historian will say: 'Through a deepening of historical consciousness we have come to know the inestimable evidential value of historic monuments, which must be preserved completely untouched to the same extent that every lie is to be abominated.'

And the artist: 'For far too long have historic artworks had to suffer incompetent treatment. Not every architect or painter is qualified to restore old buildings or paintings. This demands special knowledge and experience, the sum of which is to be designated as monument preservation.'

And then another administrative official might come along and hold forth: 'Artistic heritage is public property, the custodianship of which counts among the duties of state administration, which disposes of this task via various authorities and bodies, through conservationists and monument bureaus as well as various advisory commissions. It is only natural that fulfilment of this duty cannot always be squared with the multiple and heterogeneous regional or individual interests, for which reason legislative measures must be sought.'

I will refrain from attempting to reconcile these views and prefer instead to say a few words about the general intellectual conditions from which monument preservation evolved.

The concept was unknown in the middle ages, for they had something far more valuable, something for which monument preservation could only be a substitute. This was piety.

The middle ages were characterized by a clear idealistic purpose in art. The artistic creations of medieval man were dedicated not to sensuous pleasure or the quest for fame or convenience, but to the glory of God, and were thus a priori sacred.

Very little is said of this in the middle ages, for it went without saying, but it is not difficult to get a feeling for it when one immerses oneself in medieval spiritual life and creative activity. They were irreverent with respect to antiquity, which was beyond the spiritual bonds that linked medieval men through the generations. In none of the artworks that owed their existence to the spiritual community of Christendom were there tensions between the old and the new, no brutal interventions, no dissonances. When rebuilding did take place – which generally only happened as the result of a natural disaster – the *genius loci* went untouched. Old elements were grafted harmoniously onto the new, which grew from the same ethos that had stood at the cradle of the old. And none of the questions and problems with which contemporary monument preservation has to contend existed for this unified ethos.

This state of affairs changed when art ceased to be the expression of an idea that had once dominated all men and began to be an end in itself. It was the artists of the Italian Renaissance who established this new position for art in intellectual life. A statue by Donatello, a building by Brunelleschi, or a painting by Titian was no longer primarily a reflection of thoughts and feelings that fulfilled and elevated all men, but, at the same time, and quite independently of this, they were to bear witness to the virtuosity of the artist. Their capacities for mastering the rules of art, for imitating nature, for inventing wonderful colours, and for solving artistic problems were to be paraded before the eyes of the beholder.

In other words every work of art was in competition with the art of the past and present, they were called forth by individual ambition and put into the service of personal glorification rather than common ideals.

This led to an enormous enrichment and development of artistic means as well as the discovery of the formal predilections of antique art, towards which people had previously been more or less indifferent. But at the same time it led to a phenomenon that can be characterized as artistic intolerance. This intolerance was most clearly evidenced in the struggle against medieval art, which fell outside the parameters of the 'true' rules of art and was thus deemed barbaric. But the dissolution of what we have called medieval piety was also inevitably tied up with this. Art shifted from the sphere of supra-individual interests into that of the individual. It no longer served the universal spiritual ideals of mankind exclusively, but personal splendour or personal convenience too. In other words it came to be bound up with the system of worldly goods – and thus also with a manifold of temporally

limited or purely material perspectives – as far removed from medieval piety as the politics of a Cesare Borgia from the works of a great medieval saint. Nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the fact that the popes sacrificed the greatest sanctuary of western Christianity, the old St Peter's, to their own personal glorification. Medieval art, in accordance with its idealistic character, had belonged to all men; the new art becomes ever more dependent upon private interests and advantages, from familial churches right through to the collectors, who spared no expense in bringing historic artworks into their possession. Art became a commodity, and in order to protect it as a commodity and to prevent theft of antiques from the Papal States, Raphael was installed as the first conservator by Julius II. His successors decreed monument protection laws, but their motivations were not idealistic; they were based on fiscal considerations and the egotistical perspective that had become the characteristic trait of the new conception of art.

Far more disastrous than the Renaissance for the development of things, though, was a second great movement, the Reformation, which had a decisive impact on the worldview of the European nations in the modern age. And it is not the iconoclasm that resulted from this that I have in mind here – that only affected a particular type of artwork. Much more incisive in its effect, if not immediately, was the new idea of the virtuous life, whereby the balance between the old *ora et labora* was shifted in favour of the latter. Early Christendom had originally abhorred riches entirely, only later accepting them as part of God's grace, and saw mankind's purpose in striving for the spiritual values that were not tied to earthly existence. But as a result of the Reformation, and particularly in those countries where the doctrine of predetermination held sway and still holds sway today, the emphasis was laid on men's worldly activities in work, acquisition, and the improvement of individual and public material circumstances. As a consequence this had to lead, on the one hand, to a belief in worldly possessions as the sole path to happiness, and to a selfish every-man-for-himself struggle on the other.

Thus the spiritual and economic egocentrism and materialism of the Renaissance and the Reformation initiated a development that soon sounded the death knell of the piety that had once bound all men together, a development so powerful that even the heightening of religious sentiment during the Counter-Reformation could not combat but only augment it. Over the last two centuries in particular this development picked up pace like an avalanche, ripping up everything that stood in its path.

Its rationale was the improvement of external living conditions through an unprecedented exploitation of every human agency; through the development of the natural sciences and a naturalistic art, which, through a growing knowledge of the natural world,

were to provide men with weapons in the struggle for existence. An extraordinary world-clarifying structure was erected on these foundations, along with an expansion of technology so great and so definitive that the whole period can be characterized as the technological age, and by the priority accorded to economic and political problems ahead of the purely spiritual in the lives of states and nations. Giant cities emerged in the form commercial centres, along with world trade and world imperialism, multimillionaires, giant museums, and magnificent secular buildings the likes of which the world had not seen since the fall of the Roman Empire. And yet an art with the power to unite men spiritually became ever more rare, for there were no longer any spiritually unifying ideals. From being a matter of feeling, art had been transformed into a hollow academic question, into an issue of knowledge rather than feeling. It was no longer an avowal but a beautification of life, which one gladly made use of where it could be brought into line with economic interests, but nevertheless violently disregarded where this was not the case. People published and photographed old buildings, statues, and paintings and wrote learned books about them – but woe to those who stood in the way of financial projects or what they call technological progress!

I would like to single out a few arbitrarily selected examples here. An old tower in the palace gardens at Pettau: modest in its forms, but a feast for the eyes in its countryside surroundings, and enwrapped in the poetry of nature and the past. Another town once possessed a similarly effective but far more valuable monument in a Romanesque chapel. They built a brewery around it, so it now looks as though it were part of a factory complex. The conflict of industry and art.

Or the old surroundings of a church: a peaceful, dreamy cemetery that had grown up and coalesced with the church. But it was deemed convenient to lay out a new street right next to the church: they regulated the terrain and destroyed everything that had once been beautiful. The conflict of technological progress and art. An old fortress, picturesquely set in the landscape. It became an object of speculation and they transformed it into a historicizing barracks.

A conflict of commercial interests and art: a wonderful old gate stood in a regional capital. It was sacrificed to the crazy notion that traffic requirements are paramount, and thus without their purpose even having been achieved an ugly hole now gapes where once there had been a harmonic conclusion. The old squares and streets were an organic composition. They were replaced with drawing-board schemes that leave no impression on the imagination; horrible blocks of more profitable mass housing were installed right in the middle of a picturesque group of old houses. And even in the countryside, dwellings which had satisfied and delighted many generations with their fairytale charm had to make way for

buildings which produce the effect of inartistic and impersonal architectonic factory products. Precious jewels of historic architecture such as the Mandel Palace in Graz were demolished because people believed they were rendering a service to the modernization, that is, the technical reorganization, of the town. And where once there was a lovely view of Salzburg they have built a school, such that nothing now remains of that prospect.

One could continue with these examples *ad infinitum*; they are but a fragment of the great and inexhaustible destructive work of the nineteenth century. Entire towns fell victim to it. Entire regions with their palaces, castles, and old villages were arbitrarily altered or indeed devastated for the benefit of developers, and many churches were robbed of their treasures, which were flogged to second-hand dealers for the sake of profit.

Within the context of our relationship to historic art, monument preservation emerged as an antidote to the poisoning of social and spiritual life by the hypertrophy of purely economic and technological goals, and against their rationalism and sensualism. Externally it was affiliated with antiquarianism and the artistic historicism of the nineteenth century, but internally it was directly opposed to them. Efforts to penetrate the culture of the past certainly needed to go deeper, and the newly awoken admiration for its artistic creations were, in their romantic beginnings, only a first and what is more a rather regressive reaction to the materialism and the scientific positivism of the time, under whose influence they soon fell. Thus this enthusiasm for the past was soon transformed into either purely scientific knowledge or into a frenzy of imitation and restoration, whereby the old became a mere cloak for personal ambition once again. And this cloak concealed the lack of any real feeling for irreplaceable spiritual values, a lack that characterized the whole technological age. Indeed, the work of such false prophets of monument preservation was to a certain extent even worse than that of the philistines and speculators, for it was based on empty phrases and mendacity. And it was this mendacity that eventually brought them to their senses.

Amongst a handful of men, whose feelings were more nuanced than those of the general public, and whose sensibilities balked at the rape of artistic heritage, the latter was opposed by certain ideal demands. These can be summarized as follows: historic artworks are to be protected from destruction and deformation as far as possible. At the root of this no doubt, though its representatives were hardly conscious of it, lay an anti-materialistic revolutionary idea, and we can observe its emergence in other areas of intellectual life at the same time, such as, for example, in the anti-positivist orientation in philosophy or in the beginnings of an entirely new form of anti-naturalistic art. However, this idea remained impotent at first, and in order to win any sort of practical validity it had to make a hundred compromises with existing circumstances, it had to adapt to them. Conversely, these

circumstances granted it a certain sphere of validity, one that presented no cause for concern and then transformed the idea into a timid instrument of the societal status quo. Monument protection was able to exist in associations and literary admonitions, it received official status and was allowed to put its ideal arguments up against arguments of a material nature. Sometimes these arguments were even taken into consideration – other interests permitting, that is – until the great war came and taught us that all this was just a farce; the idealistic activity of individuals who are simply left to get on with it without having any influence over the ruling powers and objectives of the European nations, nor over the masses ruled by them. Whole hecatombs of monuments were sacrificed to the war with neither pity nor regret, and wherever it set foot devastation and death soon dominated in the realm of historic art, such that the catastrophe of European civilization can also be conceived of as a catastrophe of monument preservation. It did not occur to anyone, even in their dreams, to pay even the slightest amount of attention to its claims and arguments.

And yet the work of monument preservation was not in vain. Indeed only now is the time coming when it will bear rich fruit. For anyone who is not deceived by the current state of affairs, anyone who looks further and deeper, will not fail to recognize that this triumph of the technological age and the materialistic worldview was its last. It suffered its fatal blow in that volcanic eruption, for victors and vanquished alike, and he who has eyes to see is already able to perceive the coming of a new world in which spiritual goods will be deemed more valuable than technological progress, commerce, and convenience. And once this process has been completed, once men have renounced the blindness of a conception of happiness that was built upon material achievements alone, the claims and arguments of monument preservation will also have become a universal mindset, and the tree of a new piety will grow up from the seed of monument protection. It is up to us to hasten this development.

31. The Maintenance and Use of Former Royal Palaces (1920)

Max Dvořák, 'Erhaltung und Verwendung ehemals fürstlicher Schlösser und Gärten in bezug auf Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz', *Dritte gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz. Eisenach 23. und 24. September 1920. Stenographischer Bericht* (1920), 156–61

Ladies and Gentlemen! – It is getting rather late, so I would like to cut down what I wanted to say considerably and limit my address to complementing the quite excellent arguments presented by the previous speaker; to complement them with a description of the Austrian situation. I do so all the more gladly for the fact that there are a few glimmers of hope to be seen even in the realm of the future of Austrian palaces, and perhaps in other areas too.

A peculiarity of the Austrian situation is that the private palaces cannot be separated quite so completely from what was formerly imperial property, and so I would like to start by taking a look at them.

Their future is to be governed by two laws that were passed shortly after the revolution: firstly the general housing law, and secondly a law that we call the palaces law. The first gave the municipalities the right to lay claim to castles and palaces for general housing purposes, the second gave the state the authority to commandeer them for general humanitarian needs. In the first case the communal bureaus acted competently, indeed – and this is the good thing about the Austrian situation – they were obliged to ask the monument preservation authorities first in every instance. The procedure with the second law is rather more complicated. Individual organizations – youth welfare offices, invalid organizations, etc. – have to request a palace for their purposes. Their appeal is initially heard by a regional commission, which includes monument preservation representatives who have a sort of veto. The commission then makes an application to the Ministry of Social Welfare.

If we now ask how the situation has developed thus far on the basis of these legal prescriptions, then we will have three phases to differentiate. The first consisted of the owners of castles and palaces pre-empting the legislative measures by renting their buildings out, in part or in their entirety, to societies and even to private individuals. The second phase consisted of claims from the housing bureaus. These were relatively rare because the majority of castles and palaces proved unsuitable for rental purposes, for reasons I will come back to later on. Quite how unsuitable these buildings were for uses other than their original purpose became particularly clear in the third phase of the development, namely, when they started to demand whole buildings for general humanitarian purposes. This circumstance is sufficiently well illustrated by the fact that, despite numerous applications, not a single

palace or castle was actually taken over according to the terms of the decree – certainly not because they wanted to avoid this happening, but rather simply because these buildings are completely inimical to modern requirements for technical and hygienic reasons.

This is down to the nature of the Austrian castles and palaces. Most of them attained their present form in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The rooms of the former were constricted and lacking in any sort of comforts or sanitary facilities, whilst the palaces consisted predominantly of banqueting halls and the like; resplendent settings for grand festivities. I remember showing a particular lady around a palace in Vienna on one occasion, and when we had finished with our tour my companion turned to me and said, ‘but tell me, where does one actually live here?’

There are hardly any new palaces in Austria, or only a tiny number if at all, and, more importantly, in most cases the old palaces were not subsequently converted to comply with modern requirements, which can in turn be explained by the economic situation of the Austrian nobility in the past century. It consisted on the one hand of the relatively poor country gentry, who had to struggle through the good times and the bad maintaining their palaces, but never really had the money to carry out expensive modernizations on a large scale. And on the other hand it consisted of the big feudal gentry, the court nobility proper, who had their country seats in the Sudetenland, in Hungary and in Galicia, and who for the most part only used their palaces in the Alpine lands as temporary quarters to faithfully guard their treasures, but they had little reason to bring them up to modern requirements either.

And thus even before the war the Austrian palaces stood so to speak beyond the present, and we have this circumstance to thank for the fact that they remain unsuitable for any other purposes. So we need fear no imperilment on that front.

The situation of the former imperial palaces is entirely different. There are a number of legislative measures to mention first of all here too. Shortly after the revolution, the national assembly confiscated the assets of the so-called Crown Estate (which included the castles and palaces), with the exception of private property belonging directly to the Habsburg dynasty. The Treaty of St Germain ascribed these confiscated palaces to the new Austrian state. Then came an unexpected third, and in my opinion disastrous legislative act: last December our government gifted these palaces and all the assets of the Crown Estate to the invalids. This was supposed exclude works of art, collections, and buildings of eminent art-historical significance, but they failed to provide any closer definition of these exceptions (Hear! Hear!), and this was the first source of difficulties, because both parties – and there

were two parties: the invalids and state monument preservation – naturally wanted to have the terms defined to their own advantage.

And there was more besides. As I said, this law was disastrous, not just for monument preservation, but for the war invalids alike, because the Crown Estate assets were in the red long before the war. People talk of a deficit of nineteen million crowns, and this deficit has certainly not got any smaller since the war. Associated with this is the tendency to increase the yield of the assets, and where the palaces are concerned this can certainly only happen at the cost of their artistic value. To give a few examples: they are talking about fitting out the Hofburg with large dining rooms, Schönbrunn as a sanatorium, and the Belvedere as a casino.

These are lamentable plans, but I am convinced they will never be realised. We shall see to it they are not (Bravo!). But they nevertheless illustrate the ominous dangers inherent in this conflict of interests, dangers that spring from the present social crisis and its tension between past and present. The position of monument preservation *vis-à-vis* these dangers is quite clear and unequivocal. We have said over and over again that ideal assets cannot be subordinated to material assets. Our mission is to defend this position against every party and every tendency, and I hope we will succeed. Despite all the aberrations in Austria there is plenty of discernment too. Our monument office – I can say this because I am no longer directly involved with it – has done a splendid job. I do not fear the Entente, nor do I fear the successor states or our own government either. We have resisted until now, and we shall continue to resist until all artistic property is secure in every respect.

But besides these acute external dangers there are also insidious internal dangers that are not so easy to deal with. I saw a palace in the Salzkammergut a few weeks ago. Before the war it was rich in artistically valuable interior furnishings, but when I visited it just recently I was confronted with a ruin. It was not in a war zone, it had simply changed hands four times in five years, and before selling it on each owner had taken some of the furnishings, though none of them had had any work done. What had until recently been the most important monument in the valley thus fell into disrepair incredibly quickly. This is a typical example of the fate that awaits many of our palaces. Who will maintain them? The old owners were barely capable of doing so before the war. The new owners will be less able still. Perhaps things will be alright for a few years, but sooner or later most of the old owners will have to sell their palaces on account of the crippling costs associated with them, and for the new owners these former noble residences will either be objects of speculation or dead weights that will be left to their own fate.

The same more or less goes for the imperial palaces too. Granted, Schönbrunn, the state rooms of the Hofburg, and the Belvedere could all be treated purely as museums, and I hope we will achieve this, but what will happen to all the other buildings? Here the demands of monument preservation and the destitution of the state stand in virtually permanent opposition. Much has already been said about economic difficulties at this assembly, but I do not think it has been explicitly noted that we seem to be heading for a period of pauperism similar to that which followed the Thirty Years' War. And it seems to me, ladies and gentlemen, that this is where the decisive problem lies. One might well be able to combat ignorance, indolence, and malice, but how does one go about repelling the dangers that accompany a complete economic catastrophe and universal poverty with the old subsidies, with the help of owners who have nothing themselves? In this respect the situation of monument preservation seems to be quite hopeless.

And yet, ladies and gentleman, it is my conviction that it is not. Spirit is mightier than material. This has already been pointed out. Goodwill can compensate for many things. But we have not yet drawn the ultimate conclusions from this point. We have failed to pose the question it inevitably implies. What about this spirit? Is there in fact a universal spirit we can appeal to?

This brings me to the question I would actually have liked to have spoken about at today's congress, and which I hope to speak about at the next, namely the question of our future spiritual orientation, which to me seems more important than any technical, economic, or administrative matters. I just want to give a suggestion of what I mean by this. Monument preservation emerged in the past century as a spiritual movement that was quite clearly directed against the prevailing materialism of the nineteenth century. In an age when technical and economic achievements, comfort, and commerce were seen as the epitome of human progress, a form of progress that unthinkingly flouted artistic heritage wherever it stood in its path, a few select spirits found the courage and the conviction to champion this artistic heritage. Here was a spiritually revolutionary idea, and it is highly characteristic that this idea emerged in an age where we also clearly see the beginnings of a new, idealistic worldview in other areas of intellectual life. But this idea was powerless in the nineteenth century. It had to make manifold compromises with the prevailing circumstances, just as, conversely, these circumstances took control of the idea by opening up a certain sphere of validity that it was not allowed to transcend. Monument preservation was able to exist in associations and literary protests, it received official status, was allowed to invoke ideal arguments against those of a material nature, and these arguments were heard, whenever it was 'at all possible', as they would tend to say.

In the context of this sphere of validity monument preservation can no doubt boast some great achievements. But we should not deceive ourselves. It has still not achieved what its founders actually wanted. It did not attain any decisive influence – this has become quite clear over the last few years – over the leading powers and goals of the European nations, nor has it been transformed into a universal attitude. It is not our fault if it was unable to put down any deeper roots in an age whose intellectual tendencies were virtually diametrically opposed to it.

But precisely this spiritual tendency now stands on the point of collapse, and indeed anyone who looks further and deeper will happily see, in spite of its superficial triumph, that it has already collapsed and that a new world is emerging, where spiritual assets will be valued above material ones. There is still little sign of this in practical life. But practical life does not mean a thing. In the development of philosophical and historical thought, of artistic perception, we can clearly see a transformation happening, greater than any since the Renaissance and the Reformation; a transformation which, as Christendom once did, has elevated the idea above experience and above the sensible world and has created a new notion of spiritual obligation; a transformation which has already gripped our young people – anyone who teaches at a university knows this – and will give future generations and centuries a new spiritual content. Monument preservation cannot shy away from this spiritual content if it is to become more than an auxiliary branch of public administration.

There are questions here which, in my opinion, we shall have to talk and think about – not today, but soon – questions which provide the key to all other problems and will determine whether or not monument preservation will ever be transformed into that which we actually demand of it, namely a universal, spontaneous piety. (Lively, sustained applause).

32. The Balkanization of Vienna (1920)

Max Dvořák, 'Die Balkanisierung Wiens', *Wiener Mittag*, 13 December 1920, pp. 3–4

Present events in Vienna might be recounted by a future historian as follows:

‘Whatever position one took with regard to Austria’s political tasks after the calamitous Peace of St Germain, one thing will have been clear to all parties and all thinking people of that impoverished and downtrodden land. In its economic powerlessness, sandwiched between the hostile policies of the new nation states, its only means of self-preservation and its only prospect of a better future lay in intensive cultural work.

As for how this cultural reconstruction went, the treatment of artistic questions in the early years of the new Austria provides a most revealing insight. And this is not just an arbitrarily selected example. Thanks to its glorious past, its collections and historic traditions, Vienna had not only remained the artistic and cultural centre of the German east (as it had in other spheres of spiritual life); it also managed to win additional significance in this respect.

There was no lack of men who recognised this and with admirable self-sacrifice began to revivify Vienna’s former standing in artistic life. Unfortunately they had to contend with the greatest hindrances from the very beginning. Their efforts were counteracted by greedy plunder-merchants for whom Austria’s death throes were merely a welcome opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of its artistic treasures. Well financed societies were established for the purpose of “exploiting” Austria; the historian reads the names of those who were involved with astonishment. More astonishing still is the fact that the Austrian government not only did nothing to prevent these morbid and highly detrimental social phenomena, but was actually favourably disposed towards them. This was justified with reference to the state’s interest in increased exports, but of course this argument was about as cogent as trying to claim that the migration of any sort of capital represents an increase in exports. The only result was that the great Austrian sell-out – perpetrated under state protection, so to speak – began to encroach on the sphere of historic art and produced a jumble-sale spirit that inevitably turned its gaze towards publicly owned artistic property.

But besides that there was ample evidence that government circles had very little understanding of the ethical, national and economic value of this property. At the very best they banked on it as credit which was conveniently available in times of political and

financial difficulty and which, for all the platonic statements, could be sacrificed relatively painlessly. This is clearly evidenced by the settlement with the Italians, which was roundly condemned by contemporaries even then. The main reason Austria ultimately lost out completely here was not external circumstances, as was often claimed, but rather this disdain of its artistic heritage.

There can be no doubt that the country was in a terrible financial state; worse perhaps than any other empire throughout the whole course of history. But to my mind this was not the decisive cause of the collapse. The will to overcome misfortune by harnessing all available forces was lacking, and this was far more decisive. Being completely occupied with partisan strife, without having any sort of coherent or extensive program for the gradual reconstruction of the state, and in order to be able to stand there commandingly and determine its own future the Austrian government basically left the solution of economic problems to existing bureaucratic establishments, establishments which had not been without their own ailments even in the old Austria. These were not even remotely equal to the enormous new tasks that confronted them, and what is more they built their house on the aid of the Entente without planning ahead for the eventuality that it might fail to materialise. This eventuality transpires again and again, leaving them in a helpless state and with no other option but the sale or pawning of the collections. If a state sells such assets down the river it commits an ignominious act, an act of self-abandonment that is tantamount to selling out a territory or a people group. They do not consider this. Nor do they consider that the salvation might be an illusory one and that it in fact represents the destruction of the future. There were many who did realise this, and their efforts succeeded in averting calamity on a few occasions. But then came the disastrous autumn of 1920. The state coffers were again empty, there was no money for the grain that would be required in the first two months of the following year – they were hoping to receive a large credit from the Entente in March – and then, in order to fill the gap, the precious collection of tapestries was pawned for a ridiculously small amount. What blindness! Did they honestly believe that the catastrophe could thus be averted? They failed to see that this use of the “last reserves” would inevitably destroy any remaining faith in Austria’s future, would completely devalue the Austrian currency, and would convince the outside world – from whom they hoped to receive help – that a state which ekes out its existence in this way is beyond help. Newspaper reports back then compared Austria to a salesman taking his wife’s jewellery to the pawnshop in order to keep his head above water for a few days. But this analogy is not entirely accurate – it ought to have been a desperate man reaching for a revolver. There was still time for a change of direction, and there were a number of courses available, but none of them were taken up and

thus the inevitable happened. The tapestries were lost, the expected Entente credits came late and again only lasted for a few months. Instead of being able to redeem the tapestries, other artistic treasures had to be sold. All hope for the cultural reconstruction of Vienna was buried, and the spiritual Balkanization of the city ensued at an uncanny rate. Nobody any longer has designs on its property, and these days the city is only worthy of attention in light of its former historical role.'